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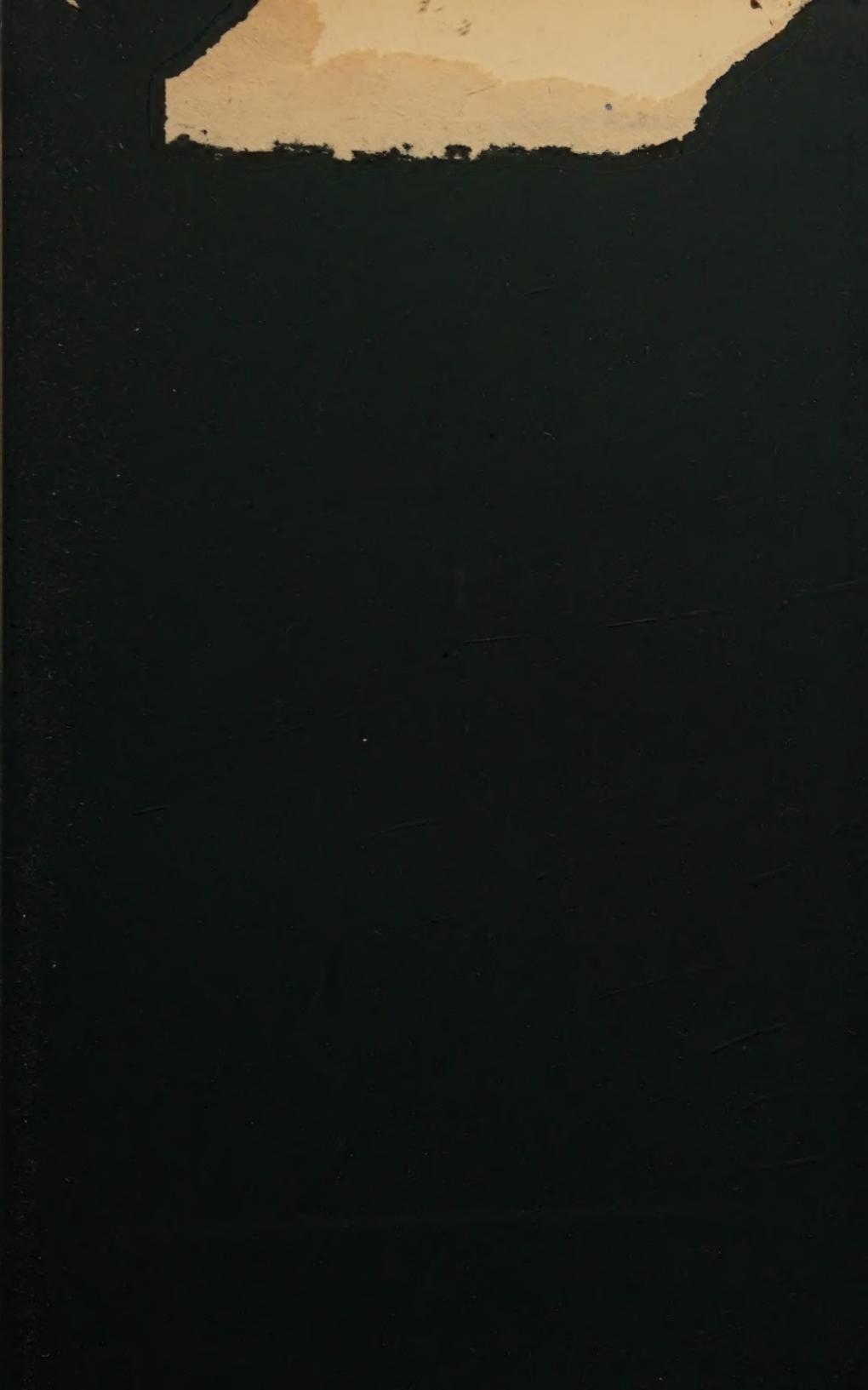
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**GRAMMAR OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK.**



*August, 1915.*

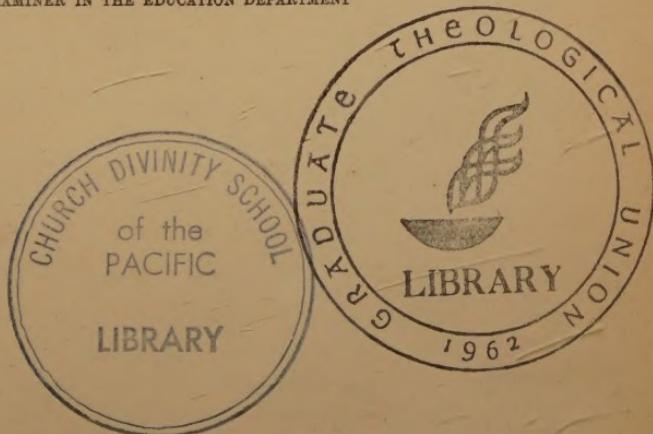
# GRAMMAR OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK

BY

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## PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION.

PROFESSOR BLASS'S *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch* appeared in Germany in October, 1896. The present translation reproduces the whole work with the exception of the Preface, which the author considered unsuitable to the English edition, on account of the somewhat personal character given to it by the dedication which he had combined with it. Some points of the Preface, however, are of sufficient general interest to be reproduced here in a summary form.

The author maintains that whereas Hellenistic Greek cannot in comparison with Attic Greek be regarded as a very rich language, it is for all that (except where borrowed literary words and phrases intrude themselves) a pure language, which is governed by regular laws of its own. He applies to it the proverb *τῶν καλῶν καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον καλόν*.

The present work does not profess to give the elements of Greek grammar, but presupposes some knowledge on the part of the reader. Those who desire to read the Greek Testament after a two months' study of the Greek language are referred to such works as Huddleston's *Essentials of New Testament Greek*.

With regard to textual criticism, a distinguishing feature in the grammar is that whereas earlier grammarians quote the editions of the leading N.T. critics, Professor Blass quotes the MSS., leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions as to the true text in each instance. Whilst admitting that we have now reached something like a new "Textus Receptus" based on the oldest Greek tradition, and acknowledging the services rendered to N.T. criticism by such critics as Lachmann, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, and Tregelles, he has to confess that a definite conclusion on this subject has not yet been arrived at.

The only point in reference to matters of 'higher criticism' to which attention has to be called is that the John who wrote the

Apocalypse is distinguished from John the author of the Gospel and Epistles. The first and second Epistles of Peter do not present sufficiently well-marked differences to require a distinction to be drawn between them in a grammar of this kind. The Pauline Epistles are all quoted as the work of St. Paul; the Epistle to the Hebrews is naturally not so quoted. The general position taken up by Professor Blass with regard to questions of authorship is shown by the following words: 'The tradition which has been transmitted to us as to the names of the authors of the N.T. books, in so far as it is unanimous, I hold to be approximately contemporary with those authors; that is to say, the approximation is as close as we can at present look for; and, without claiming to be a prophet, one may assert that, to whatever nearer approximation we may be brought by fortunate discoveries in the future, Luke will remain Luke, and Mark will continue to be Mark.'

The books to which the author expresses his obligations are the grammars of Winer (including the new edition of P. Schmiedel) and Buttmann, Jos. Viteau, *Étude sur le Grec du N.T.*, Paris, 1893, and Burton, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in N.T. Greek*, Chicago, 1893. The first-named of these works having grown to such voluminous proportions, the present grammar, written in a smaller compass, may, the author hopes, find a place beside it for such persons as maintain the opinion μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν.

The isolation of the N.T. from other contemporary or nearly contemporary writings is a hindrance to the proper understanding of it, and should by all means be avoided; illustrations are therefore drawn by the writer from the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the first and the so-called second Epistle of Clement, and the Clementine Homilies. *But not future? &c.*

The translator has merely to add that the references have been to a great extent verified by him, and that the proofs have all passed through the hands of Professor Blass, who has introduced several additions and corrections which are not contained in the original German edition. He has also to express his thanks to the Rev. A. E. Brooke, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, for kindly looking over the greater part of the translation in ms. and removing some of its imperfections, and to two of his own sisters for welcome assistance in the work of transposing the third of the Indices to suit the new pagination.

H. ST. J. T.

May 13, 1898.

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## CORRIGENDA.

- p. 3, line 28, *for* 'of the present day' *read* 'or those which they have reached at the present day'
- p. 60, line 22, *for* *οὐν* *read* *οὖν*.
- p. 68, last line, *for* 3 Jo. 2 *read* 3 Jo. 9.
- p. 114, line 14, *for* *κολλᾶσθαι* *read* *κολλᾶσθαι*.  
line 29, *omit the comma before τῷ πιστεῖ.*  
line 36, *for* 'for which' *read* 'for the dative.'
- p. 115, 12 lines from the bottom, *for* *πλήγας* *read* *πληγῆς*.  
2 lines from the bottom, *for* *τινι* *read* *τινι*.
- p. 172, line 14, *for* Mt. 24. 23 *read* Mt. 24. 43.
- p. 220, note 1, *for* A. 1. 8 *read* A. 1. 20.
- p. 232, line 3, *for* H. 13. 8 *read* H. 13. 18.

## PART I.

### INTRODUCTION: PHONETICS AND ACCIDENCE.

#### § I. INTRODUCTION.

1. The special study of the grammar of New Testament Greek has been for the most part prompted by purely practical needs. In Greek literature as such the writings brought together in the New Testament can claim but a very modest position; and the general grammar of the Greek language can take but very limited notice of the special features which they present. Yet, on the other hand, their contents give them so paramount an importance, that in order to understand them fully, and to restore them to their primitive form, the most exact investigation even of their grammatical peculiarities becomes an absolute necessity.

The New Testament writers represent in general that portion of the population of the Hellenised East, which, while it employed Greek more or less fluently as the language of intercourse and commerce—side by side with the native languages which were by no means superseded—yet remained unfamiliar with the real Hellenic culture and the literature of classical Greek. How far, in this respect, exceptions are to be admitted in the case of Luke and Paul, as also in the case of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Barnabas), it is not easy to decide: at any rate the traces of classical culture even in these writers are next to nothing, whereas in the next generation a Clement of Rome, with his *γνωστικές Δαυτίδες καὶ Διόρκαι* and his story of the phoenix,<sup>1</sup> at once displays an entirely different character. Accordingly, the language employed in the N.T. is such as was spoken in the lower circles of society, not such as was written in works of literature. But between these two forms of speech there existed even at that time a very considerable difference. The literary language had always remained dependent in some measure on the old classical masterpieces; and though in the first centuries of Hellenic influence it had followed the development of the living language, and so had parted some distance from those models, yet since the first century before Christ it had kept struggling back to them again with an ever-increasing determination.

<sup>1</sup> Clem. ad Corinth. vi. 2: xxv.

If, then, the literature of the Alexandrian period must be called Hellenistic, that of the Roman period must be termed Atticistic. But the popular language had gone its own way, and continued to do so until out of ancient Greek there was gradually developed modern Greek, which, however, in its literature—its prose literature in particular—is still very strongly affected by classic influences. The N.T. then shows us an intermediate stage on the road between ancient and modern Greek; on this ground, too, its language is deserving of a special treatment.

2. It is indeed true that for a knowledge of the popular language of the first century after Christ, as of the immediately preceding and succeeding periods, the N.T. is by no means our only source. In the way of literature not much is to be added, certainly nothing which can diminish the supreme importance of the N.T. Undoubtedly the Greek translations of the Old Testament show a great affinity of language, but they are translations, and slavishly literal translations; no one ever spoke so, not even the Jewish translators. Of profane literature, one might perhaps quote the discourses of Epictetus contained in Arrian's commentary as the work most available for our purpose. But the spoken language is found quite pure, purer by far than in the N.T. itself—found, too, in its various gradations, corresponding naturally to the position and education of the speaker—in those private records, the number and importance of which is being perpetually increased by fresh discoveries in Egypt. The language of the N.T. may, therefore, be quite rightly treated in close connection with these. A grammar of the popular language of the period, written on the basis of all these various authorities and remains, would be perhaps, from the grammarian's point of view, more satisfactory than one which was limited to the language of the New Testament.<sup>1</sup> The practical considerations, however, from which we set out, will be constantly imposing such a limitation; for it cannot be of the same importance to us to know what some chance Egyptian writes in a letter or deed of sale, as it is to know what the men of the N.T. have written, however true it may be that in their own day the cultured world drew no distinction between these last and the lower classes of Egyptians and Syrians, and despised them both alike.

## § 2. ELEMENTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT LANGUAGE.

1. By far the most predominant element in the language of the New Testament is the Greek of common speech which was disseminated in the East by the Macedonian conquest, in the form which it had gradually assumed under the wider development of several centuries. This common speech is in the main a somewhat modified Attic, in which were omitted such Attic peculiarities as appeared too strange to the bulk of the remaining Greeks, such as *ττ* instead of *σσ* in *θάλαττα* etc., and *ρρ* instead of *ρσ* in *ἄρρην*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. A. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* (Marburg, 1895), p. 57 ff.

etc. As a matter of course it is the later Attic, not the older, which lies at the base of it, which explains, to take one example, the absence of any trace of a dual in this language. But as the development extended, the remaining distinctions in the language between duality and plurality were also set aside: not only is *πότερος* abandoned for *τίς*, *ἐκάτερος* for *ἔκαστος*, and so on, but above all the superlative is abandoned for the comparative: and this is a state of things which we find in the language of the N.T., but by no means in the literary language of a contemporary and later date, which affords no traces of these peculiarities. With this is connected the more limited use of the optative, and many other usages, to be discussed in their place. Another not very considerable portion of the alterations concerns the phonetic forms of declension and conjugation, under which may be classed the extension of the inflexion -*a*, gen. -*as* to words in -*pa*, and the transference of 1st aorist terminations to the 2nd aorist. A third and much larger class embraces the uses and combinations of forms and "form-words," in which a similar striving after simplification is unmistakable. Very many usages disappear; the use of the infinitive as the complement of the verb is extended at the expense of that of the participle, the objective accusative at the expense of the genitive and dative; the rules concerning *οὐ* or *μή* are as simple as they are intricate for the classical languages. Of quite another order, and concealed by the orthography, which remained the same, are the general changes in the sounds of the language, which even at that time had been carried out in no small measure, though it was not till long afterwards that they reached their later dimensions of the present day. A last class is composed of changes in lexicology—for the most part the substitution of a new expression in place of the usual expression for a thing or an idea, or the approach to such a substitution, the new appearing side by side with the old as its equivalent. This, however, does not as a rule come within the province of grammar, unless the expression be a kind of "form-word," for instance a preposition, or an irregular verb, an instance of this being the present of *εἶδον*, which in general is no longer *όρω*, but *βλέπω* or *θεωρῶ*. The Hellenistic language as a whole is in its way not less subject to rules nor less systematic than Attic; but it has certainly not received such a literary cultivation as the latter, because the continuous development of culture never allowed it completely to break away from the older form, which was so exclusively regarded as the standard of what the language should be.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since the *κοινὴ* had such a wide diffusion, from Italy and Gaul to Egypt and Syria, it is *a priori* impossible that it should have been everywhere entirely uniform, and so it is correct to speak also of an Alexandrian dialect (*ἡ Ἀλεξανδρέων διάλεκτος*) as a special form of it (W.-Schm. § 3, 1, note 4). Of course we are not in a position to make many distinctions in details in this respect; yet even in the N.T. writers certain differences are well-marked, which have nothing to do with a more or less cultivated style, e.g. some writers, and Luke in particular, confuse *εἰς* and *ἐν*, whereas the author of the Apocalypse is able to distinguish between these prepositions. Again Hermas, undoubtedly

2. One element of the popular languages of that time, and therefore of the New Testament language, which though not prominent is clearly traceable, is the *Latin* element. The ruling people of Italy intermingled with the population of all the provinces; Roman proper names were widely circulated (as the N.T. at once clearly shows in the names of its authors and the persons addressed); but appellatives (*κουστωδία, σουδάριον, κεντυρίων*) also found admission, and some phrases, particularly of commercial and legal life, were literally translated (as *τὸν ἵκανὸν ποιεῖν, λαμβάνειν = satisfacere, satis accipere*). In general, however, this influence remains confined to lexicology and phraseology; in a slight degree it affects the formation of words ('*Ηρῳδιανοί, Χρηστιανοί*'), in perhaps a greater degree the syntax (*ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι = duci eum iussit*), still it is difficult here to determine what is due to native development of the language and what to foreign influence.

3. The national *Hebrew* or *Aramaic* element influenced Greek-writing Jews in a threefold manner. In the first place it is probable that the speaker or writer quite involuntarily and unconsciously rendered a phrase from his mother tongue by an accurately corresponding phrase; again, that the reading and hearing of the Old Testament in the Greek version coloured the writer's style, especially if he desired to write in a solemn and dignified manner (just as profane writers borrowed phrases from the Attic writers for a similar object); third and last, a great part of the N.T. writings (the three first Gospels and the first half of the Acts) is in all probability a direct working over of Hebrew or Aramaic materials. This was not a translation like that executed by the LXX., rendered word for word with the utmost fidelity, and almost without any regard to intelligibility; but it was convenient to adhere to the originals even in expression instead of looking for a form of expression which was good Greek. The Hebraisms and Aramaisms are, then, for the most part of a lexical kind, i.e. they consist in the meaning which is attributed to a word (*σκανδαλον* is the rendering of בָּשָׂר in the ethical sense, hence *σκανδαλίζειν*), or in phrases literally translated (as *πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν פָּנִים אֲשֶׁר* 'to respect the person,' hence *προσωπολήμπτης – λημψία*); these expressions, which moreover are not too numerous, must have been current in Jewish, and subsequently in Christian, communities. In the department of grammar the influence of Hebrew is seen especially in a series of peculiarities in the use of prepositions, consisting partly of circumlocutions such as *ἀρέσκειν ἐνώπιον τυν* instead of *τινί, πρὸ προσώπου τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ*, 'before him,' partly in an extended use of certain prepositions such as *ἐν* (ἐπί) on the

a representative of the unadulterated *κοινή*, uses often enough the superlative forms in *-τατος* and *-ιτος* in elative sense, whereas the forms in *-τατος* are generally absent from the writers of the N.T., and even those in *-ιτος* are only very seldom found (see § 11, 3). Such cases must, then, go back to local differences within the *κοινή*, even if we can no longer rightly assign the range of circulation of individual peculiarities.

analogy of the corresponding Hebrew word (*ה*) ; much is also taken over in the use of the article and the pronouns ; to which must be added the periphrasis for the simple tense by means of *ην* etc. with the participle, beside other examples.

4. The literary language has also furnished its contribution to the language of the N.T., if only in the case of a few more cultured writers, especially Luke, Paul, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.<sup>1</sup> A very large number of good classical constructions are indeed found in the N.T., but confined to these particular writers, just as it is only they who occasionally employ a series of words which belonged to the language of literary culture and not to colloquial speech. Persons of some culture had these words and constructions at their disposal when they required them, and would even employ the correct forms of words as alternatives to the vulgar forms of ordinary use. This is shown most distinctly by the speech of Paul before Agrippa (Acts xxvi.), which we may safely regard as reported with comparative accuracy. On this occasion, when Paul had a more distinguished audience than he ever had before, he makes use not only of pure Greek proverbs and modes of speech (*πρὸς κέντρον λακτίζειν* 14, *οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν γωνίᾳ πεπραγμένον τοῦτο* 26), but there also appears here the only superlative in *-τάτος* in the whole N.T. (*τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην αἴρεσιν* 5), and here only *ἴσασιν* for ‘they know’ (4), not *οἴδασιν*; he must therefore have learnt somewhere (?at school), that in order to speak correct Attic Greek one must conjugate *ἴσμεν* *ἴστε* *ἴσασιν*. So also it is not surprising if Paul writes to his pupils and colleagues in a somewhat different, i.e. in a somewhat higher style, than that which he uses in writing to his congregations. It is noteworthy that in the artificial reproduction of the ancient language the same phenomenon repeated itself to a certain degree, which had long before occurred in the reproduction of Homeric language by subsequent poets : namely, that the imitator sometimes misunderstood, and accordingly misused, a phrase. Just as Archilochus on the strength of the Homeric line : *τέκνον ἐμόν, γενεῇ μὲν ὑπέρτερός ἔστιν Ἀχιλλεύς, πρεσβύτερος δὲ σύ ἔστι* (Il. xi. 786, Menoetius to Patroclus) employed *ὑπέρτερος = νεώτερος* (a sense which it never bore)<sup>2</sup>: so in all probability Luke (with or without precedent) used *μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξίν μου* in A. 20. 29 as equivalent to ‘after my departure,’ because he had misunderstood *μετὰ τὴν ἄπιξιν* (correctly ‘arrival’) *τῆς γυναικός* in Herodotus, 9, 77. The same writer has *ἀπήσαν, ἐξήσαν* (from the obsolete *ἀπειμι, ἐξειμι*) with the force of the aorist, *ἐκεῖσε, δόμοσε*, in answer to the question Where ? and many other instances.

<sup>1</sup> The discrimination between the popular element and the literary element interwoven into it is very minutely worked out in J. Viteau, *Étude sur le Grec du N.T. : Le verbe, syntaxe des prépositions*, Paris, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> Vide the Scholia to Il. loc. cit. (Archilochus, frag. 28, Bergk.).

## § 3. ORTHOGRAPHY.

1. One portion of the changes in the Greek language that have been alluded to (§ 2, 1) concerned generally the sounds and combinations of these; but in general alterations of this kind it is usual for the spelling not to imitate the new sound off-hand, and certainly not without hesitation, in the case of a word which already had a stereotyped and ordinary spelling. So, in Greek, in the time of the composition of the N.T., there was, as we know from manifold evidence of stone and papyrus, no one fixed orthography in existence, but writers fluctuated between the old historical spelling and a new phonetic manner of writing. The sound-changes, at that time not nearly so great as they afterwards became, had principally to do with the so-called *i* adscript in the diphthongs *q*, *y*, *ψ* (strictly *ᾳ*, *ῃ*, *ῳ* with *i* pronounced), which, since about the second century before Christ, had become mute, and with the old diphthong *ει*, which from about the same period ceased to be distinguished from long *i*. But the writing of *AI*, *HI*, *ΩI*, *EI* did not on that account become obsolete, preserved as they were by their occurrence in all ancient books and literal transcripts of them; only it was no longer known in which cases *ᾳ*, *ῃ*, *ῳ* should be furnished with the symbol for *i* mute, and in which cases long *i* should be written as *EI*. Many persons took the drastic measure of omitting the *i* mute in all cases, even in the dative, as Strabo<sup>1</sup> attests, in the same way that we also find *I* as the prevailing spelling for *i* (though still not without exceptions) in manuscripts of the period<sup>2</sup>; others considered that in *EI* as against *I* they had a convenient means of distinguishing between *i* and *ɿ*, in the same way that *ῃ* and *ɿ*, *ῳ* and *ɿ* were distinguished. So *κινέις* is sometimes *KINIC*, sometimes *KEINEIC*; and even *KEINIC* would be frequently written by any ordinary scribe. It was not until a later date that the historical method of writing was uniformly carried out, and even then not without occasional errors, by learned grammarians, especially Herodian of Alexandria, who taught in Rome under M. Aurelius. This was in keeping with the prevailing impulse of the time, which made for the revival of the old classical language. Since then, in spite of increasing difficulties, this method of spelling has been continuously taught and inculcated in the schools with the help of numerous artificial rules up till the present day.

2. It is impossible therefore to suppose, after what has been stated, that even Luke and Paul could have employed the correct historical spelling in the case of *i* mute and *ει*; for at that time there was nobody in the schools of Antioch and Tarsus who could teach it them, certainly not in the case of *ει*, though some rules might be formulated at an earlier period with regard to *i* mute. We are debarred from all knowledge as to how they actually did

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xiv., p. 648, πολλοὶ γὰρ χωρὶς τοῦ *i* γράφουσι τὰς δοτικάς, καὶ ἐκβάλλουσι δὲ τὸ θεός φυσικὴν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον.

<sup>2</sup> Papyrus ms. of the poems of Hero(n)das, London, 1891.

write, and it is a matter of indifference, provided that one realizes this state of things, and recognizes that e.g. Δωσιν stood equally well for δῶσιν or δώσειν. The oldest scribes whose work we possess (cent. 4-6) always kept themselves much freer from the influence of the schools than the later, i.e. they frequently wrote phonetically or according to the rule ει=ι (so the scribe of B), and indeed ι mute finds no place in MSS. before the seventh century. In our case there can be no question that we should follow the Byzantine school, and consistently employ the historical spelling in the N.T., as well as in the case of all profane writers, and remove all half measures, such as those, for instance, still remaining in Tischendorf, without any regard to the MS. evidence. The recording and weighing of evidence of this kind in the case of individual words, e.g. words in -εια, -ια, is the most unprofitable of tasks that a man can undertake.

3. The ι mute should therefore be supplied, as the correct historical spelling, in the following words, as well as in the well-known cases: μιμήσκειν, θνήσκειν (for -η-ίσκειν), πανταχῆ, πάντῃ, εἰκῇ, κρυφῆ, λάθρᾳ, πεξῆ, (ἀντι)πέρα<sup>1</sup> (old dative forms); ἀθῷος, ζῷον, πατρῷος, ὑπερφῶν, φόν, Τρῷάς, Ἡρῷόντος (from ἥρως), πρῷρα, σώζειν (for σω-ίζειν). In the case of σύζειν, it is not yet satisfactorily ascertained how far the tenses partook of the ι, since σαώ interposes itself and supplies ἐσώθην (for ἐσαώθην), σωτήρ etc.; in the active we may write σύσω, ἐσώσα, σέσωκα: in the perf. pass. σέσωσμαι appears to be correct, like νενόμισμαι, but σέσωται (A. 4. 9) on the model of ἐσώθην. It is also doubtful whether an ι was ever present in the forms first found in Hellenistic Greek, δώην, γνώην (optat.), πατρολῶας, μητρολῶας (Attic δοῖην, γνοῖην, -λοίας); but since ι is essential to the optative, we may insert it in those instances. As yet there is not sufficient evidence to decide between πρᾶος - πρᾶος, πρᾶότης - πρᾶότης. For ει in place of ηι vide infra 5.

4. Ει for ι is established in MSS. and editions, being found most persistently in Semitic words, especially proper names, where it would never once be without use as an indication of the length of the ι, provided only that it be correctly understood to have this meaning, and not to represent a diphthong, which is fundamentally wrong. We can, if we please, in these cases assist the pronunciation by means of the symbol for a long vowel (ι): thus Δανίδ, Ἀδδī, Ἀχίμ, Βενιαμīn, Ἐλιακīm, Ἐλισαβēt,<sup>2</sup> Ἰάρος, Κīs, Λευτ(s), Νεφθαλīm, Σάπφīra,<sup>3</sup> Ταβīθa, Χερουβīn; Γεθσημānī,<sup>4</sup> Ἰερīχω<sup>5</sup>; ἡλī, ραββī, ταλīθa,

<sup>1</sup> Certainly in later times the α in (κατ)αντιπέρα appears to be short, since it is elided in verse, Maneth. iv. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Ελεισ. always in B, generally Σ, occasionally CD, see Tisch. on L. 1. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The MSS. (A. 5. 1) vary between ει, ι, ν: there is no doubt of the identity of the name with the Aram. נְפִילָה (pulchra), still it has been Grecised (gen. -ης like μάχαιρα, -ρης, § 7, 1) no doubt in connection with σάπφ(ε)ιρος, in which the ει is quite unjustifiable (Ap. 21. 19, -ιρος BP).

<sup>4</sup> See Kautzsch in W.-Schm. § 5, 13 a (Hebr. יְהֻדָּה for יְהֻדָּה). The spelling with η at the end as against -ει, -ι has only the very slenderest attestation; even the η of the second syllable must perhaps give way to the α of the western tradition (many authorities in Mt. 26. 36: cp. Mc. 14. 32).

<sup>5</sup> With ει Mt. 20. 29 BCLZ; so always B, frequently Σ(D).

*σαβαχθανί*. The proper names in -*ias* have in most cases *i*, and therefore no *ei* (so *Μαριαμ*, *Μαρία*), but rightly *'Ηλείας*, *'Ηλίας*, *Αἴγαρος*, *Ιωσέας*, -*στας* *Αἴγαρος*, *Οζείας*, -*ιας* *Αἴγαρος*, *Ούρείας* *Αἴγαρος*.<sup>1</sup> *'Ελισάους* L. 4. 27 *עַלְיָשׁ* has undoubtedly *i*, and is also spelt with *ei* in B (only), just as B has *Φαρεισάοι* (Mc. 7. 1, 3, 5, A. 5. 34 etc.), *Γαλειλαια*, -*αιος* (Mc. 1. 14, 16, Jo. 7. 1, A. 5. 37 etc.), *Σεινά* (G. 4. 24 f.), *Σειών* (R. 9. 33 etc.). *Σαμάρεια* follows the analogy of *'Αντιόχεια*, *Αλεξάνδρεια* etc., and must therefore retain *ei* in our spelling of it,<sup>2</sup> although the inhabitant is called *Σαμαρίτης*, as the inhabitant of *Μαρώνεια* is *Μαρώνιτης*.

5. With regard to **Greek** words and names, the following must be noted for the correct discrimination between *ei* and *i*: *οἰκτίρω*, not -*είρω* (cp. *οἰκτιρμός*, -*ιρμων*, which in B certainly also have *ei* § 4, 2). *'Ικόνιον*, not *Εἰκ.* (*i* according to Etym. M. *sub verbo*, which, however, does not agree with the coins, which give *i* and *ei*; the MSS. in A. 13, 51, 14. 1 also read *i*). *μείγνυμι*, *ἔμειξα* etc., *μείγμα*. *τίνω*, *τείνω*, *ἔτεισα*. *φιλόνικος*, -*νικία* (from *νίκη*). *πανοκεί* A. 16. 34 (§ABC), *παμπληθεί* L. 23. 18, see § 28, 7. There is considerable fluctuation in the language from the earliest times between -*εια* (proparoxyt.) and -*ā*; *κακοπαθία* Ja. 5. 10 (B<sup>1</sup>P) is the form attested also for Attic Greek; *ῳφέλεια*, however (R. 3. 1, Jude 16), already existed in Attic beside *ῳφελία*. The spelling *στρατεία* (B) 2 C. 10. 4 cannot be invalidated on the ground that in Attic *στρατεία* ‘campaign’ and *στρατία* ‘army’ are interchanged, and the one form stands for the other; *ἐπαρχία* ‘province’ A. 25. 1 has for a variant not *ἐπαρχεία* but *ἡ ἐπαρχεῖος* (A, cp. n<sup>1</sup>). *Ei* is produced from *ηι* according to the later Attic usage (which converted every *ηι* into *ei*) in the words *λειτουργός*, -*ia*, -*ein* (orig. *ληγτ.*, then *ληγτ.*), which were taken over from Attic, and in *βούλει* (L. 22. 42, the literary word = the colloquial *θέλεις* § 21, 7), whereas, in other cases *η* in roots and in terminations (dat. 1st decl., conjunct., 2 sing. pass.) remained as *e*, and the use of the future for aor. conj. (§ 65, 2, 5) can on no account be explained by this Attic intermixture of the diphthongs.

6. H in the language of the N.T., and also in the standard MSS., is in general far from being interchanged with *i*. *Χρηστιανοί* (and *Χρηστός*) rests on a popular interpretation of the word, for in place of the unintelligible *Χριστός* the heathen (from whom the designation of the new sect as *Χρηστ.* proceeded) substituted the familiar *Χρηστός*, which had a similar sound; the spelling of the word with *η* (in the N.T. preserved in every passage by n<sup>1</sup> A. 11. 26, 26. 28, 1 P. 4. 16) was not completely rejected even by the Christians, and

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Append. 155. B alone is consistent in reading *Ούρειον* Mt. 1. 6 (the others -*iov*). In the case of *'Εζεκίας* *Ἐζεκίας* Mt. 1. 9 f. we have only the witness of D for -*ei*- in the passage L. 3. 23 ff., which it alters to correspond with Mt. However, is the analogy complete? C. I. Gr. 8613 also has *'Εζεκίας* (-*χιας*) beside *Ιωσήλας*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Herodian, Lentz, p. 279, 34.

maintained its position for a very long time.<sup>1</sup> Κυρήνιος for Quirinius L. 2. 2 may be explained in a similar way (by a connection of it with Κυρήνη), but B and the Latin MSS. have Κυρ(ε)ίνου *Cyrino*.<sup>2</sup> In L. 14. 13, 21 ἀνάπτειρος for ἀνάπτηρος is attested by quite preponderating evidence (ABD al.), and is moreover mentioned by Phrynicus the Atticist as a vulgar form.<sup>3</sup> εῖ μήν for ἦ μήν H. 6. 14 (ABD<sup>1</sup>) is attested also in the LXX. and in papyri<sup>4</sup>; besides, all this class of variations belongs strictly to the province of correct pronunciation [orthoepy], and not to that of orthography. It is the same with the doubtful γυμνήτης or γυμνίτης (*γυμνιτεύομεν* 1 C. 4. 11, with η L al., which, according to Dindorf in Steph. Thes., is the correct spelling), and σιρικίνθιον *semicinctum* A. 19. 12 (all MSS.), with which one might compare the comparatively early occurrence of δινάρια *denarii*<sup>5</sup> (N.T., however, always has δην.). All uncials have σιρικοῦ *sericum*<sup>6</sup> Ap. 18. 12. The distinction made between κάμηλος ‘camel’ and κάμιλος ‘rope’ (Mt. 19. 24 etc., Suidas), appears to be a later artificiality.

7. At a much earlier time than the interchange of η – ι begins that of αι – ε (η), appearing in passive verbal terminations already in the Hellenistic period, in the middle of a word before a vowel somewhere about the second century A.D., and soon after universally, so that little confidence can be placed in our MSS. as a whole in this respect, though the oldest (D perhaps excepted) are still far more correct in this than in the case of ει – ι. The question, therefore, whether, in obedience to these witnesses, κερέα is to be written for κεραία, ἔξεφυης and the like, should not be raised; the following may be specially noticed: Αἰλαμῖται A. 2. 9 (B correctly)<sup>7</sup>; ἀνάγαυον Mc. 14. 15, L. 22. 12 (on quite overwhelming evidence); ράίδη *raeda* Ap. 18. 13 (all uncials ῥέδῃ); φαιλόνης *paenula* (the Greek form: strictly it should be φαινόλης) 2 Tim. 4. 13 (ε all uncials except L); but συκομορέα (A al. -αία) L. 19. 4 (from συκόμορον, formation like μηλέα from μῆλον).

8. The diphthong ui is already from early times limited to the case where it is followed by another vowel, and even then it is contracted in Attic Greek from the fifth century onwards into u; it reappears, however, in Hellenistic Greek, being frequently indeed

<sup>1</sup> See Hermes xxx. 465 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Dittenberger, Herm. vi. 149. In Joseph. also the majority of the MSS. have -ηνιος: to which add Μᾶρκος Κυρήνιος C. I. A. iii. 599.

<sup>3</sup> Phryn. in Bk. Anecd. i. 9, 22, ἀναπτηρία διὰ τοῦ η τὴν πρωτήν, οὐ διὰ τῆς ει διφθέγγον, ὡς οἱ ἀμαθεῖς (Tisch. ad loc.).

<sup>4</sup> Blass, Ausspr. d. Gr. 33<sup>8</sup>, 77 (Aegypt. Urk. des Berl. Mus. 543).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 37, 94.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. (W.-Schm. § 5, 14) σιρικοποιῶς (so for -ός) Neapolitan inscription, Inscr. Gr. It. et Sic. 785, to which *siricarium* and *holosiricum* are given as parallel forms in Latin Inscr. (Mommsen).

<sup>7</sup> From Αἴλαμ Ελαμ; see Euseb. Onomast. ed. Larsow-Parthey, p. 22. Yet according to Könneke (sub verbo 13) the LXX. have Αἴλαμ and Ελαμῖται side by side.

written (in inscriptions and papyri) *νει*, i.e. ü-i, whereas on the other hand the inflexion *-νία*, *-νίης* (§ 7, 1) implies that the i is not pronounced. The uncial MSS. of the N.T. write it throughout; it sometimes occurs in the word-division in B that the first scribe divides *νιοντ*<sup>1</sup>; A has occasionally what comes to the same thing, *νιος*. The diphthong *ων* is non-existent (as also in Attic it may be said not to occur); *Μωνσῆς* is a trisyllable, and consequently to be written *Μωνσῆς*.

9. **Consonants.** Z - σ.—The spelling *ζβ*, *ζμ* in place of *σβ*, *σμ* is widely disseminated in the Hellenistic and Roman period, in order to indicate the soft sound which σ has in this position only. This ζ, however, is found far more rarely in the middle than at the beginning of a word. In the N.T. the MSS. have *Zμύρνα* Ap. 1. 11, 2. 8 (¶, Latt. partly; but *ζμύρνα* has little support, as D Mt. 2. 11, *σζμύρνης* & Jo. 19. 39); *ζβεννύναι* 1 Th. 5. 19 (B<sup>1</sup>D<sup>1</sup>FG).

10. **Single and double consonant.**—With regard to the writing of a single or double consonant much obscurity prevails in the Roman period. The observance of the old-Greek rule, that ρ, if it passes from the beginning to the middle of a word (through inflexion or composition), preserves the stronger pronunciation of the initial letter by becoming doubled,<sup>2</sup> is even in Attic Greek not quite without exceptions; in the later period the pronunciation itself must have changed, and the stronger initial ρ approximated to the weaker medial ρ, so that even a reduplication with ρ was now tolerated (*φεραντισμένος* § 15, 6). The rule cannot be carried out in the N.T. without doing great violence to the oldest MSS., although, on the other hand, in these also there are still sufficient remnants of the ancient practice to be found: thus all MSS. have *ἔρρηξεν* L. 9. 42, *ἔρρεθη* Mt. 5. 21, 27 etc. (always in these words, § 16, 1), see Gregory Tisch. iii. 121; *ἄρρωστος* always, *ἄρρητος* 2 C. 12. 4, *χειμάρρους* Jo. 18. 1 etc.; on the other hand, *ἀραφος* Jo. 19. 23 (ρρ B), *ἐπιράπτει* Mc. 2. 21 (ρρ B<sup>2</sup>KMUTΓ), *ἀπορίψαντες* A. 27. 43 ¶C etc. But while this matter too belongs to orthography, the spelling ρρ recommends itself as a general principle. *παρησία* is wrong, since it is assimilated from *παν-ρησία* (*παρησ*. B<sup>1</sup> Mc. 8. 32, and passim; also ¶DL sometimes, see Tisch.)<sup>3</sup>; *ἀρραβών* (a borrowed Semitic word) has the metrical prosody — — guaranteed and the doubling of the consonant established in its Semitic form (*ἀρραβ*. 2 C. 1. 22 ¶AFGL, 5. 5 ¶DE, E. 1. 14 FG), cp. also Lat. *arrha*.<sup>4</sup>

In the case of the other liquids and all the mutes there are only isolated instances. *βαλλάντιον*, not *βαλάντιον*, is shown on quite

<sup>1</sup> Tischendorf, N.T. Vat., p. xxviii. 4. There seem to have been people who thought themselves bound, for correctness' sake, to pronounce *hü-i-os*, *mü-i-a*, in three syllables; cp. Cramer, Anekd. Oxon. III. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Even the initial ρ in Att. inscr. is occasionally written ρρ ('Εφημ. ἀρχαιολ. 1889, p. 49 ff. β, 20 *ἀρτήματα ρρυμοῖς*).

<sup>3</sup> Evidence for ρ from inscr. and papyri in W.-Schm. § 5, 26 b.

<sup>4</sup> *ἀρραβ.* C. I. Gr. ii. 2058, B. 34, *ἀρραβ.* Papyrus Notices and Extr. xviii. 2, 344 (W.-Schm. *ibid.* c); but ρρ Berl. Aeg. Urk. 240, 6.

preponderating MS. evidence to be correct, and the orthography is also vouched for on metrical grounds. Φύγελος 2 Tim. 1. 15 C<sup>o</sup>D etc., -ελλος A : the single letter appears to be the better spelling.<sup>1</sup> In μαρωνᾶς מַרְבוּן<sup>2</sup> the duplication of the  $\mu$  has very slender attestation. ἐννεήκοντα, ἔννατος are wrong; γέννημα for living creatures is correct ( $\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha\tau$ ,  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\sigma\theta\alpha\tau$ ), for products of the field incorrect, since these are termed γένημα from γίνεσθαι Mt. 26. 29, Mc. 14. 25, L. 12. 18 etc. This rests on quite preponderant evidence, which is confirmed by the papyri.<sup>3</sup> On χύ(ν)υω, κτέννω see § 17. In Ἰωάνης the single ν is attested by the almost universal evidence of B, frequently also by that of D (nearly always in Luke and Acts); the word belongs to the series of Hellenised names (§ 10, 2), which treat the *an* of the Hebrew termination as a variable inflection, whereas the interpretation of Ἰωάνης as from Ἰωανν-ης (W.-Schm. § 5, 26 c) affords no explanation whatever for the -ης.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, "Αννα η̄<sup>τ</sup> is correct, and Ἰωάννα (Aram. יְהוֹנָן, cp. Σωνσάννα, *Mapiaμ*=*Mapiāμμη* of Josephus) is also explicable (L. 8. 3 with ν BD: 24. 10 with ν only DL); the masc. "Αννας (for η̄<sup>τ</sup> Hebr., "Ανανος Joseph.) might be influenced by the analogy of "Αννα.—Mutes: κράβ̄τος appears to be commended by Lat. *grābātūs*, and the duplication of the β (introduced by the corrector in B) is accordingly incorrect in any case; but for the ττ there is the greatest MS. authority (for which σ has κτ; the single τ in B<sup>1</sup> only at Mc. 2. 4). Cp. W.-Schm. § 5, note 52. 'Ιόπτη is the orthography of the N.T. (1 Macc.); elsewhere 'Ιόπη preponderates (W.-Schm. § 5, note 54).

11. **Doubling of the aspirate.**—The aspirate, consisting of Tenuis + Aspiration, in correct writing naturally doubles only the first element, κχ, τθ, πφ; but at all times, in incorrect writing, the two are doubled, χχ, θθ, φφ. So N.T. Ἀφφία for Ἀπφία (§ 6, 7) Philem. 2 D<sup>1</sup>; Σάφφιρα A. 5. 1 DE (but σάπφ(ε)ιρος Ap. 21. 19 in all MSS.); εφφαθα or -θα Mc. 7. 34 nearly all: especially widely extended is Μαθθαῖος (in the title to the Gospel σBD); Μαθθίας A. 1. 23, 26 B'D; Μαθθάν Mt. 1. 15 B(D); Μαθθαθ (-αθ, -ατ) L. 3. 29 σ<sup>1</sup>B<sup>1</sup>.

12. **Assimilation.**—Much diversity in writing is occasioned in Greek (as also in Latin) at all periods by the adoption or omission of the assimilation of consonants, which clash with each other by reason of their juxtaposition within a word. In the classical period the assimilation is often further extended to independent contiguous words, and many instances of this are still preserved in the oldest MSS. of the Alexandrian period; there are a few remnants of it in the MSS. with which we are commonly dealing, including those of the

<sup>1</sup> Φυγέλιος (Gentile noun?), C. I. Gr. ii. 3027 cited by W.-Schm. ibid. d.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. a; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 105 f.

<sup>3</sup> The inscription, C. I. Gr. 8613 (under a statue of Hippolytus) has Ἰωάνης; similarly Inscr. Gr. It. et Sic. 1106 (end of fourth century); otherwise -νν- has most support in (later) inscriptions.

N.T.: ἐμ μέσῳ Ap. 1. 13, 2. 1 etc. AC, H. 2. 12 AP, Mt. 18. 2, L. 18. 20 ΛΔ etc.; σὺν Μαριάμ L. 2. 5 AE al.; σὺν πᾶσιν 24. 21 EG al.; ἐγ γαστρὶ L. 21. 23 A. The later period, on the other hand, in accordance with its character in other matters (cp. §§ 5, 1; 28, 8), was rather inclined to isolate words and even the elements of words; hence in the later papyri the prepositions ἐν and σύν remain without assimilation even in composition, and so also in the old MSS. of the N.T., but this more often happens with σύν than with ἐν, see W. H. App. 149 f., W.-Schm. § 5, 25<sup>1</sup>. 'Εξ is everywhere assimilated to the extent that it loses the σ before consonants, both in composition and as a separately-written word; but the Attic and Alexandrian writers went further, and assimilated the guttural, so that ἐγ was written before mediae and liquids, ἐχ before θ and φ. But the MSS. of the N.T. are scarcely acquainted with more than ἐξ and ἐκ; for ἐκγονα 1 Tim. 5. 4 D<sup>1</sup> has ἐγγονα (i.e. eggona, not engona, Blass, Ausspr. 123<sup>2</sup>), ἀπεγδόσει B\* Col. 2. 11; ἀνέγλιπτος D L. 12. 33. We naturally carry out our rule consistently.

<sup>1</sup> παλινγενεσίᾳ Mt. 19. 28 §B<sup>1</sup>CDE etc., Tit. 3. 5 §ACDEFG.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. C. Könneke in Progr. von Stargard, 1885.

<sup>3</sup> Reproduction of the guttural by prefixing *א* is seen in *אָהָל*. Mt. 27. 46 (see above) L (Euseb.), *Ναθαναήλ τον Αλεξανδρεῖον*, LXX. *Αερώνων πάτερ*, *Αερώνων τάπερας*.

<sup>4</sup> Another reading Νινευή (male -εύη).

Tisch. on Mt. 4. 13), Κηφᾶς. But τ is also represented by τ, as in σάββατον τεψ; cp. Ἀστάρτη, likewise admitted into the language at an early date; τεψ becomes, in L. 4. 26, Σάρεπτα in ΣΑΒ<sup>1</sup>CD al., Σαρεφθα B<sup>2</sup>KLM; there is fluctuation also between Ναζαρεθ, -ρετ, -ρα(θ), where the corresponding Semitic form is uncertain. Γεννησαρεθ, -ρετ in Mt. 14. 34, Mc. 6. 53, L. 5. 1, is incorrect, D in Mt., Mc. correctly, Γεννησαρ; in Ἐλισαβέθ, -βέτ the τ corresponds to Semitic י, יְשִׁיבָתָן. On the other hand κ, τ are rendered by the tenues κ, τ,<sup>1</sup> while π is almost entirely absent from Semitic words. Sibilants: ס צ ש = σ, ι = ξ (with the value of French z), but ב ψ Mt. 1. 5 Boes ΣB, Boos C, Booς EKLM al.; א ז ב ψ ūσσωπος. On Ἀξωτος Ἄξωτος see § 6, 7.

14. In Latin words it must be noted that *qui* is rendered by κν: *aquilo* ἀκύλων (§ 28, 3); *Kvriνios* Quirinius sup. 6; likewise *qua* by κο: *quadrans* κοδράντης. U is ου: κουστωδία Mt. 27. 65, Ὁυφος; but also υ: κεντυρίων Mc. 15. 39.<sup>2</sup> On i = ε see § 6, 3.

#### § 4. DIVISION OF WORDS, ACCENTS, BREATHINGS, PUNCTUATION.

1. In the time of the composition of the N.T. and for long afterwards the division of words was not generally practised, although grammarians had much discussion on the subject of the position of accents and breathings, as to what might be regarded as ἐν μέρος τοῦ λόγου and what might not. It is absent from the old MSS., and moreover continues to be imperfect in the later MSS. down to the 15th century. Of course it is the case with Greek as with other languages—the controversy of the grammarians shows it—that the individuality of separate words was not in all cases quite strictly established: words that were originally separate were by degrees blended together in such a way that it is not always perceptible at what point in the development the separation came absolutely to an end. One indication of the fact that the blending has been completed is when the constituent parts can no longer be separated by another word: ὅταν δέ, not ὅτε δ' ἀν is the correct expression, whereas ὃς δ' ἀν is employed; in the N.T. we also have ὡσαύτως δέ Mc. 14. 31, L. 20. 31, R. 8. 26 (on the other hand Homer has ὃς δ' αὐτῶς, which is still met with in Herodotus and Attic writers)<sup>3</sup>; τδ δ' αὐτό, τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ are still retained in the N.T. On the same principle the following e.g. form one word: ὄστις (still separable in Attic), καίτερ, τοίνυν, μέντοι, οὐδέ, οὔτε, οὐδέποτε, οὔπω (the two last separable in Att.), μήτι and μήτιγε, ὥστι, ὥσπερ, ὥσπερει, in the N.T.

<sup>1</sup> Exception: σαβαχθανί (see above) ωρψεψ, in which case, however, there is a reverse change by assimilation to -κτανι.

<sup>2</sup> Dittenberger, Hermes vi. 296.

<sup>3</sup> Even as late as Philodem. φητορ. ii. 97, Sudhaus.

also indisputably οὐδεῖς, μηδεῖς, where οὐδὲ ἵνφ' ἔρος can no longer, as in Att., take the place of ἵνπ' οὐδερός etc. A second criterion is afforded by the new accent for the combined words: ἐπέκεινα (ὑπερέκεινα) from ἐπ' ἔκεινα, οὐδεῖς from οὐδὲ εἰς, ἐκπαλαι (ἐκτοτε) from ἐκ πάλαι (ἐκ τότε); a third by the new signification of the compound: παραχρῆμα is no longer identical with παρὰ χρῆμα, καθόλον is different from καθ' ὅλον, the origin of ἔξαρτῆς in ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ὥρας and of ιατρί in ἴατρή γένεται is obscured. All this, however, by no means affords a universally binding rule, not even the absence of the first indication of blending; for in that case one would have to write e.g. ὡς τις in Attic. So also in the N.T. τοιτέστι ‘that is’ is not proved to be erroneous by the occurrence of a single instance of τοῦτο δέ ἔστι (R. 1. 12), but it certainly does prove that it is not the necessary form. In most cases it looks strange for prepositions before adverbs to appear as separate words, because the independent notion of the preposition is lost: therefore we have ἐπάρω, ἵποκάτω, ἐπαύριον ‘to-morrow,’ ἀπέραντι, καθίπαξ, ὑπερλιαν, ὑπερ(εκ)περιστῶς<sup>1</sup>; still ἀπ' ἄπτι ‘from henceforth’ appears to be correct, also ἐφ' ἄπαξ ‘once for all,’ ‘at once,’ cf. ἐπὶ τρισ. On καθ' εἰς, κατὰ εἰς see § 51, 5; ὑπερεγώ (Lachm. 2 C. 11. 23) is clearly an impossibility, as the sense is, I (subject) am so more than they (predic.).

2. The system of symbols for reading purposes (accents, breathings, etc.), developed by the Alexandrian grammarians, was in the first instance only employed for the text of poetry written in dialect, and was not carried out in ordinary prose till the times of minuscule writing.<sup>2</sup> With regard to accents, we have to apply the traditional rules of the old grammarians to the N.T. as to other literature, except in so far as an accentuation is expressly stated to be Attic as opposed to the Hellenistic method, or where we notice in the later form of the language a prosody different from that of the earlier language, which necessitates a different accent. Peculiar to Attic is the accentuation διέτης etc., in N.T. accordingly διετής; also μῶρος for μωρός, ἄχρειος for ἀχρεῖος (whereas ἐρῆμος, ἐτοῖμος, ὄμοιος were the ancient forms, and foreign to the κοινή<sup>3</sup>), ιμάντος for ιμάντος with a different prosody, χιλιαδῶν for -άδων, imperat. ιδέ λαβέ for ιδε λάβε. On the other hand we are informed by Herodian that ιχθύς -ῦν, ὁσφύς -ῦν were the ordinary, not a peculiarly Attic accentuation. One characteristic of the later language is the shortening of the stem-vowel in words in -μα, as θέμα, πόμα (§ 27, 2), therefore κλίμα, κρίμα also are paroxytone,

<sup>1</sup> Also ὑπερεκπεριστῶν E. 3. 20, 1 Th. 3. 10 (5. 13, v.l. -σῶς) always presents a single idea, and is completely held together by ὑπερ. Cp. § 28, 2.

<sup>2</sup> It is true that Euthalius already used those symbols in his edition of the N.T. writings (W.-Schm. 6, 1, note 1), and they are also found in individual uncials dating from the 7th century (Gregory Tisch. iii. 99 f.); in B they originate from a corrector of the 10th or 11th century.

<sup>3</sup> According to Herodian's words (περὶ μονήρους λέξεως, 938 L.) one would have concluded that ἐρῆμος, ἐτοῖμος were peculiar to late Attic; however, modern Greek also has ἐρῆμος (romance lang. *ermo* etc., Dietz, Etymol. Wörterb. d. rom. Spr. I. sub verb.) έτοιμος, άμοιος, but ἀχρεῖος.

τετράχιον εἰρπετόν τετράχιον is not analogous to these *tēpē*, *χαρτίης*, and is even written *χαρπετής* in B (1 Jo. 2. 22, 27). Also τετράχιον for τετράχιον πίρπετο πίρπετο are attested as vulgar forms (Lübeck, Proleg. 107), but there is no reason to infer from these that φίργος is the N.T. form of φίρων. Herodian informs us that the shortening of α and ο before η was the general rule, hence we get Φίρητης, ρίρητης, ερητης, but we have no ground whatever for extending this rule to α and ο before φ, and B has θερψέτης, hence accent *θερψέτης*; similarly πίρπετο (perh. B) from πίρτης, whereas the prosody of κιντών is not established, and the accent of κινδύνη is therefore equally uncertain. Κρήτης, ερψέτης, τρίπητης, ιτρητης etc. (with α before φ in B and the Hellenistic mss.), therefore σεντρερψέτης Mc. 5. 4 (σεντρερψέτης B). In οντίσια, 'upon' the quantity of the ο is unattested, except obviously by B, which throughout has οντίσια, οντίσια, οντίσια; this proves that it is not οντίσια. In σεντρψέτης, σεντρψέτης, in which B has α in almost all cases (contrary to all analogy: the words occur in the old calendar), the accent does not enter into the question. Ιανόπλιτης, not -ιαν-, is the constant form in B, and is also made probable by the analogy of such words as τετράπλιον, παρτιάπλιον; οινόπλιτης (§ 27, 3) has also better attestation in the N.T. (SAB etc.) than -ιαν-. In Latin proper names the quantity of the vowel in Latin is the standard for determining the accent. This is definitely fixed for Marcus, Priscus, quartus; hence Μάρκος, Κρύπτος,<sup>1</sup> Κολάρπτος; but Ζερόπουλος or Ζερόπουρος. In spite of everything there remains considerable doubt in the accentuation, since the accents of the mss. are not altogether decisive; everything connected with the Hebrew proper names is completely uncertain, but there is also much uncertainty in the Greek and Grecoised names.

3. The same principle must be followed for determining the breathing, yet with somewhat greater deference to the mss., not so much to the actual symbols employed by them, as to the writing with aspirate or tenuis in the case of the elision of a vowel or in the case of αιχ, αιχ. It is established from other sources as well that the rough breathing in the Hellenistic language did not in all cases belong to the same words as in Attic; the mss. of the N.T. have a place among the witnesses, although to be sure some of these, such as D of the Gospels and Acts, are generally untrustworthy in the matter of tenuis or aspirate, and they are never agreed in the doubtful cases. Smooth for rough breathing is especially strongly attested in Jo. 8. 44 οὐκ ἐστικένει (SB<sup>1</sup>DLX al.), which might be a newly-formed perfect of ἐστην, and not an equivalent for ἐστικένει 'stands,' see § 23, 6. The rough breathing is abundantly vouched for in certain words that originally began with a digamma: Αἴτης, Θεῖτης (έφ' ἀπίδη) A 2. 26 ΣCD, R. 8. 20 ΣB<sup>1</sup>D<sup>1</sup>FG, 1 C. 9. 10 in the first occasion only FG, in the second only A. R. 4. 18 C<sup>1</sup>D<sup>1</sup>FG, 5. 2 D<sup>1</sup>FG, Tit. 1. 2 D<sup>1</sup> (ειν FG), 3. 7 καθ FG (κατα D), A. 26. 6 no attestation. ἀφελπίζοντες DP L. 6. 35 (ἀφελπικώς

<sup>1</sup> B has Κρειττος, also in some places the equally correct forms Πρετσκα, Πρειτσκα.

Herm. Vis. iii. 12. 2  $\aleph$ ); there is also one example of this from Attic Greek, another from Hellenistic, the Greek O.T. supplies several.<sup>1</sup> — $\iota\delta\epsilon\nu$ : ἀφίδω Ph. 2. 23  $\aleph$ AB<sup>1</sup>D<sup>1</sup>FG, ἔφιδε A. 4. 29 ADE, ἔφειδεν L. 1. 25 DW<sup>1</sup>Δ(X), οὐχ ἴδού A. 2. 7  $\aleph$ DE, οὐχ ἴδόντες 1 P. 1. 3 B<sup>1</sup> which also has οὐχ εἴδον G. 1. 19; many examples of ἀφ-, ἔφ-, καθ- in O.T.<sup>2</sup> The form  $\iota\delta\omega$  often attested in inscriptions<sup>3</sup> exists in καθ'  $\iota\delta\iota\alpha\nu$  Mt. 14. 23 D (ibid. 13 all have κατ'), 17. 19 B<sup>1</sup>D, 20. 17 B<sup>1</sup>, 24. 3  $\aleph$ B<sup>1</sup>, Mc. 4. 34 B<sup>1</sup>DΔ, 6. 31 B<sup>1</sup> (not 32); in B<sup>1</sup> again in 9. 28, 13. 3 (elsewhere B also κατ'). Ἐφιορκήσεις Mt. 5. 33 $\aleph$  (widely extended, Phryn. p. 308 Lob., from ἐπιόρκ.<sup>4</sup>); but ἔτος (κατ') ἔτος L. 2. 41, Hellenistic often ἔτος) does not appear in the N.T. with the rough breathing. Sporadic instances like οὐκ εῦρον, οὐκ ἐνεκεν, οὐχ ὄψεσθε (Gregory Tisch. iii. 90) must be regarded as clerical errors; ουχ ολιγος, however (where there is no former digamma in question), is not only a good variant reading in nearly all the passages in the N.T. (A. 12. 18  $\aleph$ A, 14. 28  $\aleph$ , 17. 4 B\*, 19. 23  $\aleph$ AD, 19. 24  $\aleph$ , 27. 20 A; elsewhere only 15. 2, 17. 12), but is found also in the LXX. and the papyri.<sup>5</sup>

4. A difficult, indeed insoluble, question is that concerning the use of rough or smooth breathing in Semitic words, especially proper names. The principle carried out by Westcott and Hort appears to be rational, namely, of representing  $\aleph$  and  $\gamma$  by the smooth breathing,  $\tau$  and  $\pi$  by the rough, a practice which gives us many strange results: 'Αβελ ( $\tau$ ), 'Αλφαῖος ( $\pi$ ), Εῦα ( $\pi$ ),  $\tau$ Αννα ( $\pi$ ), and  $\tau$ Αννιαῖας ( $\pi$ ), ἀλληλοια ( $\tau$ ), but  $\tau$ Εβραῖος ( $\gamma$ ). The ms. evidence, on the other hand, is deserving of little confidence in itself, and these witnesses are anything but agreed among themselves ('Ηραῖας - 'Ησ., 'Αβραάμ - 'Αβρ., 'Ηλίας - 'Ηλ. etc.).<sup>6</sup> Initial  $\tau$  must, when represented by  $\iota$ , receive the smooth breathing, except where Hellenisation connects the Hebrew with a Greek word with a rough breathing: 'Ιερουσάλυμα (but 'Ιερουσαλήμ, 'Ιεριχώ, in accordance with the rule).  $\tau$ Ηραῖας has dropped the  $\tau$  (so also Aram. נִינָּוָה).

5. Of the remaining symbols, the familiar signs for long and short in unfamiliar words might in many cases be employed with advantage, so  $\iota$  in Semitic words as an equivalent for the  $\epsilon$  of the MSS. (§ 3, 4). The marks of diaeresis, which from a very early time were made use of to indicate a vowel which began a syllable, especially  $\iota$  or  $v$ , are necessary or useful in cases where the  $\iota$  or  $v$  might be combined with a preceding vowel to form a diphthong: 'Αχαια, 'Αχαικός,  $\tau$ Εβραιοῖτι,  $\tau$ Πτολεμαῖς, Γάϊος (the last name was still

<sup>1</sup> Gregory, p. 91; W.-Schm. § 5, 10 a; A. Thumb, Spir. asper (Strassburg, 1889), p. 65, 71.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory, ibid., Thumb 71.

<sup>3</sup> Thumb, ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 72.

<sup>5</sup> Berl. Aeg. Urk. No. 72; W.-H. 143. Elsewhere however, as in No. 2, οὐκ δλ. and N.T. ἐπ' ὀλιγα D Mt. 25. 21, 23.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Gregory, 106 f. Jerome in his explanation of Biblical names avowedly brings אַחֲרֵי under one head, and never writes  $h$  for any of these letters.

a trisyllable in Latin when the literature was at its prime).<sup>1</sup> In Semitic names, moreover, it is often a question what is a diphthong and what is not; the use of the marks of diaeresis in ancient MSS. (as in D Χοροξαῖν, Βηθσαιδά) and the Latin translation can guide us here, thus Ἰεσσαὶ Jessae (-e), Ἐφραὶμ Ephraem (-em, also ΙL in Jo. 11. 54 -εμ),<sup>2</sup> but Καῖν, Ναῖν, Ἡσαῖας, Βηθσαιδά(ν), although in the case of Κανάν, in spite of the Latin *ai* and of Καῖν in D, according to the primary Semitic form (גַּיְנָה) *ai* appears to be more correct.<sup>3</sup>

On Και(α)φας *Caiphas* it is difficult to make any assertion;<sup>4</sup> on Μωϊσῆς see § 3, 8. The **hypodiastole** may be employed in ὅ, τι for distinction, though ὅ τι may likewise be written (but ὅστις).

6. As regards **punctuation**, it is certain that the writers of the N.T. were acquainted with it, inasmuch as other writers of that time made use of it, not only in MSS., but frequently also in letters and documents; but whether they practised it, no one knows, and certainly not how and where they employed it, since no authentic information has come down to us on the subject. The oldest witnesses (A and B) have some punctuation as early as the first hand;<sup>5</sup> in B the higher point on the line (*στιγμή*) is, as a rule, employed for the conclusion of an idea, the lower point (*ὑποστιγμή* viz. AYTON.) where the idea is still left in suspense. One very practical contrivance for reading purposes, which (although often imperfectly executed) meets us e.g. in D of the Gospels and Acts, and in D (Claromont.) of the letters of St. Paul, and which Euthalius about the middle of the 5th century employed in his editions of New Testament writings, is the writing in sense-lines (*στίχοι*), the line being broken off at every, even the smallest, section in the train of ideas, which required a pause in reading.<sup>6</sup> Later editors are compelled to give their own punctuation, and therewith often enough their own interpretation: this they do very decidedly when they put signs of interrogation (which in the MSS. are not earlier than the 9th century) in place of full stops. Economy in the use of punctuation is not to be commended: the most correct principle appears to be to punctuate wherever a pause is necessary for reading correctly.

<sup>1</sup> As proved by Fr. Allen, Harvard Studies in Class. Phil. ii. (Boston, 1891), 71 ff.

<sup>2</sup> ΡΡΨ L. 4. 27 is Ναιμαν (-as) in ΙΑΒCDKL, hence X Νεμαν, Latt. (some) *Neman*; but Νεεμαν EFM al. and other Latt.; the remaining Latt. *Naaman*.

<sup>3</sup> Καναν or -ναν without the marks of diaer. both B and Ι; B always Βηθσαιδά(ν), Ι partly (in three instances) -σαιδά(ν), partly -σαιδα(ν) (three instances also); Ησαιας B mostly (except R. 9. 22, 29, 10. 16, 20), Ι nine times Ησαιας, ten times Ησαιας; but Ναιν, Καιν ΙB constantly.

<sup>4</sup> For Καιαφας D and most Latt. have Καιφας (Καιφ., Κηφ.); Καιάφας is also found in Josephus. The Semitic spelling is נִמְר (not נִמְר = Κηφας).

<sup>5</sup> Gregory, 345, 348. Tischendorf, N.T. Vat. xix. ff.

<sup>6</sup> See Gregory, 113 ff.

## § 5. ELISION, CRASIS, VARIABLE FINAL CONSONANTS.

1. It is in keeping with the tendency to a greater isolating of individual words, which we have mentioned above (§ 3, 12) as characteristic of the language of the period, that only a very moderate use is made in the N.T. according to the MS. evidence which may here be relied on, of the combination of words by means of the ousting (elision) or blending (crasis) of the concluding vowel (or diphthong) of a word. This tendency was carried so far, that even in compound words the final vowel of the first component part was not elided (*τετρα-άρχης* in the N.T., in later Greek *δμο-ύντος*; § 28, 8).<sup>1</sup> In no case does elision take place in noun or verb forms; even in the verse of Menander, 1 C. 15. 33, there is no necessity whatever to write *χρήσθ' ὄμιλίαι* for *χρηστὰ ὄμ.* for the sake of the verse, since the writing with elision or in full (*plene*, the regular Latin usage) was always, even in verse, quite a matter for individual opinion with the ancients. The only case where a pronoun suffers elision is *τοῦτ' ἔστι* or *τουτέστι* (§ 4, 1); so that it is particles alone which are still coupled together with comparative frequency with other words, though here also the elision might be much more abundant than it is.<sup>2</sup> Αλλά, according to Gregory, out of 345 cases where a vowel follows, undergoes elision in 215 (in these statistics it must, however, be remembered that the standard MSS. are far from being always in agreement); before articles, pronouns, and particles it shows a greater tendency to combine than before nouns and verbs. Δέ: δ' ἀν frequently, otherwise combination hardly ever takes place (Ph. 2. 18 δὲ αὐτό *κΒΠ*, δ' αὐτό *ΑCDE al.*). Οὐδ' ἀν H. 8. 4, οὐδ' οὐ Mt. 24. 21, H. 13. 5, οὐδ' οὐτως 1 C. 14. 21, οὐδ' ὅτι R. 9. 7; in οὐδ' ἵνα H. 9. 25, C deviates from the rest with οὐδέ; the *scriptio plena* is more widely attested in οὐδ' ει A. 19. 2, οὐδ' ή H. 9. 18; elsewhere the final vowel remains. Τε, οὐτέ, μήτε, ἄμα, ἄρα, ἄρα etc. are not subject to elision. In prepositions, elision very seldom takes place where a proper name follows; even on inscriptions of an earlier time there was a preference for preserving the names independent and recognisable by writing the preposition in full. On the other hand, there was a tendency to elision in the case of current phrases, and where a pronoun followed: ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἀπ' ἄρτι, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐπ' αὐτῷ, κατ' ἐμέ, κατ' (καθ') ἰδίαν, κατ' οἴκου, μετ' ἐμοῦ, παρ' ἐν, ὑφ' ἡμῶν (ὑμῶν), ὑπ' οὐδενός (1 C. 2. 15). 'Αντί undergoes elision only in ἀνθ' ἄν; elision is most frequent with διά (because there were already two vowels adjacent to each other), thus δι' ὑπομονῆς R. 8. 25, δι' ἐσόπτρου 1 C. 13. 12; but with proper names διὰ 'Ιησοῦ R. 16. 27, διὰ 'Ησαῖου Mt. 8. 17 (before Ἀβραάμ H. 7. 9 διὰ and δι' are both attested).

2. The use of crasis is quite limited in the N.T. In the case of the article, which affords so many instances in Attic Greek, there

<sup>1</sup> See Gregory, 113 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory, 93 ff. Zimmer, Zeitschr. f. wiss. Th., 1881, 487 ff.; 1882, 340 ff.

occur only the following in the N.T.: *τοῦναντίον* 2 C. 2, 7, G. 2, 7, 1 P. 3, 9 (stereotyped as a single word, hence *τοῦν.* δέ); *τοῦνομα* ‘by name’ Mt. 27, 57 (D *τὸ ὄνομα*); *κατὰ ταῖτά (γάρ)* L. 6, 23, 26, 17, 30, but even in this phrase (which is equivalent to a single word) there is not wanting strong attestation for *τὰ αὐτά*.<sup>1</sup> With *καὶ* the crasis is constant in *κἀν* = ‘if it be but,’ fairly constant in *κἀν* = ‘even if’ (but *κἀν* for *καὶ εἴν* ‘and if’ is only sporadically found); in most places there is preponderating evidence for *κάγω*, *κάμοι*, *κάμε*, *κάκεινος*, *κάκει(θεν)*.<sup>2</sup> Thus *καὶ* is only blended with the following word, if it be a pronoun or a particle; there appears to be no thought of writing *κἄλεγεν* and the like.<sup>3</sup>

3. The variable *v* after *i* and *e* at the end of a word became more and more firmly established in Attic Greek in the course of time, as the inscriptions show, and so passed over into the Hellenistic language as the favourite termination, though modern Greek shows us that it subsequently disappeared again. In the standard MSS. of the N.T. it is but seldom wanting, whether a consonant or a vowel follow it, or the word stands at the end of a sentence; the rule that the *v* should always be inserted before a vowel and always omitted before a consonant is indeed not without a certain *ratio*, and receives a certain amount of early support from the usage of the papyri, but as far as we know the rule was only formulated in the Byzantine era, and the instances where it is broken are quite innumerable.<sup>4</sup> The *v* is wanting<sup>5</sup> occasionally after *-ε* (L. 1, 3 *ἔδοξεν* ABCD etc., *-εν* AEKSL), and in *ἐστίν*, somewhat more often after the *-σι* of the plural (*χαλῶσι* most MSS. Mc. 2, 4, *ἔχουσι* L. 16, 29, *τιμῶσι* twice Jo. 5, 23), most frequently, comparatively speaking, after the *-σι* dat. plur.; *πέρυσι* 2 C. 8, 10, 9, 2 (D\*FG *πέρσιν*, D<sup>b</sup> *πέρισν* as elsewhere in MSS.),<sup>6</sup> and *εἴκοσι* (12 exx. in N.T.)<sup>7</sup> remain free from it.

4. The *σ* of *οὔτως* is also established, for the most part, in the N.T. before consonants as well as before vowels; *οὔτω* is only strongly attested in A. 23, 11 (NAB before *σε*), Ph. 3, 17 (NABD\*FG

<sup>1</sup> In Acts 15, 27 there is for *τὰ αὐτά* a v.l. in D *ταῦτα* (as *τοῦτο* is sometimes read for *τὸ αὐτό*). 1 Th. 2, 14 A *ταῦτα* (with coronis). Ph. 3, 1 N\*FGP *ταῦτα*. 1 P. 5, 9 all MSS. *τὰ αὐτά*. With conjunction, *τὰ γὰρ αὐτά*, *τὸ δὲ αὐτό*.

<sup>2</sup> The statistics are given in Gregory, 96 f.; Zimmer, l.c., 1881, 482. *Kαὶ εἴν* all MSS. in Mt. 5, 47, 10, 13 etc.; *κἀν* ‘and if’ ‘Mc.’ 16, 18, L. 13, 9 (D *καὶ εἴν*), 6, 34 D, Ja. 5, 15; more often ‘even if,’ as Mt. 26, 35, Jo. 8, 14 (but in 16 only N has *κἀν*).

<sup>3</sup> Nor yet of *ἀδελφοί*, *ἀπεσταλμένοι*, which Holwerda conjectures in A. 28, 15, Jo. 1, 24, whereas his proposals in A. 22, 5 *κἀν* (for *καὶ*) ... *ἐμαρτύρει* (B), Mt. 12, 21 *κἀν* (for *καὶ*, = *καὶ εἴν*), L. 18, 7 *κἀν μακροθυμῆ* (for *καὶ μ.-εΐ*) are more probable. But D\* has *κάπεθύμει* in L. 15, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Kühner-Blass, i. 3, i. 292.

<sup>5</sup> W. H. 146 ff.; Gregory, 97 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Hermas, Vis. iii. 10, 3 *περσινῆ N, περισυνῆ as, = περυσινῆ*, but ii. 1, 1 *πέρυσι* twice (once *περσι N\**).

<sup>7</sup> *Εἴκοσι* is generally without *v* on Attic inscriptions of the classical period, Hedde Maassen de litt. NT paragogica (Leipsic, 1881), p. 34, also in the MSS. of authors like Strabo, Dionys. Halic., Athen. (even before a vowel), Lobeck, Pathol. ii. 156.

before *περιπατ.*), H. 12. 21 (ν\*Α before *φοβερόν*), Ap. 16. 18 (νAB before *μέγας*). *Ἄχρι* and *μέχρι* generally stand, as in Attic, even before a vowel without σ, according to the majority of the MSS., but *μέχρις* αἴματος H. 12. 4 (-ρι D\*), and more frequently *μέχρις* (*ἄχρις*) οὐδ Mc. 13. 30 (ν-ρι, D ἔως), G. 3. 19, 4. 19, H. 3. 13 (*ἄχρι* M), while in 1 C. 11. 26, 15. 25 etc., the witnesses are divided. *Ἀντικρὺς Χίον* A. 20. 15 ‘over against’ (a late usage), Att. (*κατ*)*αντικρύ* (*ἀντικρυς* in Attic = ‘downright’).<sup>1</sup>

### § 6. SPORADIC SOUND-CHANGES.

1. General sound-changes in the language of the N.T. as opposed to Attic Greek do not openly present themselves, or at least are no longer apparent, being concealed by the older orthography, which either remained unaltered or was restored by the scribes (cp. § 3, 1). Of sporadic alterations which influenced the spelling as well as the pronunciation of words, the following are noteworthy:—

**A - E** (αν - εν). For *αρ* we have *ερ* in *τεσσεράκοντα* (Ionic, mod. Gk., also papyri) in all cases according to the earliest evidence; also *τέσσερα* Jo. 19. 23 νALM, Ap. 4. 6, A. 4. 9 νA etc.; but *τέσσαρες*, -άρων, -αρσι: *τέσσερας* never, but in place of it -αρες = accusative (see § 8, 2), so that we must give the regular inflection *τέσσαρες*, -αρα etc., to the N.T. writers (= Ionic and mod. Gk. -ερες, -ερα etc.).<sup>2</sup> *Καθαρίζειν* also frequently has *ερ* in the MSS. (*καθαρός* never; cp. also *μυστερός* Clem. ad Cor. i. 14. 1, 30. 1 A): Mt. 8. 3 ἐκαθερίσθη B\*EL al. (ibid. *καθαρίσθητι*, 2 *καθαρίσαι* all MSS.), Mc. 1. 42 ἐκαθερίσθη AB\*CG al. (41 *καθαρίσθητι*, 40 *καθαρίσαι*, 44 *καθαρισμοῦ* all MSS.); elsewhere more often with -ερ, especially in A;<sup>3</sup> no possible paradigm results from this, -αρ must be written throughout. Cp. further *Πάτερα* for -αρα AC A. 21. 1.—Variation between *ια* - *ιε* (να - νε): *φιάλη*, *νάλος*, as in Attic (Ionic and Hellenistic *φιέλη*, *νέλος* Phryn. Lob. 309), *χλιερός* Ap. 3. 16 only in ν; vice versa, *άμφιάξει* B in L. 12. 28 for -έξει, -έννυσιν see § 17. The vulgar term *πιάξω* ‘seize’ (§ 24, ληστο-πιαστής Papyr. Berl. Aeg. Mus. 325, 2), is derived from the Doric *πιάξω* = *πιέξω* ‘press,’ but has become differentiated from it (*πεπιέσμένος* ‘pressed down’ L. 6. 38).—*α* and *εν* at the close of a word: *ἐνεκεν* (εῖν.) is Ionic and Hellenistic; the Attic *ἐνεκα* (§ 40, 6) cannot be tolerated except in A. 26. 21, where all the witnesses have it (speech of Paul before Agrippa, cp. § 1, 4; on the other hand in 19. 32 -κα is only in νAB).<sup>4</sup> The Ionic and Hellenistic *ἔτεν* for *ἔττα* is only found in Mc. 4. 28 νB\*L; *ἔπειτεν* nowhere (according to Phrynicus 124, Lob., both words are *ἔσχάτως βάρβαρα*). For *ἀγγαρένω* (a word borrowed from Persian: so spelt in mod. Gk.).

<sup>1</sup> Apoc. Petr. 21, 26 (*κατ*)*αντικρύς ἑκείνουν*, *αύτῶν*, 29 *καταντικρύ τούτων*.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory, 80. Buresch, Rh. Mus. xlvi. 217 f.

<sup>3</sup> Gregory, 82. Buresch, 219.

<sup>4</sup> *Ἐνεκα* Hermas, Vis. iii. 1. 9 ν, but 2. 1 *εἰνεκεν* ν, *ἐνεκα* as, 5. 2 *ἐνεκεν* ν, *ἐνεκα* as.

έγγαρ. Mt. 5. 41 η, Mc. 15. 21 η\*B\*. For Δαλματίαν 2 Tim. 4. 10, Α Δερμ., C Δελμ.; in Latin also we have *Delm.* side by side with *Dalm.*<sup>1</sup> αγ̄ for εγ̄: ἐραννᾶν for ἐρευνᾶν Jo. 5. 39 ηB\*, 7. 52 ηB\*T etc. (ηB\* in general, AC occasionally), an Alexandrianism according to Buresch, Rh. Mus. xlvi. 213 (LXX. ηA generally, not BC).<sup>2</sup>

2. A - O, E - O. Πατρολῶας, μητρολῶας (§ 3, 3) were written instead of -αλοίας, from ἀλο(ι)ᾶν 1 Tim. 1. 9 according to ΗΑΔΦΓΛ, on the analogy of πατρο-κτόνος etc., when the formation of the words had been forgotten. Inversely, βατταλογεῖν Mt. 6. 7 ηB was written for βαττολ., cp. βατταρίζω (elsewhere in late writers only the form with o is found); μεσανύκτιον Mc. 13. 35 only B\*, L. 11. 5 only D\*, in A. 16. 25 and 20. 7 all MSS. μεσον-; cp. μεσαστύλιον Lob. Phryn. 195. Κολοσσαὶ C. 1. 2 is read by nearly all MSS., but the title is πρὸς Κολασσαῖς in AB\*K(η). Of course the text and the title, which certainly did not originate with the author, should be brought into agreement; in favour of o we have the coins and nearly all the evidence of profane writers (-a- is a v.l. in Xenophon, Anab. i. 2. 6).—E - O: ἔξολοθρεύειν A. 3. 23 ηB\*EP al. (-ε- AB\*CD), δλοθρεύειν H. 11. 28 (-ε- only ADE), δλοθρευτής 1 C. 10. 10 (-ε- D\*[FG]). Thus the evidence is overwhelming for the second o, which has arisen from assimilation with the first o (as in ὁβολός for ὁβελός), this is also the popular spelling (mod. Gk. ξολοθρεύω); side by side with it δλεθρος remains constant in N.T. Buresch<sup>3</sup> is in favour of ε in the N.T. and the LXX.; in the latter, where the word is extraordinarily frequent, we should write with ε according to ΗΑ\*B\*(B-ο-).—In Ἀπελλῆς A. 18. 24, 19. 1 η\* for Ἀπολλῶς ('Ἀπολλώνιος D) it must be remembered that the names are originally identical: Ἀπέλλων being Doric for Ἀπόλλων. It appears in fact that in the Acts we should read Ἀπελλῆς (in the α text), whereas Ἀπολλῶς is an interpolation from 1 C. 1. 12 etc.; the scholia also (Cramer, Caten., p. 309) seem to assume a difference with regard to the name between Acts and 1 Corinthians.

3. E - I, I - Y. The Latin i in the majority of cases where the vowel was no pure i, but inclining to ē, was represented by the older Greek writers not by i but by ε: Τέβερις,<sup>4</sup> Τεβέριος, Δομέτιος, Καπετάλιον and others (but Τίτος always with i), see Dittenberger, Herm. vi. 130 ff. In the N.T. Τιβερίον L. 3. i is the traditional spelling, but λέντιον linteum Jo. 13. 4 f.,<sup>5</sup> λεγεών legio the majority of uncials in Mt. 26. 53 (-ι- η\*B\*DL), Mc. 5. 9 (-ι- η\*B\*CDLΔ), 15 (-ι- η\*B\*BLΔ, hiat D), L. 8. 30 (-ι- η\*B\*D\*L). In the N.T. the best authority thus supports -ιών; both forms occur in inscriptions.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Vit. Onomasticon tot. lat. s.v.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory, 81. W. Schmid, Gtg. Gel. Anz., 1895, 40.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 216 f., cp. also H. Anz. Subsidia ad cognosc. Graecorum serm. vulg. e Pentat. vers. repetita (Diss. phil. Hal. xii.), p. 363. Ολοθρεύονται stands side by side with δλεθρος also in Clem. Hom. xi. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Hermas, however, has Τιβερίν Vis. i. 1. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ditt. 144 (Hesych.; λεντιάριος, inscr.).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 142 (λεγιών also in Plut. Rom. 13, Otho 12).

The opposite change is seen in Ποτίολοι Puteoli (A. 28. 13), the ordinary Greek spelling<sup>1</sup> (similar is the termination of λέντιον; the form λέντεον would have looked unnatural to a Greek). In the Greek word ἀλιέύς it appears that if the termination contains *i* (-ιεῖ, -εῖς), the preceding *i* becomes *e* from dissimilation: ἀλεῖς Mt. 4. 18 f. §\*B\*C, Mc. 1. 16 AB\*L<sup>corr.</sup>, 17 §AB\*CLΔ, L. 5. 2 §\*ACLQ.—I - Y: Μυτιλήνη is the older spelling, Μυτιλ. A. 20. 14 that of the later writers; for Τρωγίλιον or -ia (Strab., Stephan. Byzant., Plin.) the MSS. in A. 20. 15 have -νλία, -νλ(λ)ιον (-νλιον, -ος MSS. of Ptolem. v. 2. 8).

4. **Interchange of short and long vowel (or diphthong).**—Α - Ω. ἀνάγαιον, ἀνώγαιον (cp. on αι - ε, § 3, 7): the spelling with *a* has overwhelming authority in Mc. 14. 15, L. 22. 12 (from ἀνδ-γῆ; ἀνώγαιον with v.l. ἀνόκαιον in Xenoph. Anab. v. 4. 29).—ΕΙ before a vowel easily loses its *i* from early times, especially in derivatives ("Ἀρειος πάγος, but Ἀρεοπαγίτης as in N.T.); hence may be explained ηγρεώθησαν R. 3. 12 O.T. (§AB\*D\*G, in LXX. §A<sup>2</sup>), whereas ἀχρέος does not vary. But there are instances in the simple word as well: τέλεος often in Attic, τέλειος N.T.; πλέον also in N.T. occasionally, L. 3. 13 (-εῖον C), A. 15. 28 (D -εῖον), elsewhere πλεῖον, and always πλεῖων, πλείονος etc. (Attic also has πλέονος); in the derivatives always πλεονεξία, -εκτεῦν.—N.T. always ἔσω (Homer and tragedians have εἴσω and ἔσω); on the other hand, εἴνεκεν with lengthened vowel (Ionic; εἴνεκα is found in Attic Gk. as well, even in prose) is an alternative for ἔνεκεν in L. 4. 18, O.T. (also LXX. Is. 61. 1; supra p. 20, note 4), A. 28. 20 §\*A, 2 C. 3. 10 (most MSS.).—Ο - Ω: πρώιμος (from πρωΐ) and πρόϊμος Ja. 5. 7 (ο §AB\*P) are comparable with πλώιμος (Att.) and πλόϊμος (late writers). For χρεοφειλέτης L. 7. 41, 16. 5 we should not write χρεωφ. (which has less authority);<sup>2</sup> nor should we replace the correct Στωικός A. 17. 18 by Στοικός of §AD al.—[Y - ΟΥ: κολλύριον Ap. 3. 18 §BC, -ούριον AP does not belong here, on account of the long *v*; the latter form, which is found elsewhere, is certainly of Latin origin.] A peculiar word is ὄμείρομαι or ὄμη, which is equivalent to ιμείρομαι (ἐπιθυμῶ) in sense, 1 Th. 2. 8 (in O.T. sporadically),<sup>3</sup> but cannot easily be connected with ἴμείρ. (from ἴμερος); but μείρομαι appears to exist in this sense (Nicand. Theriac. 403), cp. (δέ)δύρομαι, (δέ)κέλλω, and the like, Kühner, I<sup>3</sup>, i. 186.

5. **Contraction and loss of vowel.**—In contraction the Hellenistic language, as appears from its inflections, does not go quite so far as the Attic. Still νεομηνία for Att. νονμηνία in Col. 2. 16 is only attested by BFG (LXX. occasionally): while ἀγαθοεργέν (1 Tim. 6. 18; ἀγαθοεργῶν A. 14. 17, v.l. ἀγαθοποιῶν) arises from the endeavour to keep the two halves of the compound word recognisable, § 28, 8

<sup>1</sup> Ditt. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Herodian, ii. 606 L., has *ω* and *ο*; the word is certainly not Attic (the oldest form is χρήστης, then χρεώστης); χρεω-φυλάκιον and the like come from Attic χρέως = χρέος. See further Lobeck, Phryn. 691; W.-Schm. § 16, 5, n. 28.

<sup>3</sup> See W.-H. 152 a, W.-Schm. § 16, 6.

(always *κακοῦργος*, *ἱερουργῶν* etc.).<sup>1</sup> An entirely new kind of contraction is that of *ιει*-*ii* into *i*: *ταμεῖον* from *ταμιεῖον*, *πεῖν* (pin) from *πιεῖν*, see § 24, ἐπίκεια B\* Acts 24. 4<sup>2</sup> (so also ὑγεῖα for ὑγίεια, no instances in N.T.). In *νεοστός*, *νεοστία*, *νεοστίον* contraction never took place, but the *ε* dropped out in (Ionic and) Hellenistic Gk.: so in N.T. *νοστός* L. 2. 24 nBE al., *νοστία* with v.l. *νοστία* 13. 34, Mt. 23. 37 (condemned by Phryn. 206, Lob.). In ἐλεινός (Att.) for ἐλεεινός it must be remembered that the spelling *ελεινός* (Ap. 3. 17 AP, 1 C. 15. 19 FG) may also represent *ελείνος*, and moreover, contraction in the N.T. is improbable. The reflexives in Hellenistic Gk. are *σεαυτοῦ*, *ἴαντοῦ* (but *ἐμαντοῦ*), § 13, 1; the conjunction ‘if’ is *ἴαν*, § 26, 4, a form which is also very largely introduced to express the potential particle (*ibid.*)

6. **Prothetic vowels.**—The only points to note under this head are that *θέλω* always stands for ἔθέλω; on the other hand *κείνος* never stands for ἐκείνος: similarly *χθές* is not found, but only ἐχθές (also the prevalent Attic form) Jo. 4. 52 nAB\*CD al., A. 7. 28 nB\*CD, H. 13. 8 nAC\*D\*M. On *ομείρομαι* vide supra 4.

7. **Interchange of consonants.**—The main point under this head is that the Hellenistic language did not adopt the Attic substitution of *ττ* for *σσ* or of *ρρ* for *ρσ*, though isolated instances of this were continually intruding into it from the literary language, especially as Atticising writers naturally imitated this peculiarity as well as others. In the N.T. for *σσ* we have: *θάλασσα*, *πράσσω*, *ταράσσω*, *ἐκπλήσσομαι* (-*ττ* A. 13. 12 B) *περισσός*; also *κρείσσων* Pauline epp. on preponderant evidence (1 C. 7. 38, 11. 17, Ph. 1. 23, only 1 C. 7. 9 -*ττ-* nBDE), but *κρείττων* Hebrews (*ττ* 1. 4, 7. 7, 19, 22, 8. 6 [twice], 9. 23, 11. 16, 35, 40, 12. 24, there is diversity only in 6. 9, where *ττ* is read by D\*K, and 10. 34 *σσ* nA) and Petrine epp. (1 P. 3. 17; doubtful 2 P. 2. 21). To this corresponds *ἡσσών*, *ἡσσοῦσθαι* in St. Paul (1 C. 11. 17, 2 C. 12. 13, 15), but the literary words *ἡττᾶσθαι*, *ἡττημα* are read with *ττ* even in his letters, 2 P. 2. 19 f., R. 11. 12, 1 C. 6. 7; *ἐλάσσων* Jo. 2. 10, R. 9. 12 O.T.; *ἐλάττων* H. 7. 7, 1 Tim. 5. 9 (all MSS.; cp. § 2, 4); literary words, *ἐλαττονεῖν* 2 C. 8. 15 O.T.; *ἐλαττοῦν* H. 2. 7 (9) O.T., Jo. 3. 30. (*ττ* is also occasionally found in Hermas: Vis. iii. 7. 6 *ἐλαττον*; Sim. ix. 27. 4 *ἐλάττον*; 9. 6 *ἐλάττωμα*). Similarly *σήμερον* always takes the place of Att. *τίμερον*.—With regard to Att. *ρρ* for *ρσ* the usage is more evenly divided. “*Ἄρσην* Gospels, Ap. 12. 5 (but *ἄρ(ρ)εν* nB, clearly a correction for *ἄρσεν*), R. 1. 27 [twice] (*ρρ* n\*[C]), G. 3. 28 (*ρρ* n), 1 C. 6. 9, 1 Tim. 1. 10; but along with *θάρσος*, *θάρσει*, *θάρσείτε*, which are constant, we find (in Paul. epp. and Hebr.), *θαρρεῖν* 2 C. 5. 6, 8, 7. 16, 10. 15, H. 13. 6 (also mod. Gk. *θαρρῶ*; but Apoc. Petr. 5 *θαρσήσαντες παραθαρσύνειν*); for

<sup>1</sup> Also in R. 13. 3 for *τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἔργῳ* there is a conjectural reading *τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἐργῷ*, but the antithetical clause *ἀλλὰ τῷ κακῷ* will not suit this.

<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere always *ἐπιεικῆς*, *-ιείκεια*. In *ἐσθίω*, *ἐσθίεις* the analogy of the other parts of the verb prevented the fusion from taking place; on *ἀφεῖς* from *ἀφίημι* see § 23, 7.

the vulgar μακράν, μακρόθεν Lc. and Hebr. give πόρρω(θεν) L. 14. 32, 17. 12, 24. 28, H. 11. 13 (Mt. 15. 8, Mc. 7. 6 O.T.; μακράν καὶ πόρρω Barn. 20. 2).—Apart from these, there is hardly anything worthy of note. Fluctuation in the aspiration of consonants: στ – σφ (also fluctuate in Attic) in σπυρίς, σφυρίς Mt. 15. 37 (σφ- D), 16. 10 (σφ- BD), Mc. 8. 8 (σφ- ΙΑ\*Δ), 8. 20 (σφ- D), A. 9. 25 (σφ- ΙC, hiat D); σφόγγος D Mc. 15. 36 (not Mt. 27. 48; σφ- is also Attic); στ – σθ: μαστός Ap. 1. 13 BCP, σθός Ι, μαζός A (ζ orig.=σδ, so still in N.T.) Αξωτος A. 8. 40 ΤΙΤΩΝ, so L. 11. 27 μαστοί most MSS., -σθοί DFG 23. 29 (D\*), but C μαζοί (usage also fluctuates in Attic writers, Kühner I<sup>3</sup>, i. 157). Φόβητρα is read L. 21. 11 BD for φόβητρα; this suffix takes the form sometimes of -θρον, sometimes of -τρον, Kühner, ibid. ii. 271. 27. The π in Ἀπφία (Αφφία, see § 3, 11), Philem. 2, is aspirated, as in inscriptions of the regions (Phrygia, Caria) to which Appia belonged, where the name is frequent; but it is very doubtful whether this is the Roman name *Appia*. The Attic πανδοκεῖον, πανδοκεύς (Lob. Phryn. 307) occurs in L. 10. 34 f. in Ι\* or Ι\*D\*. In οὐθείς, μηθείς the δ of οὐδ(ὲ), μηδ(ὲ) has united, contrary to rule, with the aspirate of εῖς to form θ (elsewhere θ=τ+aspirate); these forms occur from the latter part of the Attic period onwards, in writers (Aristot.), on inscriptions, and on papyri, and so, too, in the N.T. (and LXX.) occasionally: μηθέν A. 27. 33 ΙΑΒ; οὐθενός L. 22. 35 ABQT al., 2 C. 11. 8 ΙΒΜΡ; οὐθέν L. 23. 14 ΙΒΤ, A. 15. 9 BHLP, 19. 27 ΙΑΒΗΡ, 26. 26 ΙΒ, 1 C. 13. 2 ΙΑΒCD\*Λ (thus this spelling is by no means universal). Still ἔξουθενίν is the prevalent form (as also in LXX.; only in Mc. 9. 12 BD have -δενηθῆ). W. Schm. § 5, 27, n. 62 (Herm. Mand. iv. 2. 1 οὐθέν Ι\* Sim. ix. 4. 6; Clem. Cor. i. 33. 1, 45. 7 μηθαμῶς, i.e. μηδὲ ἀμῶς).

8. **Insertion and omission of consonants.**—Λαμβάνω in Hellenistic Gk. retains in all forms and derivatives with the stem ληβ the μ of the present tense: ἐλήμφθην, λημψις, προσωπολήμπτης etc., § 24, W.-Schm. § 5, 30. The addition of μ in ἐμπί(μ)πλημ, ἐμπί(μ)προμ is as variable in Attic as in Hellenistic Gk. (W.-Schm. ibid.); N.T. ἐμπιπλῶν A. 14. 17 (with μ DEP), ἐμπιπρᾶσθαι 28. 6 Ι\* for πιμπρᾶσθαι (πιπρ. A; elsewhere uncertainty about the μ only exists in the case of these compounds with ἐμ-).—Insertion of cons. for euphony (ἀν-δρός, μεσημ-β-ρία) takes place in many Semitic names (Ἐσ-δ-ρας, Μαμ-β-ρῆ), in the N.T. Σαμψών, i.e. Σαμ-π-σών, H. 11. 32 (Ιστραήλ D L. 2. 32, etc.).—σφυδρόν for σφυρόν A. 3. 7 Ι\*AB\*C\* is unexplained. μογγιλάλος Mc. 7. 32 has no authority (μογιλάλος = ὁ μόγις λαλῶν, and so with one γ in ΙΑΒ\*DGK al.: also LXX. Is. 35. 6: B<sup>corr.</sup> is the first to write γγ). The excision of a consonant (accompanied by lengthening of a vowel) appears in γίνομαι, γίνώσκω (Ionic and Hellenistic); also noticeable is ἄρκος = ἄρκτος Ap. 13. 2 (all uncials), found also in the LXX. and elsewhere in the late language (W.-Schm. § 5, 31).

## § 7. FIRST AND SECOND DECLENSIONS.

1. Words in *-ρᾶ* and those in *-νῖα*, i.e. *-ῦα* (§ 3, 8) follow the pattern of those in *-στα*, *-λλα* etc., i.e. they take in G.D. *ης*, *γ* instead of Att. *ᾶς*, *ᾳ*. (On the other hand those in *-ρᾶ* [*ἡμέρᾶ*], and in true *-ια* [*ἀλήθεια*, *μία*] retain *α* throughout the sing.) *Σπεῖρα*, *-ης* (A. 10. 1 etc.), *μαχαῖρη* (A. 12. 2), *πλημύρης* (L. 6. 48), *πράρης* (A. 27. 30), *Σάπφαιρα*, *-ῃ* (5. 1), *συνειδῆια*, *-ης* (5. 2). Similarly the LXX. and the papyri.<sup>1</sup> Exception: *στείρα* (adj.), *στείρᾳ* L. 1. 36 all MSS.

2. The inflection *ᾶ*, G. *ᾶς*, etc. in proper names is not confined to words where a definite sound (*ε*, *ι*, *ρ*) precedes, any more than it is in Attic. *Μάρθα*, *-ᾶς* Jo. 11. 1; *Λινδᾶ*, *-ᾶς* (?) A. 9. 38 (cp. § 10, 5). To this corresponds the inflection of masc. names, N. *ᾶς*, G. *ᾶ* (as in Doric etc.), D. *ᾳ*, A. *ᾶν*, V. *ᾶ*: *Ιούδας*, *-α* (Mc. 6. 3); *Ἀγρίππας*, *-ᾶ* (A. 25. 23). Cp. § 10, 1. (On the other hand, *-ίας*, *-ίον*: so *Ζαχαρίας*, *-ου* L. 1. 40, 3. 2, beside *Ἄννα* and *Καιάφα*; *Ἡλίον*, 1. 17 [-*α* ~~ἢ~~ B], 4. 25, like Att. *Καλλίας*, *-ου*.)

3. **Peculiarities.**—Θεά A. 19. 27 occurs in the formula *ἥ μεγάλη θεὰ Ἀρτεμις* (as in inscriptions); but ibid. 37 *ἥ θεός*, which is the usual Att. form.—Θεός, voc. θεέ, Mt. 27. 46 is unclassical, occasionally in LXX.; cp. Synt. § 33, 4.

4. **Contracted words** in Decl. I. and II.—Βορρᾶς, G. *ᾶ*, L. 13. 29, Ap. 21. 13 (Att. and later writers have *βορέας* and *βορρᾶς*). The use of contracted words of Decl. II. is very limited: *νοῦς* and *πλοῦς* are transferred to Decl. III. (§ 9, 3); *χειμάρρου* Jo. 18. 1 is no doubt from *-ρρος*; *δστοῦν* Jo. 19. 36 O.T., but uncontracted *δστέα* L. 24. 39 (D. *δστᾶ*); *-έων* Mt. 23. 27, Eph. 5. 30 T.R., H. 11. 22,<sup>2</sup> like *χρυσέων* Ap. 2. 1 AC, *-έονς* 4. 4 ~~ἢ~~, *-έας* 5. 8 ~~ἢ~~ (cp. Clem. Hom. x. 8 *χρυσέονς*, *ἀργυρέονς*, *χρύσεα*, *ἀργύρεα*, *χάλκεα*; xvii. 3 *χάλκεα*, *χρύσεα*); but this uncontracted form is in no passage read by all MSS., and alternates with much more numerous examples of contraction in this adj. (and in the adjectives *ἀπλοῦς*, *διπλοῦς*) in Ap. and elsewhere. Cp. W. Schmidt de Joseph. eloc. 491 f. *Χρυσᾶν* Ap. 1. 13 ~~ἢ~~\*AC is a gross blunder, wrongly formed on the model of *χρυσᾶς* 1. 12 (?).

5. The so-called Attic second declension is wanting, with the exception of the formula *ἱλεώς σοι* (v.l. *ἱλεος*) Mt. 16. 22; cp. *ἱλεως* v.l. *-εος* H. 8. 12 (Hermas, Sim. ix. 23. 4; *ἱλεων* [-*εως* A] Clem. Cor. i. 2. 3). *Ἀνώγεων* Mc. 14. 15 (-άγαιον, *-άγαιον* are the best attested readings), L. 22. 12 (-άγαιον, *-άγαιον*, *-αγεον*, *-ωγεον*) is an incorrect form; *ἥ ἔως* is non-existent, *αὐγή* taking its place; *λαός*, *ναός* stand for *λεώς*, *νεώς*; *ἥ ἄλων*, *-ωνος* for *ἥ ἄλως*. *Ἡ Κῶ* A. 21. 1, acc. *Κῶ* for *Κῶν* (like late Attic), is declined in this case after the manner of *αιδῶς* Decl. III.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *ἀρούρης* Berlin Pap. 328, ii. 32; 349, 8. *Ιδίιης* 327, 15. *Εἰδίιεις* (§ 3, 8) 405, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Οστοῦν *Ἀττικοί*, δστέον *Ἐλληνες* says Moeris; but many examples of the uncontracted form survive in Attic as well. Cp. W.-Schmidt, op. cit. 491.

**6. Gender in Decl. II.**—‘Ο and ἡ ἀλάβαστρος are recorded in Mc. 14. 3 (Att. ὁ ἀλάβαστρος Aristoph.). ‘Ο ἄψινθος for ἡ Ap. 8. 11 (?) (so omits ὁ). ‘Ο βάρος in Mc. 12. 26 has overwhelming authority; ἡ is read in L. 20. 37, A. 7. 35 (Hellenistic, according to Moeris). ‘Η ληνός Ap. 14. 19 f. as commonly, but, according to ABCP, τὴν ληνὸν ... τὸν μέγαν (cp. LXX., Gen. 30. 38). ‘Ο λίθος in all cases, even of the specially precious species of stones (where Attic has ἡ). ‘Η λιμός (as in old dialects, LXX.), L. 15. 14, A. 11. 28 (ὁ L. 4. 25). ‘Η στάμνος H. 9. 4 (Attic: ὁ Doric and LXX.). ‘Ο ὕαλος for ἡ Ap. 21. 18 (cp. λίθος; ὁ ὕαλος Theophrast. de lapid. 49).

### § 8. THIRD DECLENSION.

**1. Accusative singular in *a* and *v*.**—The late-Greek forms in -*av* for *a* (inscriptions, papyri: found quite early in dialects), on the analogy of Decl. I. are frequently found in MSS., Mt. 2. 10 ἀστέραν ή\*C, Jo. 20. 25 χεῖραν ΑΒ, A. 14. 12 Δίαν DEH al., ἄρσεναν Ap. 12. 3 A, εἰκόναν 13. 14 A, μῆναν 22. 2 (Tisch. on H. 6. 19); they do not deserve to be adopted. In words in -*ης* the accus. in -*ην* is not unknown to Attic (*τριήρην*, *Δημοσθένην*), but occurs only in barytone words [paroxyt. or proparoxyt.]; in the N.T. the following are incredible: ἀσφαλην (? accent) H. 6. 19 ACD, συγγενην R. 16. 11 AB\*D\*, ἀσεβην R. 4. 5 ΗD\*FG, ὑγιην Jo. 5. 11 Η\*.—In barytones in -*es* with τ δ in the stem, the regular Attic accus. is -*iv*, and so too in the N.T. χάριν etc. are the usual forms: but χάριτα A. 24. 27 (-*iv* Η\*EL), 25. 9 A, Jd. 4 AB, Hellenistic according to Moeris (papyri).<sup>1</sup> Cp. κλεῖδα L. 11. 52 (LXX.; D κλεῖν as in Attic and Ap. 3. 7, 20. 1, τὰς κλεῖς in the quotation of Justin, cp. 2).

**2. Accusative plural (assimilation to the nominative plural).**—The old termination (*v*)s in vowel stems (*τοὺς βότρυς*, *τοὺς βοῦς*) has disappeared in Hellenistic Gk., and these words are inflected with *as*: Mt. 14. 17 ἵχθύας, Jo. 2. 14 βόας. But κλεῖς – κλεῖν – τὰς κλεῖς, Ap. 1. 18 (κλεῖδας B).—For -*as* we have -*es* in the MSS. (accus. = nom.: old dialects and late Gk.<sup>2</sup>) in the case of τέσσαρες (§ 6, 1), A. 27. 29 Η, Jo. 11. 17 ΗΔ, Ap. (4. 4), 7. 1 A twice, P once, 9. 14 Η (so still more often in LXX.). So also we have by assimilation (like *oi* and *τὰς πόλεις*, *τριήρεις*) *oi* and *τοὺς βασιλεῖς* in Hellenistic Gk., and this accus. plur. is regular in N.T. for all words in -*eis*.

**3. Relation of the nominative to the cases (inflection with or without consonant).**—The inflection -*as*, -*aoς* = *ωs*, as γῆρας, -*ωs*, κέρας, -*ωs*, has almost disappeared. Γῆρας, dat. γῆρει in L. 1. 36 (as in Ionic: so usually in LXX., where also the gen. γῆρος occurs, as in Clem. Cor. i. 63. 3; ibid. 10. 7 γῆρει, v.l. -*q*). Κέρας, τέρας take τ (as in Attic and always in Hellenistic Gk. τέρατα, τεράτων acc. to Moeris): κέρατα Ap. 13. 1, τέρατα Mt. 24. 24. We have only κρέας and plur. κρέα R. 14. 21, 1 C. 8. 13 (other cases wanting).

<sup>1</sup> See also Viereck, Sermo Graecus quo senatus populusque R. ... usi sunt (Göttingen, 1888), p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Buresch, Rh. Mus. xlvi. 218.

There is most attestation for the consonantal inflection with *v* for all cases of the comp. in *-ων*: exceptions are almost confined to the Acts (*πλείους* nom. or acc. A. 13. 31, 19. 32, 21. 10, 23. 13, 21, 24. 11, 25. 6, 14: but *-νες*, *-νας* 27. 12, 20, 28. 23) and John (*μείξω*, *κατονά* 1. 51, *ἐλάσσων* 2. 10, *μείξω* ABE al. *-ων*, D *-ονα* 5. 36, *πλείους* 4. 41, elsewhere Mt. 26. 53 *πλείων* or *-οντς*).—On the other hand the δ is omitted not only in *νήστεις* Mt. 15. 22, Mc. 8. 3 (Polyb. and others; like *πόλεις*, wrongly written *νήστεις*), but also in *ἔρεις* (acc.) Tit. 3. 9 Κ<sup>c</sup>AD al. (*ἔριν* Κ<sup>\*</sup>DE al., but in the middle of words that are clearly plurals), G. 5. 20 (nom. with v.l. *ἔρις* sing.), 2 C. 12. 20 (ditto), cp. v.l. in 1 C. 3. 3, 1 Tim. 6. 4; side by side with *ἔριδες* 1 C. 1. 11 all MSS. (*ἔρεις* acc. in Clem. Cor. i. 35. 5).—Assimilation of the nom. to the oblique cases takes place in Hellenistic Gk. in words in *-ις*, *-ηνος* when *ν* is substituted for *ις* (*ρίν*, *Σαλαμίν*), and so in N.T., ἡ ὁδίν 1 Th. 5. 3 (*ἀκτίν* Apoc. Petr. 7).

4. Open and contracted forms.—'Ορέων Ap. 6. 15 (Hermas, Sim. ix. 4. 4 etc.; Clem. Cor. i. 10, 7), and χειλέων H. 13. 15 (from LXX. Hos. 14. 3) show the widespread tendency, which is apparently not wholly foreign to Attic, to leave this case uncontracted in words in *ος*. (But ἐτῶν A. 4. 22, 7. 30 etc.) On the other hand we have πῆχυς, πῆχῶν for πήχεων Jo. 21. 8 (-εων A), Ap. 21. 17;<sup>1</sup> ἥμιστος (a barytone adj. in *υς*: βαθύς etc. are never so inflected) has ἥμιστον for *-eos* Mc. 6. 23 (Apoc. Petr. 27), ἥμιση L. 19. 8 ΓΠ (D<sup>2</sup>), with the var. lect. ἥμισ(ε)ια ΚBLQ, τὰ ἥμιστον ΑΡΔ(D<sup>\*</sup>). 'Ημίσεια would be a not impossible assimilation to ἡ ἥμισεια; ἥμιστον and *-ηη* are attested as Hellenistic.<sup>2</sup> 'Υγῆς, ὑγῆ Jo. 5. 11, 15 etc. are Hellenistic (Attic has *ὑγιᾶ* as well)

5. Genitive *-eos* and *-εως*. Βαθέως L. 24. 1 (on preponderant evidence), and πραέως ΚBKL 1 P. 3. 4 are mistakes of the popular language (see Lobeck, Phr. 247) for *-eos* (otherwise there is no instance of the gen. of the adj. in *-ις*).

6. Peculiarities.—'Salt' in Attic is *οἱ ἄλες*, in N.T. τὸ ἄλας, Mt. 5. 13 twice (ἄλα [cp. τὸ γάλα] Κ twice, D once), Mc. 9. 50 twice (ἄλα once Κ\*, twice LΔ), L. 14. 34 (ἄλα Κ\*D), no doubt derived from *τοὺς ἄλας*, and inflected like *τέρας*: ἄλατι Col. 4. 6. This form is also characteristic of the common language, according to Herodian ii. 716, Lentz. (In Mc. 9. 49 D has ἄλι in a clause from Levit. 2. 13 which is wanting in ΚBLΔ; ibid. 50, acc. ἄλα Κ\*A\*BDLΔ, ἄλας Κ<sup>c</sup>A<sup>2</sup>CN al.)—Νάν<sup>s</sup> only occurs in A. 27. 41 τὴν ναῦν (literary word = vulgar τὸ πλοῖον).—'Ορντ<sup>t</sup> 'a hen' nom. sing. L. 13. 34 (cp. Doric gen. ὄρνιχος);<sup>3</sup> for 'bird' N.T. has ὄρνεον Ap. 18. 2 etc. (also Barn. 10. 4, Clem. 1 Cor. 25. 2, Herm. Sim. ix. 1, 8).—Συγγενής, -εῖς, dat. plur. -εῦστι (like γονεῖς, -εῦστι) Mc. 6. 4 (-έστιν Κ<sup>a</sup> [om. Κ\*]AB<sup>2</sup>CD\* al.), L. 2. 44 B\*LXΔΛ.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the Hellenistic πῆχυς, Lob. Phryn. 243 f. W. Schmidt, Jos. eloc. 498.

<sup>2</sup> Lob. 247. In dialects and in poetry a neuter plur. in *-εια* of these words occurs, A. Buttmann, Stud. und Kr. 1862, 194.

<sup>3</sup> Babrius ap. Crusius Philol. 1894, 238 (Athen. 9, 374 D, Herodian i. 44. 7 L.).

<sup>4</sup> Cram. Anecd. Ox. iii. 246.

## § 9. METAPLASMUS.

1. Fluctuation between neuter and masculine in Declension II.—*Δεῖπνος* for *-ov* is only a v.l. in L. 14. 16, Ap. 19. 9 (B), 17. *Δεῖσμος* has plural *δεῖσμα* (old) L. 8. 29, A. 16. 26, 20. 23, and *δεῖσμοι* (old) Ph. 1. 13 (without distinction). *Ζυγός* 'yoke' (in use since Polyb.) never *ξυγόν*. *Θεμέλιον*, plur. *-a* A. 16. 23 (Hom. LXX.; Herm. Sim. ix. 14. 6; Attic, according to Moeris), elsewhere ὁ *θεμέλιος* 1 C. 3. 11 f., 2 Tim. 2. 19, Clem. Cor. i. 33. 3 etc. (strictly sc. λίθος; Attic). 'Ο *νῶτος* R. 11. 10 O.T. quot. (class. τὸ *νῶτον*). *Σῖτος*, plur. *σῖτα* A. 7. 12 HP (Att. and LXX.; *σιτία* read by ΣΑΒ etc. does not suit the sense). *Στάδιον* has plur. *στάδια* Jo. 6. 19 *\*D*, and *σταδίους* *\*CORR.*ABL al.: the latter also occurs in L. 24. 13 and Ap. 21. 16 AB al. with v.l. *-ιῶν* (both plur. are Attic).

2. Fluctuation between Declensions I. and II.—Compound substantives with *ἀρχεῖν* in their second half are formed with *-αρχος* in Attic, in (dialectic and) Hellenistic Gk. more often with *-άρχης* (Decl. I.), Kühner, i. 3, i. 502. So in N.T. *ἐθνάρχης*, *πατριάρχης*, *πολιτάρχης*, *τετραάρχης* ('*Ἄστιαρχῶν* Acts 19. 31), also *ἐκαποντάρχης* *centurio* Mt. 8. 13 (*-χφ \*bUΔ*), and in the majority of places in the Acts; but *χιλιάρχος* *tribunus* always, *ἐκαπόνταρχος* A. 22. 25 and often (with much variety of reading about the vowel); *στρατοπέδαρχος* or *-ης* 28. 16, an addition of the β text (om. ΣΑΒ).<sup>1</sup> *δισεντέριον* A. 28. 8 according to Moeris is Hellenistic for *-ρία*, Lob. Phryn. 518. *\*Ηχός*, ὁ (in L. 21. 25 τὸ, see 3), L. 4. 37, A. 2. 2, H. 12. 19, similarly stands for *ἢχή* (Moeris).

3. Fluctuation between Declensions II. (I.) and III.—The exx. of interchange of *-os* masc., Decl. II., and *-os* neut., Decl. III., have somewhat increased in number, in comparison with those in the classical language. The Attic ὁ *Θεός* becomes τὸ *ἔλεος* in LXX. and N.T. always (exc. Mt. 9. 13 *ἔλεον* C<sup>3</sup>EFG etc.: 12. 7 *ἔλεον* EG etc., 23. 23 τὸν *ἔλεον* CΛΔΠ: H. 4. 16 *ἔλεον* C<sup>3</sup>D<sup>3</sup>EL: Tit. 3. 5 τὸν *ἔλεον* D<sup>3</sup>KL), with gen. *ἔλέους*, dat. *ἔλέει* (the original forms, if we may judge from the old derivative *ἔλεινός*, cp. *φαεινός* from *φάος*, and the compound *νηλείς*). 'Ο *ζῆλος* is the class. and also the usual N.T. form; τὸ *ξ.* (nom. or acc.) 2 C. 9. 2 ΣB, Ph. 3. 6 *\*ABD\*FG*, with gen. *ζήλους* A. 5. 17 only B\* (Clem. Cor. i. 6. 1, 2, 9. 1 etc. τὸ; 5. 2, 4, 5 etc. ὁ). *\*Ηχός* L. 21. 25 for *ἢχον* (see 2). 'Ο *θάμβος* (ancient) for τό L. 4. 36 D (θ. *μέγας*), cp. A. 3. 10 *θάμβον* C. Tὸ *πλούτος* (nom. or acc. sing.) 2. C. 8. 2 *\*BCP*, E. 1. 7, 2. 7, 3. 8, 16, Ph. 4. 19, Col. 1. 27 (also ὁ *πλ.* Η), 2. 2 (neut. *\*ABC*), is attested on preponderant or very good evidence; elsewhere (even E. 1. 18) δ̄ *πλ.*, and always gen. *πλούτου*. Tὸ *σκότος* (cp. *σκοτεινός*) is universally found (earlier ὁ and τὸ): in H. 12. 18 *σκότῳ* is a wrong reading for *ξόφῳ*. Fluctuation between *-os* neut. and *-a*, *-η* Decl. I. is rarer: τὸ *δίψης* (Attic, which has also ὡ *δίψη*) 2 C. 11. 27 *δίψῃ* (*δίψη* B\*); τὸ *νίκος*<sup>2</sup> 1 C. 15. 54 f. O.T. quot., 57, Mt. 12. 20 O.T.

<sup>1</sup> On the usage of Josephus cp. W. Schmidt, Jos. elocut. 485 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The usual LXX. form: Lob. Phryn. 647.

quot., Herm. Mand. xii. 2. 5; ἡ νίκη 1 Jo. 5. 4. Νοῦς and πλοῦς (the latter A. 27. 9) are declined like βόῦς: gen. νοός, dat. νοῖ, as also in Herm. Sim. ix. 17. 2 (cp. § 7, 4).<sup>1</sup> Ἡ ἄλων, -ωνος Mt. 3. 12, L. 3. 17, for ἡ ἄλως, -ω (cp. § 7, 5). The dat. is formed from Decl. III. in words that in their other cases are neuters of Decl. II.: δάκρυον (Ap. 7. 17, 21. 4) – δάκρυα – δάκρυσιν L. 7. 38, 44 (also in Attic occasionally; δάκρυ is an old form occurring in poetry): σάββατον – σάββατα – σάββασιν always Mt. 12. 1 etc. Consonantal stem of Decl. III. for -ο- stem of Decl. II.: κατίγωρ (on the model of ρίγωρ) Ap. 12. 10 only in A for κατίγορος (¶BCP as elsewhere in N.T.).<sup>2</sup>

#### § 10. PROPER NAMES. INDECLINABLE NOUNS.

1. The Hebrew personal names of the O.T., when quoted as such, remain with few exceptions unaltered and indeclinable: 'Αδάμ, 'Αβραάμ, 'Ιακώβ, Φαραώ, Δανιὴل etc. The exceptions are mainly nominatives in -ι-, which are represented by the termination -ας and declined according to Decl. I. (gen. -α and -ον, see § 7, 2): 'Ιούδας Mt. 1. 2 f.; Οὐρίας, gen. -ον ibid. 6; 'Εξεκίας, 'Ησαΐας etc. (but 'Αβιά [as LXX.] ibid. 7 nom. acc., L. 1. 5 gen.). Other exceptions are: Μανασσῆ Mt. 1. 10 acc., Μανασσῆς nom., cp. inf. 3 (Μανασσῆ nom. ¶B); 'Ιαννῆς and 'Ιαμβρῆς 2 Tim. 3. 8; Λευΐς, -εις nom. H. 7. 9 ¶BC\*, the remaining MSS. -ι (ει): cp. inf. 2. Σολομῶν is declined either with gen. -ῶνος (therefore nom. -μῶν), so Mt. 1. 6 -μῶνα (but ¶\* -μῶν indecl.), 12. 42, and elsewhere: or -ῶντος (like Ξενοφῶν, therefore nom. -μῶν): A. 3. 11 -μῶντος (DE -μῶνος), 5. 12 (-μῶνος BDEP); so also LXX., unless, as usually happens, the word remains indeclinable. Ιησοῦς Josua H. 4. 8. Μωϋσῆς (so, according to the best evidence, with LXX. and Josephus, instead of Μωσ. of the ordinary MSS.), gen. always -έως as if from -εύς, dat. -εῖ Mt. 17. 4 ¶BD al. (others -ῆ), Mc. 9. 4 AB<sup>3</sup>DE etc., ibid. 5 ¶ABCDE etc. (nearly all), and so elsewhere with constant variation in the MSS. between -ει and -η: acc. -έα only in L. 16. 29, elsewhere -ῆν (A. 6. 11, 7. 35, 1 C. 10. 2, H. 3. 3). The latter inflection: -ῆς, -ῆ, -ῆ, -ῆν (cp. inf. 3) is that prevalent in the LXX.<sup>3</sup>

2. The same old Hebrew names, if employed as proper names of other persons of the N.T. period, are far more susceptible to Hellenisation and declension. The Hellenising is carried out: (a) by appending -ος; 'Ιάκωβος always, 'Αγαθ-ος A. 11. 28, 21. 10: (b) in words that in their Greek pronunciation would end in a vowel, by appending -η to the nom., -ν to the acc.: so 'Ιησοῦς, 'Ιησοῦν (cp. 1), Λευΐς (also written -εις; therefore ι) Mc. 2. 14 (acc. -ιν, indecl. ¶\*A

<sup>1</sup> So also βόῦς, gen. βοός, in later Greek: cp. W.-Schm. § 8, 11, note 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. § 8, 13: it looks as if the original nom. was taken for a gen.: the late form διάκων for διάκονος is parallel.

<sup>3</sup> In Josephus Niese and Naber write -έος (an impossible inflection; in the MSS. -έως is a strongly attested variant), -εῖ, -ῆν in their text; -έως (with v.l. -έος) is found as early as Diodor. Sic. 34. 1. 3. W.-Schm. § 10, 5.

al.), L. 5. 27 (acc. -*uv*, indecl. D), 29 (nom. -*is*, indecl. D); to which must be added the nom. in -*as*, see 1; for the inflection vide inf. 3: (c) in names in -*an*, by the substitution of *s* for *v* in the nom., so that the inflection follows that of 'Ιούδας: Ἀννας L. 3. 4, A. 4. 6, Jo. 18. 13, 24 Ιωάνης (Joseph. Ἀναν-ος): Ἰωάθας A. 4. 6 D,<sup>1</sup> a name which in Joseph. is still further Hellenised to Ἰωάθης: so N.T. Ἰωάνης (§ 3, 10) Ιωάνης or Ἰωάννης (L. 3. 27 in the genealogy of Christ), gen. -*ov*,<sup>2</sup> dat. -*η* (-ει L. 7. 18, 22 Ιωάννης or Ιωάννης [L], Mt. 11. 4 ΔΔ, Ap. 1. 1 Ιωάννης, ep. Μωϋσέως), acc. -*ην*. Josephus also makes Καινάς out of Καινάν and Ναθάν out of Ναθάν. The common name Ἰωάνης is also abbreviated into Ἰωνα (Syr. Ιωνα) LXX. 2 (4) Kings 25. 23, and so Mt. 16. 17 Σίμων Βαριωνᾶ = Σ. (ό νιὸς) Ἰωάνου Jo. 1. 42 (Ἰωνᾶ AB<sup>3</sup> al., Syr.), 21. 15 ff. (Ἰωνᾶ AC<sup>corr.</sup> al., Syr. Sin. Ιωνᾶ, a form which also stands for the prophet Jonah L. 11. 29 etc.); Ἰωάννης or -άμη (ΝΒΓ, Syr.) is found in L. 3. 30 (in the genealogy of Christ). By a similar abbreviation Ιωσήφ became Ιωσῆς, gen. -ήτος (inf. 3) Mc. 6. 3 BDLΔ (Ιωσήφ Ιωσῆς AC), 15. 40, 47 (with similar v.l.): cp. the var. lect. to Mt. 13. 55, 27. 56, A. 1. 23, 4. 36; in this name the evidence preponderates for the full Hebrew form without alteration, vide inf. (d) The Hellenisation is carried furthest in Σίμων, -ωνος = Συμεών (this form occurs for Peter in A. 15. 14 in James' speech, 2 P. 1. 1 [Σίμων B]: for others in A. 13. 1, L. 2. 25 etc.): the pure Greek name with a similar sound is substituted for the Hebrew name, after a fashion not unknown to the Jews of the present day, just as Ἰάσων (A. 17. 5 etc.) is substituted for Jesus, and perhaps Κυδίας for Χονγάς (L. 8. 3 according to the Latin cod. l.). On the other hand, the following, though employed in this way, remain unaltered and indeclinable: Ἰωσήφ generally (vide sup.), Ναθαναήλ (also the names of the angels Μίχαηλ [Μειχ. B] and Γαβριηλ), Μαναήν A. 13. 1. Similarly the woman's name Ἐλισαβέτ: whereas Μαρία sometimes remains as Μαριάμ, esp. for the mother of Christ, and sometimes is Hellenised to Μαρία (Μαριάμην in Joseph.), with great diversity of reading in the mss. (gen. Μαρίας Mt. 1. 16, 18, 2. 11 etc.; acc. Μαριάμ 1. 20 [-iav BL]: in chaps. 27 and 28 the form -ia for the nom. has most support in the case of the other Maries; in L Μαριάμ 1. 27, 30, 34, 37, 39 etc., but τῆς Μαρίας 41, τῇ Μαρίᾳ 2. 19 ΙωBD [D has also frequently elsewhere nom. -a, dat. -a i.e. -η, acc. -av]; Paul in R. 16. 9 has Μαριάμ, an unknown lady, in ABCP-iav).<sup>3</sup> The following are declinable without further addition: Ἀννα Ιωάνης (nom. L. 2. 36) and Μάρθα Syr. Μαρία Ιωάνης (gen. -as, see § 7, 2); the following are Hellenised by the addition of *a* (ă?): Ἰωαν(ν)a Ιωάνης, Σουσαννα Ιωάνης (L. 8. 3, 24. 10), and there is a similar addition of *η* in Σαλώμη Ιωάνης Mc. 15. 40, 16. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Ἰωάθας appears already on an Egyptian papyrus of the 3rd cent. B.C., Flinders Petrie Pap. ii., p. 23: Ἀπολλώνιον...[παρεπ]ιδήμον, δς καὶ συριστὶ Ἰωάθας [καλεῖται].

<sup>2</sup> Ἰωάνου in LXX. 2 Chr. 28. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. W.-Sehm. § 10, 1, note 1.

3. The declension of Hebrew masc. proper names whose stem ends in a long vowel (with the exception of those in *-ias*), and of the similar Greek or Graeco-Roman names which are formed by abbreviation (§ 29), follows the same pattern on the whole for all vowels, and is consequently known as the "mixed" declension. Three cases (G.D.V.) exhibit the pure stem (those ending in *a*, *η*, *ω* being in our spelling extended by an *i* mute); the nom. in all cases has *s*, the acc. generally *v*, but this is often wanting in LXX. and N.T. with the *η(i)* and *ω* stems: Μανασσῆς, acc. -*ῆ*, vide sup. 1 (so LXX., e.g. 2 (4) Kings 20. 21, 21. 1, 2 Chron. chap. 33): Λευΐς, vide sup. 1, 2: 'Απολλῶς, acc. 'Απολλῶ A. 19. 1 (-*ων* A<sup>2</sup>L, 'Απελλῆν *N\**, § 6, 2), cp. Κῶ acc. § 7, 5, 1 C. 4. 6 (-*ων* *N\*AB*), Tit. 3. 13 (-*ων* *NDBH*, -*ωνα* FG). Exx. (a) Βαραββᾶς, Βαρνάβας, Ιούδας, Ζηνᾶς (from Ζηνόδωρος), Σιλᾶς (=Σιλουανός). (b) (Μανασσῆς, vide sup.) 'Απελλῆς R. 16. 10, acc. -*ῆν* (as in A. 19. 1 *N*, vide sup.). The gen. of Greek names of this class, in classical Greek -*ōn*, is unrepresented in N.T. (c) Λευΐς, vide sup. 2. (d) Ιησοῦς, -*ον*, -*ον*, -*οντ*, -*οῦ*. (e) 'Απολλῶς (from 'Απολλώνιος). In extra-Biblical Greek besides this declension of such names there is found a second, in which there is a similar nom. in -*s*, but the stem for the remaining cases is extended by the addition of a consonant (usually *δ*, in Egypt *τ*), e.g. 'Αππᾶς, -*ᾶδος*, Ερμῆς, -*ῆδος*: the single N.T. example of this declension is Ιωσῆς, -*ῆτος*, sup. 2.

4. **Roman proper names.**—There need only be noticed *Agrippa* 'Αγρίππας, -*a*: *Aquila* 'Ακύλας: *Clemens*, *Crescens*, *Pudens*, gen. -*ēntis* (=Κλήμης)-*ēntos* Ph. 4. 3, *Krýstos* 2 Tim. 4. 10, Πούδης (-*ēntos*) 21. The *n* of the nom., which was hardly pronounced, is often absent from Latin inscriptions.

5. **Names of places, mountains, rivers.**—In this category it is the usual practice in by far the majority of cases for non-Greek names to remain un-Hellenised and undeclined, with the exception, of course, of prominent place-names, which were already known to the Greeks at an earlier period, such as Τύρος; Σιδῶν, -*ῶνος*; "Αξωτος *Asdot* (cp. § 6, 7) A. 8. 40; Δαμασκός etc. and (river-name) Ιορδάνης, -*ou*. The Hellenisation is well marked, a new etymology (*ἱερός*, Σόληνοι) being given, in the case of Ιεροσόλυμα, -*ων*, a form which is employed in the N.T. alongside of Ιερουσαλήμ (in the latter there is no good reason for writing the rough breathing, § 4, 4; Mc. and John (Gosp.) always have Ιεροσ., and so Mt. exc. in 27. 37: Ιερουσ. is always the form in Ap., Hebr., and in Paul, except in the narrative of G. 1. 17 f., 2. 1: L. gives both forms, but Ιερουσ. rarely in his Gospel.<sup>1</sup> Other exceptions are: Βηθανία, gen. -*as*, acc. -*av* Jo. 11. 1, Mc. 11. 12, Jo. 12. 1, Mc. 11. 11 etc. (but Mt. 21. 17, Mc. 11. 1 B\* *εἰς* Βηθανία, L. 19. 29 *N\*BD\** *εἰς* Βηθφαγῆ καὶ Βηθανία): Γολγοθα, Mc. 15. 22 *τὸν* Γολγοθᾶν τόπον (Γολγοθα ACDE al.): Γόμορρα, -*ων* Mt. 10. 15 (-as CDLMP), -*as* 2 P. 2. 6, cp. inf. 6 (ἡ Γομόρρα): Διδδα, gen. Λύδης A. 9, 38 *B<sup>3</sup>EHL*, -*as* *N\*B\*C*, -*a* indecl. *N<sup>c</sup>A* (which is harsh in the con-

<sup>1</sup> LXX. Ιερουσ., except in 2, 3, 4 Macc. and Job. See W.-Schm. § 10, 3.

nection ἐγγὺς οὐσῆς Λ. τῇ Ἰόππῃ); elsewhere the acc. is Λύδα, ibid. 32, 35 (-av CEHLP), either as neut. plur. or as indecl. (?):<sup>1</sup> Σάρεττα acc. L. 4. 26 (-ων gen. LXX. Obad. 20): τὸν Σαρωνα ('Ασσαρ.) 'The plain' ἥρα; Decl. III. or (with Aramaic -a) indecl. (?): Σόδομα קְדוֹם (therefore Hellenised), -ων Mt. 10. 15, 11. 24, 17. 29, 2 P. 2. 6; -ois Mt. 11. 23 (Mc. 6. 11 Text. Rec., an insertion from Mt.), L. 10. 12 (so earlier in LXX.). On the other hand the following e.g. are unaltered and indecl.: Βηθλεέμ, Βηθφαγή, Καφαρναούμ, Αινών Jo. 3. 23, Σαλίμ ibid., Σιών; (mountain) Σινᾶ, (brook) Κέδρων Jo. 18. 1 (τοῦ χειμάρρου τοῦ K. correctly AS; other MSS. are corrupt with τῶν Κέδρων, τοῦ Κέδρου; Josephus declines τοῦ Κεδρῶν). Ελαιών, Mount of Olives, as a Greek rendering cannot be indecl.; therefore, as we elsewhere have τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἔλαιων, we must also read ὄρος (acc.) τὸ καλούμενον ἔλαιων (not Ελαιών) L. 19. 29, 21. 37: all MSS. give a wrong inflection in A. 1. 12 τοῦ καλούμενον ἔλαιων for ἔλαιων: cp. § 33, 1.

6. **On the declension of place-names.**—Double declension as in class. Greek is seen in Νέαν πόλιν A. 16. 11; therefore also read Ιερῷ πόλει Col. 4. 13. Instances of metaplasmus: Decl. I. fem. sing., Decl. II. neut. plur.—Λύστρᾳ, acc. -ᾶν A. 14. 6, 21, 16. 1, but dat. -ois 14. 8, 16. 2: Θυάτειρα acc. Ap. 1. 11 ή, -ων ABC, gen. -ων A. 16. 14, dat. -ois Ap. 2. 18 (B. -ρῆ, § 7, 1), 24 (κε-ρῆ, B. -ραις), cp. Λύδᾳ, supra 5. Decl. III. and Decl. I. confused.—Σαλαμίν, dat. -ῖνι A. 13. 5, but -ίην κΑΕL, cp. (W.-Schm. § 10, 5) gen. Σαλαμίνης in Suid. Επιφάνιος (cod. A), Salamina(m) Latt. ap. Acts ibid. like Justin ii. 7. 7, Salaminae insulae xliv. 3. 2, Salaminam (cp. the new formations in romance languages, Tarragona, Cartagena, Narbonne).

7. **Gender.**—In place-names the fem. is so much the rule that we have not only ἡ Ιερουσαλήμ (A. 5. 28 etc.), but even πᾶσα Ιεροσόλυμα Mt. 2. 3 (on A. 16. 12 Φιλίππους, ήτις ἐστὶ ... πόλις, see § 31, 2). The masc. δὲ Σιλωάμ (the spring and the pool) in L. 13. 4, Jo. 9. 7, 11 is explained by the interpretation added in Jo. 9. 7 ἀπεσταλμένος.<sup>2</sup>

8. Of indeclinable appellatives there are only a few: (τὸν κορβαν Mt. 27. 6 B\*, correctly τὸν κορβανῶν; indecl. in another sense Mc. 7. 11, where it is introduced as a Hebr. word): μάννα, τὸ (Ap. 2. 17 τοῦ μ.): πάσχα, τὸ (L. 2. 41 τοῦ π.): (σαταν gen. for -νᾶ 2 C. 12. 7 ή al.; more a proper name than an appellative): σίκερα acc. L. 1. 15 (indecl. in LXX.): ἡ οὐαί Ap. 9. 12, 11. 14 (like ἡ θλίψις etc.: also used as a subst. elsewhere, LXX. and 1 C. 9. 16, see W.-Gr.).

## § II. ADJECTIVES.

1. **Adjectives in -os, -η (-a), -ov and -os, -ov.**—(a) Compound adj. ἀργή (ἀργός = ἀ-εργός) 1 Tim. 5. 13, Tit. 1. 12 (Epimenides), Ja.

<sup>1</sup> There is a similar fluctuation in Josephus, W.-Schm. ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus has ἡ Σ., sc. πηγή, B. J. v. 12. 2, vi. 8. 5, but μέχρι τοῦ Σ. ii. 16. 2, vi. 7. 2.

2. 20 BC\* (v.l. *νεκρά*) ; Att. ἀργὸς γυνή Phryn. Lob. 104 f. 'H αὐτομάτη Mc. 4. 28 (not unclass.). 'H παραθαλασσία Mt. 4. 13 (τὴν παραθαλάσσιον D, παρὰ θάλασσαν  $\aleph^*$ ), but ἵ παράλιος L. 6. 17; these compounds in -ιος admit of both forms. (b) Uncompounded adj. 'H ἔρημος always (Att. -μος and -μη). 'H έτουμος Mt. 25. 10 (A. -μαι), -μη 2 C. 9. 5, 1 P. 1. 5 (Att. -μος and -μη). 'H αἰώνιος is the usual form as it is in Att.; -ία 2 Th. 2. 16 (-ιον FG), H. 9. 12, often as a v.l. 'H βεβαία always (Att. -α and -ος). 'H κόσμος (Att. -ία) 1 Tim. 2. 9  $\aleph^*$  AD<sup>corr.</sup> al.; v.l. -ίως. 'H μάταιος and -ία (as in Att.). 'H δροῦ? Ap. 4. 3. 'H δσιος 1 Tim. 2. 8 (-ία Att. and LXX.). 'H οὐράνιος L. 2. 13 (v.l. οὐρανοῦ), A. 26. 19 (Att. -ία). In other cases the N.T. is in agreement with the ordinary grammar.

2. To συγγενής L. 1. 36 has the fem. ἡ συγγενής for Att. -ής (Clem. Hom. xii. 8 : Phryn. Lob. 451; cp. εὐγενίδων γυναικῶν Clem. Rom. Epit. ii. 144), whereas strictly this fem. only belonged to words in -της, -του, and to those in -έύς (*βασιλίς*).

3. Comparison.—The absorption of the category of duality into that of plurality (cp. §§ 2, 1, and 13, 5), occasioned also the disappearance from the vulgar language of one of the two degrees of comparison, which in the great majority of cases (cp. inf. 5) was the superlative, the functions of which were taken over by the comparative.<sup>1</sup> The single instance of a superl. in -τατος in the N.T. is ἀκριβέστατος A. 26. 5 (in literary language, the speech of Paul before Agrippa, § 2, 4). The remaining superlatives are in -ιστος, and are generally employed in intensive [elative] sense, and in some cases have quite lost their force : ἐλάχιστος *peregrinus* passim<sup>2</sup> (as a true superl., either due to the literary language or corrupt reading in 1 C. 15. 9 : for which ἐλαχιστότερος occurs in E. 3. 8, inf. 4) : ἄδιστα 2 C. 12. 9, 15, A. 18. 3 D ('gladly,' 'very gladly') : κράτιστε in the dedication L. 1. 1 : μέγιστος *permagnus* 2 P. 1. 4 : πλείστος Mt. 11. 20, 21. 8, cp. § 44, 4 : 1 C. 14. 27 (τὸ πλεῖστον 'at most') :<sup>3</sup> ως τάχιστα A. 17. 15 (literary language, a true superl.) : ὕψιστος passim : ἔγγιστα D Mc. 6. 36 (Joseph. passim : Clem. Cor. i. 5. 1). The most frequent superlative which still remains is (*μᾶλλον-*) μάλιστα (Acts, Pauline epp., 2 Peter : still there are no more than twelve instances in all).<sup>4</sup> Cp. Synt. § 44, 3.

<sup>1</sup> The usage of the Ep. of Barnabas agrees with that of the N.T. On the other hand in Hermas, although his Greek is the unadulterated language of ordinary speech, superlatives in -τατος and -ιστος are quite common with intensive [elative] sense, while he also uses the comparative for the superlative proper. This (Roman) form of the καυή thus held the same position in this respect as the Italian of to-day, which does not distinguish between comp. and superl., but has preserved the forms in -issimo, etc., in intensive sense.

<sup>2</sup> Hermas, Mand. v. 1. 5 τοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἀψινθίου 'the little bit of wormwood,' in a preceding passage (*ibid.*) ἀψινθίου μικρὸν λιαν. A similar use occurs as early as Aeschin. iii. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Herm. Sim. viii. 5. 6, 10. 1, ix. 7. 4 τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος, but viii. 1. 6 τὸ πλεῖστον μ.

<sup>4</sup> A popular substitute for μᾶλλον, μάλιστα as also for πλείων and πλείστος is supplied by the adjective περισσός ('superabundant,' 'ample') together with its adverb and comparative. τὸ περισσόν τούτῳ Mt. 5. 7 = τὸ πλέον τ. (cp.

4. Special forms of the comparative.—For comp. of ἀγαθός we never have ἀμέινων, βέλτιον as an adv. only in 2 Tim. 1. 18 (-ιων Herm. Vis. iii. 4. 3, 7. 1); κρείσσων (-ττων, § 6, 7) only in Pauline epp., Hebrews, and Pet. ('more excellent' or 'mightier,' 'of higher standing,' opp. to ἐλάττων H. 7. 7); the vulgar ἀγαθώτερος (Herm. Mand. viii. 9. 1) is never found in the N.T.<sup>1</sup> For comp. of κακός, χείρων 'worse' is frequent; τὸ ἥσσον is opp. to τὸ κρείσσον 1 C. 11. 17; ἥσσον adv. 'less' (of degree) 2 C. 12. 15. Ἐλάσσων *deterior* is the opposite to κρείσσων Jo. 2. 10, H. 7. 7, vide supra: or, as in Attic, to μείζων R. 9. 12 O.T. quot.; adv. ἐλάττον 'less' (of number) 1 Tim. 5. 9 (μικρότερος is 'smaller' as in Attic). Τάχιον (Hellenistic, B ταχεῖον) is the constant form, not θάττον (Att.) or -σσον, unless the latter is to be read for ἄσσον in A. 27. 13 (a literary word, cp. in Clem. Cor. i. 65. 1 the juxtaposition of the cultured phrase ὅπως θάττον with conj., and the vulgar εἰς τὸ τάχιον with inf.). Ἐλαχιστότερος 'the lowest of all' (see 3) is correctly formed according to the rules of the common language; μείζοτερος 3 Jo. 4 shows an obscured sense of the idea of the comp. in μείζων, but is not without analogies in the older language (e.g. ἀμεινότερος). Διπλότερον Mt. 23. 15 = *duplo magis* (Appian also has διπλάστερα τούτων = διπλάσια τ. Proem. 10), whereas ἀπλούστερος shows the Attic formation of such comparatives.

5. Adjectival comparative (and superlative) of adverbs.—The superl. πρῶτος has been retained where the comp. πρότερος in the sense of 'the first of two' has disappeared, so Jo. 1. 15, 30 πρῶτος μον., A. 1. 1 τὸν πρῶτον λόγον (but πρότερος = 'former,' 'hitherto' survives in E. 4. 22 τὴν προτέραν ἀναστροφήν, cp. Herm. Mand. iv. 3. 1, 3 etc.); the corresponding adv. πρότερον = 'formerly' H. 10. 32, 1 P. 1. 14 τὸ πρότ. (§ 34, 7) in Jo. 6. 62, 9. 8 (ibid. 7. 50, 51 as a wrong reading), G. 4. 13, 1 Tim. 1. 13, whereas the first of two actions is here also denoted by πρῶτον (Mt. 7. 5, 8. 21, L. 14. 28, 31 etc.), except in H. 4. 6, 7. 27 (literary style; in 2 C. 1. 15 πρότερον should apparently be erased with Η\*). The opposite word ἔσχατος is likewise also used in comp. sense (Mt. 27. 64); while ὕστερος is superl. 1 Tim. 4. 1 (a wrong reading in Mt. 21. 31); the adv. ὕστερον is

§ 44, note 3), L. 12. 4 περισσότερον (περισσόν AD al.) τι = πλέον τι; 12. 48 περισσότερον, D πλέον; cp. Mt. 11. 9 = L. 7. 26, Mc. 12. 40 = L. 20. 47, Clem. Cor. i. 61. 3. The adv. περισσώς = μᾶλλον Mt. 27. 23, Mc. 10. 26, 15. 14 (-σσοτέρως ENP al.). (In conjunction μᾶλλον περισσότερον [-έρως D] Mc. 7. 36, -έρως μ. 2 C. 7. 13, vide inf., cp. § 44, 5 and pleonasm like εὐθέως παραχρῆμα.) So also the Berlin papyri, 326, ii. 9 εἰ δὲ ἔτι περισσὰ γράμμata καταληπτῶν ('further'), and mod. Greek περισσότερος, adv. -ρος 'more.' In St. Paul, however, περισσοτέρως appears occasionally to have a still stronger force = ὑπερβαλλόντως 2 C. 7. 15, 12. 5, G. 1. 14, cp. A. 26. 11 (περ. μᾶλλον 2 C. 7. 13 (?)) = 'still much more,' cp. sup., while in other passages of his writings it may be replaced by μᾶλλον or μᾶλιστα, as περισσότερος by πλείων: Ph. 1. 14, 2 C. 1. 12, 1 C. 12. 23 f., 2 C. 10. 8 etc. So also H. 7. 15 περισσότερον (= μᾶλλον) ἔτι κατάδηλον, 2. 1, 13. 19 -ρως, Herm. Mand. iv. 4. 2, Sim. v. 3. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Kühner, i. 3, 1. 565. ἀγαθώτατος is also found in Herm. Vis. i. 2. 3 ('excellent'; as a proper superl. in Diod. Sic. xvi. 85); Herm. Sim. viii. 9 has ἡδύτερος, Kühner, ibid. 555.

common (also in superl. sense, as in Mt. 22. 27, L. 20. 32). Further exx. of comp. of adverbs: ἔξωτερος Mt. 8. 12 etc. (Herm. Sim. ix. 7. 5), ἐσώτερος A. 16. 24, H. 6. 19, κατώτερος E. 4. 9 (of course also in superl. sense); these adjectives are not found in Attic, which however has the corresponding adverbs: ἀνώτερον L. 14. 10, H. 10. 8 (Att. more often -ρω),<sup>1</sup> κατωτέρω Mt. 2. 16 (κάτω perhaps more correctly D), πορρωτέρω (-ρον AB) L. 24. 28, ἔγγύτερον R. 13. 11.

## § 12. NUMERALS.

1. Δύο has gen. δύο, dat. δυοῖν (plural inflection): similarly LXX.:<sup>2</sup> δυοῖν for δυοῖν is condemned by Phrynicus (Lob. 210).

2. In compounds of δέκα with units, at least from thirteen upwards, δέκα occupies the first place (this practice is more frequent in the later language than in the older: in mod. Gk., except in the case of eleven and twelve, it is universal): (δεκαδόν [Polyb.] A. 19. 7 HLP, 24. 11 same evidence; δεκατέσταρες Mt. 1. 17, 2 C. 12. 2, G. 2. 1: δεκαπέντε Jo. 11. 18, A. 27. 28, G. 1. 18 (δέκα καὶ πέντε Herm. Vis. ii. 2. 1 &c.): δεκαοκτώ L. 13. 4 (δέκα καὶ ὁ. Ν<sup>o</sup> A al.), 11 (δ. κ. ὁ. AL al.). The ordinals, however, take the reverse order: τεσταρεσκαιδέκατος A. 27. 27, πεντεκαιδέκατος L. 3. 1 (Ionic and later language: Attic usually τέταρτος καὶ δέκ.). With larger numbers there is a similar order of words, with or (usually) without καὶ: εἴκοσι τρεῖς 1 C. 10. 8, τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἑξ Jo. 2. 20.

## § 13. PRONOUNS.

1. **Personal.**—The 3rd pers. is represented by αὐτοῦ: the same form is used for the 3rd pers. possessive. Reflexives: 1st pers. sing. ἐμᾶντοῦ, 2nd sing. σεαντοῦ (not σαντοῦ), 3rd sing. ἐᾶντοῦ (not αὗτοῦ):<sup>3</sup> plural 1st, 2nd, and 3rd pers. ἐᾶντῶν (so in Hellenistic Gk., not ἡμῶν a., ὑμῶν a., σφῶν a.; on ἡμῶν αὐτῶν in 1 C. 5. 13 from Deut. 17. 7, see § 48, 10).

2. **Demonstratives.**—Οὗτος, ἐκεῖνος as usually; the intensive *i* (οὔτος-*i*) is unknown, but is employed by Luke (in the Acts) and Paul (Hebrews) in the adv. νυνί=νῦν. “Οδε” is rare and almost confined to the phrase τάδε λέγει: Acts 21. 11, Ap. 2. 1, 8, 12, 18,

<sup>1</sup> Quite plebeian are ἔτι δύω, ἔτι κάτω for ἀνώτερον, κατώτερον in the apocryphal addition to Mt. 20. 28 in D.

<sup>2</sup> W.-Schm. § 9, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Even in the inscriptions of this period the trisyllabic forms, ἐαυτοῦ etc. supplant the dissyllabic, which in classical times were used alongside of them. In the old edd. of the N.T. the latter still appear pretty frequently, but are now rightly replaced by ἐαυτοῦ or αὐτοῦ (see Synt. § 48, 6), so even in R. 14. 14 δι’ ἐαυτοῦ ΚΑΒ, A. 20. 30 ὅπλω ἐαυτῶν ΚΑΒ. The long *a* results from the contraction (#ο αὐτοῦ); in the Hellenistic and Roman period it has occasioned the loss of the *v* in pronunciation, whence the spelling ἐατοῦ (just as the *t* in ἄτι, *q* was unpronounced). See Wackernagel in Kuhn’s Zeitschr. xxxiii. (N. F. xiii.), p. 2 ff.

3. 1, 7, 14; elsewhere  $\tau\acute{a}\delta\epsilon$  A. 15. 23 D;  $\tau\hat{y}\delta\epsilon$  L. 10. 39;  $\tau\acute{y}\nu\delta\epsilon$  Ja. 4. 13 (Clem. Cor. ii. 12. 5  $\eta\delta\epsilon$  is only a conjecture). Cp. Synt. § 49, 1, and inf. 4.

3. **Relatives.**—“Os, ἡ, ὅ: ὅστις, ἥτις, ὅτι; the latter, however, only in the *nom.* sing. and plur., except that ὅτι also appears as acc.: in meaning it becomes confused with ὅς, see Synt. § 50, 1. We have the stereotyped phrase ἔως ὅτου in Luke and John (*ἀφ'* ὅτου in D L. 13. 25); otherwise there is no instance of these old forms (so we never find ἄστα, ἄττα for ἄτινα), in the same way that the forms τοῦ, τον (= τίνος, τινός), τῷ, τῷ (= τίνι, τινὶ) etc. from τίς, τις have become obsolete. “Οσπερ is only in Mc. 15. 6 <sup>κ</sup>\*B<sup>3</sup>C al. ὅντερ ὑπούντο (*male* δν παρηγτ. <sup>κ</sup>\*AB<sup>\*</sup>; the right reading in DG δν ἀν ὑπούντο § 63, 7). On the use of ὅς for a demonstrative pron. see Synt. § 46, 2.

4. **Correlative pronouns.**—Ποῖος — τοιοῦτος (*τούστδε* only 2 P. 1. 17 τοιᾶστδε, cp. 2) — οἶος — δόπιος. Πόσος — τοσοῦτος — ὅσος. Πηλίκος (G. 6. 11, H. 7. 4) — τηλικοῦτος (2 C. 1. 10, H. 2. 3, Ja. 3. 4, Ap. 16. 18) — ἥλικος (Col. 2. 1, Ja. 3. 5). To these must be added ποταπός (with similar meaning to *ποῖος*), Synt. § 50, 6. On the correlative adverbs, see § 25. Τοιοῦτος and τοσοῦτος (*τηλικοῦτος*) have neut. in -ov and -o (both forms are also found in Att., though the first is more frequent): with var. lect. Mt. 18. 5, A. 21. 25 β text, H. 7. 22: with -ov only H. 12. 1; on the other hand τηλικοῦτο Herm. Vis. iv. 1. 10 (2. 3 with v.l.).

5. With pronouns and pronominal forms it has also happened that words indicating duality as distinct from plurality have become obsolete ( $\pi\acute{o}tēros - \tau\acute{u}s$ ;  $\acute{e}kātēros - \acute{e}kaustos$ ), with the exception of  $\grave{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{o}teroi$  (the N.T. form, never  $\grave{\alpha}\mu\phi\omega$ ) and  $\grave{\epsilon}tēros$ , which, however, already becomes confused with  $\grave{\alpha}\ll\lambda\sigma\acute{o}s$ . Cp. Synt. § 51, 6.

## § 14. SYSTEM OF CONJUGATION.

1. The system of the conjugation of the verb is apparently not much altered from its earlier state, since nearly all the classical forms are found in the N.T., the dual, of course, excepted. The voices remain as before : and the tenses are the same, except that in all voices only one future exists : ἔχω, ἔξω (the fut. σχήσω, which is derived from the aorist and related to it in meaning, never occurs); μεμήσκομαι, μνησθήσομαι (not μεμνήσομαι fut. perf., of which the name 'Attic future' is sufficient indication that it was absent from the Hellenistic language); ἔστην, στήσομαι; ἔστάθην, σταθήσομαι, but not ἔστηξω<sup>1</sup> fut. perf.; φαίνομαι, φανήσομαι, but the form φανοῦμαι, which in Attic was allied to the present as distinguished from φανήσ, which belonged to ἐφάνην, no longer appears (1 P. 4. 18 is a quotation from LXX. Prov. 11. 31). This certainly destroys the harmonious structure of the system of the tenses, viz. continuous

<sup>1</sup> For κεκράξονται L. 19. 40 the better attested reading is κράξουσιν NBL. (κράξονται D: κεκράξουμαι passim in LXX.). But cp. the aor. ἐκέκραξι A. 24. 21, inf. § 24.

action in present, past, and future time = pres. impf. and fut. of the present (*ἔξω, τιμήσομαι* pass.): completed action in past and future time = aorist and fut. of the aorist (*σχίσω, τιμηθήσομαι*): continuity of completed action in present, past, and future time = perf., plupf., and fut. of the perfect (*έστιγξω, βέβλήσομαι* pass.). Of the moods, moreover, the optative is clearly on its way to becoming obsolete, being only found in Luke's writings with any frequency, where its presence is due to the influence of the literary language which retained it. Of the future opt. there is no trace, and this tense is, generally speaking, almost confined to the indic., since the use of the fut. infin. is, with few exceptions, limited to the Acts (11. 28, 23. 30, 24. 15, 27. 10: cp. Synt. § 61, 3), and the fut. part. outside the writings of the same author (Gosp. 22. 49, Acts 8. 27, 20. 22, 22. 5, 24. 17) is of quite rare occurrence (Mt. 27. 41 *σώσων*, but *σώσαις\**, *καὶ σώσει* D Jo. 6. 64 [?], 1 C. 15. 37, H. 3. 5, 13. 17, 1 P. 3. 13, 2 P. 2. 13 with v.l.), cp. Synt. § 61, 4. Finally, the verbal adjective has practically disappeared, with the exception of forms like *δυνατός* which have become stereotyped as adjectives; the only exx. are *παθητός* 'liable to suffering' A. 26. 23, and *βλητέον* L. 5. 38 (*ἢ δύνατον*: cp. Herm. Vis. iv. 2. 6 *αἰρετώτερον*).

2. **Periphrastic forms.**—The perf. and pluperf. indic. are not unfrequently represented by a periphrasis (as is also the case in Att.), while for the perf. conjunctive (passive) a periphrasis is a necessity (as in Att. for the most part); the perf. imperat. is expressed periphrastically in L. 12. 35 *ἔστωσαν περιεξωσμέναι*; on the other hand we have *πεφίμωσο* Mc. 4. 39. By means of periphrasis the place of the fut. perf. may also be supplied (L. 12. 52, Mt. 16. 19, 18. 18, H. 2. 13); periphrasis has, on the whole, a very wide range in the N.T., see Synt. § 62.

## § 15. AUGMENT AND REDUPLICATION.

1. The syllabic augment is wanting as a rule in the pluperf. (as also in other Hellenistic writings, but not in Att.); exceptions are chiefly in the passive (W. Schmidt de Josephi elocut. 438): *ἐβέβλητο* L. 16. 20, *ἐπεγέγραπτο* A. 17. 23 (*ἥν γεγραμμένον* D), *συνετέθειντο* J. 9. 22, *περιεδέδοτο* 11. 44 (*περιεδέδοτο* D\*), *ἐπεποίθει* L. 11. 22 (*πέποιθεν* D), and many others.

2. The syllabic augment, in places where in Attic it holds an exceptional position instead of (or in addition to) the temporal, has been ill maintained: *ῶνοῦμαι, ὕνούμην* (Att. *ἔωνται*), *ἄθω, ὄσα* (*ἔξέωσεν* A. 7. 45 only in *ἢ E*; *ἄθονται* Ev. Petr. 6): in *ἀνοίγω, κατάγνυμι* it has indeed survived, but through being misunderstood has intruded into the other moods and the fut. (see irreg. verbs, § 24); *προορώμην* (-ωρ- B<sup>3</sup>P) A. 2. 25 O.T. quot.: *ἔώρων* Jo. 6. 2 *ἢ ΓΔ* al. is no doubt a wrong reading for *ἔθεώρουν* (cp. ibid.). On the reduplication in *ἔόρακα*, vide inf. 6.

3. The augment *ἡ-* instead of *ἐ-* (less frequent in Att. than in later writers) is always used with *θέλω* (Att. *ἔθέλω, ἡθελον*), never with

βούλομαι (a word adopted from the literary language: but ηβούλετο Herm. Sim. v. 6. 5); in δύναμαι and μέλλω there is much variation in the MSS. between ἡδυν., ἡμ-, and ἐδυν., ἐμ- (cp. W.-Schm. § 12, 3).

4. **Loss of the temporal augment.**—The addition of the *temporal* augment was not without exceptions even in Attic Gk. in the case of an initial diphthong of which the first letter was ε or ο. The N.T. has εξα G. 2. 5 (as in Att.), οικοδομῶ, οικοδομήθη  $\aleph$ B\* Jo. 2. 20, οικοδόμησεν B\*D A. 7. 47, ἐποικοδόμησεν 1 C. 3. 14 (ἐπωκ. B<sup>3</sup>C): on the other hand φοιδόμησεν Mt. 21. 33 all MSS., φοιδόμητο L. 4. 29 (οικοδόμηται D), cp. ἐνφύκησεν 2 Tim. 1. 5 (-οί only D\*), κατώκησεν (-ισεν) Ja. 4. 5 O.T., παρώκησεν H. 11. 9 etc. W. H. App. 161. Since the original documents of the time show several instances of unaugmented οι, and Phrynicus refers to it as a custom of his time (Phryn. Rutherford, 244), it may safely be attributed to the writers; besides ο (for οι) no longer bore much resemblance to οι (which in ordinary pronunciation somewhat inclined to ν). Cp. W.-Schm. § 12, 5. Εὐ in older Attic when augmented always became ην, in the later Attic (which also used η, ει interchangeably) not always;<sup>1</sup> in the N.T. ευ preponderates, but ην also occurs not unfrequently: ηντίσκετο H. 11. 5 acc. to ΙΑΔΕ, προσηγένετο A. 8. 15 (-ευ- only B), 20. 36 (-ευ- B\*D), ηνχόμην R. 9. 3 (ενχ. DEKL).<sup>2</sup> For unaugmented αι the only ex. is 2 Tim. 1. 16 ἐπαισχύνθη (-η  $\aleph$ \*K; interchange of αι=ε and η?).—The augment is wanting in the case of a single short vowel in ἐληλιθειν (as in Att.: Attic reduplic.): in ἀνέθη for -είθη A. 16. 26, ἀφέθησαν R. 4. 7 O.T. (ε arose from the moods instead of ει=i: similarly LXX.): in ὄφελον as a particle introducing a wish, cp. § 63, 5; other cases appear to be clerical errors: διερμήνευ(σ)εν L. 24. 27 (-η- EHKM al.), διεγείρετο Jo. 6. 18 B al., προορώμην A. 2. 25 O.T., vide supra 2, ἀνορθώθη L. 13. 13 (-ω- E al.) etc.

5. **Temporal augment η or ε.**—In general the N.T. agrees with Attic; thus it has ἐργάζομαι, ἐργαζόμην A. 18. 3  $\aleph$ \*AB\*DE, ἐργασάμην Mt. 25. 16  $\aleph$ \*B\*DL, 26. 10  $\aleph$ \*B\*D, Mc. 14. 6  $\aleph$ \*B\*D, L. 19. 16  $\aleph$ \*AB\*DE\* al., H. 11. 33  $\aleph$ \*D\* (see also R. 7. 8, 15. 18, 2 C. 7. 11, 12. 12; B\* reads ει- only in R. 15. 18,  $\aleph$  in all these four passages, DE never) as in Attic, and in the Berlin Egyptian Records 530. 15 συνηργάσαντο (but perf. -ει-, augm. and redupl. being distinguished, see 6).

6. **Reduplication.**—Initial ρ loses its peculiarity in ῥεραντισμένος H. 10. 22  $\aleph$ \*ACD\*P for ῥρρ.: περιρεαμμένος Ap. 19. 13 only  $\aleph$ \* (περιρεαντισμ.  $\aleph$ <sup>ee</sup>), cp. ῥειμμένοι Mt. 9. 36 D\*. (Similar forms in Ionian and late writers, W.-Schm. § 12, 8: Kühner, I<sup>3</sup> ii. 23). On ρ for ρρ, vide supra § 3, 10. μνηστεύω, μεμνηστευμένη (on the model of μέμνημαι) L. 1. 27, 2. 5 only as a v.l. (Clem. Hom. xiii. 16:

<sup>1</sup> In the later Atticism this is purely phonetic, as is shown by the fact that this ευ was also introduced as the augment for αι: ευξησα from αὐξάνω. The same ευ appears in inscriptions of the Roman period; but in the N.T. the only example is D ευξανε A. 12. 24.

<sup>2</sup> W.-Schm. § 12, 5 b.

Kühner, ibid. 24). *εἰργασμαι* (from *FεFέργ.*) as in Att. (augm. η, see 5) Jo. 3. 21, 1 P. 4. 3. Similarly we have ἔόρακα beside ἔώρων: in this case, however, the spelling ἔώρακα is very widely spread both in Att. and in the N.T. (1 C. 9. 1 -ο- ΙB\*Δ<sup>o</sup>EFGP, -ω- AB<sup>3</sup> al.: Jo. 1. 18 -ο- B\*EFGHKX, -ω- ΙAB<sup>3</sup>CLM al. etc.). *είλκωμένος* is read by nearly all mss. in L. 16. 20 (as if from ἔλκω).

**7. Augment and reduplication in compound verbs and verbs derived from compounds.**—Where the simple verb (with initial vowel) has been forgotten, the augment precedes the prepos. (so usu. in Att., but always in N.T.): *καθεύδω*, *ἐκάθευδον*; *καθίξω*, *ἐκάθιστα*, *ἐκαθεξόμην*, *ἐκαθημην*<sup>1</sup>; *ἡμφιεσμένος*. In addition to these N.T. has ἀφία (=ἀφίημι) *ἥφιεν* Mc. 1. 34, 11. 16 (attested also in Att., but hardly correctly, as an alternative for ἀφίει, ἥφιει), and ἀνοίγω, *ἥνοιξα* side by side with ἀνέψεια, *ἥνεψεια*, with inf. *ἀνεψχθῆναι* L. 3. 21 (*ἀνοιχθ.* only in D): impf. only (*δι*)*ἥνοιγε* L. 24. 32, perf. act. in nearly all cases *ἀνέψηα* Jo. 1. 52 (*ἥνεωγότα Ι*), 1 C. 16. 9, 2 C. 6. 11. See irreg. verbs, § 24. Thus whereas in this instance the double augm. appears as against the Att. usage, *ἀνέχομαι* has only the single augm.: *ἀνεσχόμην* A. 18. 4 (*ἥν.* DEHLP), *ἀνείχεσθε* 2 C. 11. 1 (ibid. 4, but BD\* *ἀνεχ.*), cp. Moeris's dictum *ἥνεσχετο Ἀττικοί, ἀν. Ἐλληνες*; elsewhere, too, in the N.T. there is no instance of doubly augmented forms of this kind.

Verbs derived from compounds (*παρασύνθετα*) are in general treated like compound verbs in Attic Gk., if the first component part is a prepos.: the same is always the rule in N.T., except in the case of *προφητεύειν*: *ἐπροφητεύσαμεν* Mt. 7. 22 ΙB\*CLZ, *προεφ.* B<sup>2</sup>EGM al., 11. 13 *ἐπροφήτευσαν* ΙB\*CDG, *προεφ.* B\*\*EFG al., (with similar division of mss.) 15. 7, Mc. 7. 6, L. 1. 67, A. 19. 6 (Ι always *ἐπρ.* except in Jd. 14 *προεπροφητεύσειν*: B\* *ἐπροφ.*, B<sup>3</sup> *ἐπροεφ.*, all others *προεφ.*).<sup>2</sup> So also *διάκονω* makes *διηκόνουν* (from *διάκονος*: does διά form part of the word?), but in Att. *ἐδιακόνουν* (we even have *περισσεύω*, *περιέστενον* in E Acts 16. 5, a form proscribed by Phrynicus). Verbs formed from compounds of εῦ, when the adverb is followed by a short vowel, have a tendency in the late language to augment this vowel: *εὐαγγελίζομαι*, *εὐηγγελιζόμην* (so always): *εὐαρεστῶ*, *εὐηρεστηκέναι* H. 11. 5 ΙDEP (*εὐαρ.* AKL).<sup>3</sup> Verbs compounded of two prepositions tend to a double augmentation: *ἀπεκατέστη* (ἀποκ. B) Mc. 8. 25, *ἀπεκατεστάθη* (ἀποκ. DK) Mt. 12. 13: similarly Mc. 3. 5 (ἀποκ. D), L. 6. 10 (parallel forms occur in inscriptions and the papyri); but in H. 12. 4 *ἀντεκατέστητε* is hardly attested.

<sup>1</sup> Εκάμμυσαν Mt. 13. 15 O.T., A. 28. 27 O.T., explains itself. *Καμμέω* from κατ(α)μύω: the verb is proscribed by Phryn. Lob. 339.

<sup>2</sup> This verb is treated at length in Κόντος *κριτικαὶ καὶ γραμμ. παρατηρήσεις* (1895), p. 70 ff.: see also W. Schmidt, Joseph. eloc. 442. *Παρρησιάζομαι* *ἐπαρρ.* does not come under this head (*πᾶν* not *παρά* is imbedded in it).

<sup>3</sup> Hermas, Vis. iii. 1. 9 *εὐαρεστηκότων Ι*, εὐηρ. as: *εὐηρέστησαν* Sim. viii. 3. 5.

## § 16. VERBS IN -Ω. TENSE FORMATION.

1. **Verbs with pure stem.**—Φορέω keeps a short vowel in the formation of the tenses (Att. -η-), ἐφορέσαμεν, φορέσομεν 1 C. 15. 49 (φορέσαι Herm. Sim. ix. 16. 3, but perf. πεφορηκότες ibid. 1);<sup>1</sup> inversely (ἐπι-)ποθέω makes ἐπεπόθησα 1 P. 2. 2 (LXX.; in old and Attic Gk. -εσα preponderates). Cp. ἐρρέθην from stem ρέ- Mt. 5. 21 §LM al., 27 KŁ al., 31 §LM al., and so elsewhere interchangeably with ἐρρήθην (cp. LXX. and other late writings), but the short vowel is limited in N.T. and other writings to the indic.: where there is no augment the form is always ρήθείς etc. Πεινᾶν makes πεινάσω, ἐπείνασα (no doubt with ᾱ, not ḥ) L. 6. 25 etc. (so also LXX.); but διψᾶν, διψήσω. With σ we have λελουσμένοι H. 10. 23 §D\*P, but λελούμ. as in Att. in Jo. 13. 10 (-σμ- only E): κέκλεισμαι always (L. 11. 7 etc.), as against Att. -εμαι (-γμαι): ἐκλείσθην as Att.: cp. irreg. verbs ζώννυμ, κεράννυμ, σύζω.

2. **Verbs with mute stem.**—Of verbs in -ξω the following have a guttural character: ννστάξω, ἐνύσταξαν Mt. 25. 8 (Hellen.: Att. -ασα): παίξω, fut. ἐμπαίξω, aor. pass. ἐνεπάιχθην Mc. 10. 34, Mt. 2. 16 etc. (Doric and Hellen.: ἐπαίσα etc. Att.); the following is dental: σαλπίξω, σαλπίσω, ἐσάλπισα (1 C. 15. 52, Mt. 6. 2 al.), Hellenistic for -ι(γ)ξα; the following fluctuate: ἀρπάξω, -άσω, ἡρπασα, -άσθην (=Att.), but -άγην Hellenist. 2 C. 12. 2, 4, cp. ἀρπαξ (Att.), ἀρπαγή (old and Att.), ἀρπαγμός (ἀρπάξω Homeric fut.): στριξώ, -ίσω, -ισα L. 9. 51 BCL al. (-ιξα §AD al.), 22. 32 (-ξ- D al.), Ap. 3. 1 ACP (-ξ- §B), 2 Th. 3. 3 B, A. 15. 32 CE, elsewhere -ξ- (and ἐστίριγμα, στηριγμός), which was the old inflection: cp. στῆριγξ. Ἀρμόξω (ἡρμοσάμην), σφάξω (εσφάξα) are unrepresented in present and imperfect.

3. **Verbs with liquid stem.**—Verbs in -άνω, -άρω take only -άνα, -άρα in the 1st aor. act., without regard to the preceding sound: thus ἔξήρανα (ρ precedes) as in Att., but also ἐλεύκανα (ἐκέρδανα),<sup>2</sup> ἔβάσκανα, ἐσήμανα for Att. -ηνα: ἐπιφάναι from -φαίνω L. 1. 79, ἀναφάναντες (male -φανέντες AB\*CE al.) A. 21. 3, φάνη Ap. 18. 23: ἔξεκάθαρα 1 C. 5. 7, 2 Tim. 2. 21 (ἔκάθαρα is also sporadically found in 4th century Attic). <sup>3</sup>Αρα (contracted from ἀείραι) agrees with Att. Perf. pass. ἔξηραμμένος Mc. 11. 20 (Att. -ασμαι, though -αμμαι is also attested), μεμιαμμένος Tit. 1. 15 (Att. -σμ-), cp. μεμαραμμένος Herm. Vis. iii. 11. 2 § (-ασμ- as), κατησχυμμένος Mand. xii. 5. 2.

## § 17. VERBS IN -Ω. NEW FORMATION OF A PRESENT TENSE.

A new present tense is formed out of the perf. (instances of which are forthcoming also at an earlier period: γεγωνέω from γέγωνα): γρηγορεῖν (Phryn. 118) from ἐγρήγορα (the latter never in N.T.:

<sup>1</sup> The ε in φορέω is never found elsewhere except in the aorist and future active.

<sup>2</sup> 1 C. 9. 21 §AB al., but §DEKL κερδήσω the regular form elsewhere, cp. Irreg. Verbs, § 24.

γρηγ. LXX., never in good writers, N.T. with aor. ἐγρηγόρησα): στήκω ‘stand’ from ἔστηκα (used along with the latter word), Mc. 11. 25 στήκετε (-ητε; στῆτες), 3. 31 στήκοντες BC\* (v.l. στάντες, ἔστηκότες, ἔστωτες), 1 C. 16. 13 (imperat. στήκετε), G. 5. 1 (id.), Ph. 4. 1 (id.), 1 Th. 3. 8 (id.), the only additional forms elsewhere are στήκει R. 14. 4, and στήκετε indic. Ph. 1. 27: thus it is almost confined to Pauline writings, and is mainly found in the imperat. (for which ἔστατε is the old form, ἔστηκετε is unexampled). The word (mod. Gk. στέκω: στήκω, Epigr. Kaibel, 970) is thoroughly plebeian. Other exx. of new present forms are: ἀμφιάζω for -έννυμι (Hellenist., also LXX.) L. 12. 27, ἀμφιάζει B, -έξει DL (the latter form, elsewhere unattested, is cited by Cramer, An. Ox. 2. 338, as κουνόν, and -άξω as δωρικόν), -έννυσις A etc. as all MSS. read in Mt. 6. 30:—ένδιδύσκω ‘put on’ Mc. 15. 17 ΛBC (D ἐνδύδυσκ.) for ἔνδιώ: ἐνδιδύσκομαι ‘put on oneself’ L. 8. 27 ΛΑ (D -δυδί-) al. (v.l. aor.), 16. 19 (LXX., Herm. Sim. ix. 13. 5):—κρύβω (Hellenist., see Phryn. Lob. 317: formed from the Hellenist. aor. ἐκρύβην, like ἐγράφην from γράφω: see § 19, 2), L. 1. 24 περιέκρυβεν impf., not 2nd aor.: elsewhere no instances of pres. or impf. in N.T., Ev. Petr. 16 ἐκρύβομεθα:—(**ἀπο**)κτέν(v)ω for -κτείνω, with extremely uncertain spelling: Mt. 10. 28 -κτεννόντων (-ενόντων E al., -εινόντων B): Mc. 12. 5 -κτένοντες, FG al. -ένοντες, B -εννύντες, Λ -ιννύντες, MS -άινοντες: L. 12. 4 -εννόντων, -ενόντων DG al., -ατν- M, -ειν- B: 2 C. 3. 6 -έννει, ACDE al. -ένει, B -είνει: Ap. 6. 11 -έννεσθαι, BP -είνεσθαι: 13. 10 -ένει, -ενει BCP, -ένει Λ; here Lachm. writes -άινει (as he does in 2 C. 3. 6), Tischend. -ενεΐ.<sup>1</sup> The ordinary -είνω has most support in Mt. 23. 37 (-ενν- CGK, -εν- Λ), L. 13. 34 (-ενν- AK al.). For the spelling with -νν- or -ν- see on χύν(v)ω:—νίπτω (apparently not earlier than Hellenistic Gk., from νίψω, ἔνιψα) for νίξω:—χύν(v)ω for χέω (Hellenist., mod. Gk.: ep. κέχυμαι, ἐχύθην with ἐπλιθην from πλύνω) everywhere except in Mt. 9. 17 ἐκχεῖται (probably in an interpolation, cp. D); in Ap. 16. 1 we should write ἐκχέατε aor. with B instead of -εετε.<sup>2</sup> The best MSS. write the word with νν: A. 9. 22 ΛB\*C, 21. 31 Λ\*AB\*D, 22. 20 ΛAB\*, Mt. 26. 28 ΛABCD al., similarly 23. 35, Mc. 14. 24, L. 11. 50, 22. 20; in other writings, however (Lob. Phryn. 726), χύνω is the only recognised form, and this also has analogy in its favour. Cp. further in the table of verbs, § 24, βλαστᾶν, γαμίζειν, ὀπτάνεσθαι (under ὄραν).

### § 18. VERBS IN -Ω. ON THE FORMATION OF THE FUTURE.

1. The so-called Attic future of verbs in -έω, -άξω etc. disappears, as the name itself implies, from the Hellenistic language, and accordingly from the N.T.; therefore -έσω, -άσω, not -ῶ -εῖς, -ῶ -ᾶς in N.T.

<sup>1</sup> In Acts 3. 1 for ἀνέβαινον A has ἀναβεννον, C ἀνέβεννον, in L. 10. 31 A καταβεννειν. The spelling -κτάνω has, however, little probability in view of the consistent forms of the fut. -ενῶ and aor. -ενα; with -ένω one might compare μένω. (ἀποκτέννω also occurs occasionally in LXX., W.-Schm. § 15 note.)

<sup>2</sup> Herm. Vis. v. 5 συγχέννον Λ; in Sim. viii. 2. 7 παραχέειν of as should perhaps be emended παραχέαι.

Greek are correct (whilst the LXX. still has forms in -ω̄ -ᾶσ). So in particular καλῶ καλέσω, τελῶ τελέσω (ἀπόλλυμι, ἀπολέσω, ἀπολοῦμαι, § 24). On the other hand, verbs in -ξω to a great extent form their fut., as in Att., with -ῶ, particularly (W. H. ii. App., p. 163) in the 3rd pers. plur. act., where the following syllable also begins with a σ: ἐλπιοῦσιν L. 1. 48, ἔδαφιοῦσιν 19. 44 etc. (only in Col. 4. 9 γνωρίσουσιν κ<sup>o</sup>BFGP, -ιοῦσιν κ<sup>o</sup>ACD<sup>e</sup> al., whereas ibid. 7 all MSS. have γνωρίσει, cp. E. 6. 21, Jo. 17. 26). In the LXX. the formation in -ῶ prevails, and this is accordingly found in O.T. quotations, παροργιῶ R. 10. 19, μετοικιῶ A. 7. 43. Additional exx.: Mt. 25. 32 ἀφορίσει κ<sup>o</sup>LΔ, -ιεῖ κ<sup>o</sup>ABD al. (-ιοῦσιν 13. 49 all MSS.): βαπτίσει always: Ja. 4. 8 ἔγγιει (-ισει A): ἐμφανίσω, θερίσω, καθίσω are constant: διακαθαριεῖ Mt. 3. 12, item (L. 3. 17) H. 9. 14 (καθ.): κομιέσθε 1 P. 5. 4, κομιεῖται Col. 3. 25 κ<sup>o</sup>ACD\* (-ισεται κ<sup>o</sup>BD<sup>e</sup> al.), E. 6. 8 κ<sup>o</sup>D<sup>e</sup> al. (-ισεται κ<sup>o</sup>ABD\* al.), κομιούμενοι 2 P. 2. 13 (v.l. ἀδικούμενοι): στρηίζω, -ίσω or -ξω, § 16, 2: φωτιεῖ Ap. 22. 5 κ<sup>o</sup>B, -ιτει AP: χαρίσεται R. 8. 32: χρονίει H. 10. 37 O.T. κ<sup>o</sup>AD<sup>e</sup> al., -ισει κ<sup>o</sup>D\* (οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ LXX.<sup>ed.</sup>): χωρίσω. Since in O.T. quotations the -ῶ of the LXX. has not been corrupted by scribes into -ίσω, it appears that in original passages of the N.T. the reading -ίσω should in general be preferred.

2. Future without the characteristic form of the future tense.—Πίομαι agrees with the Att. form: for ἔδομαι N.T. has φάγομαι, L. 14. 15, 17. 8, Jo. 2. 17 O.T., Ja. 5. 2, Ap. 17. 16 (LXX. has ἔδομαι *passim*: φάγομαι, ἔφαγον correspond to πίομαι, ἔπιον: Phryn. 327, φάγ. βάρβαρον). In place of the fut. χέω the LXX. and N.T. have χεῶ, χεεῖς etc.; ἐκχεεῖτε Deut. 12. 16, 24 (Clem. Cor. ii. 7. 5 παθέται for πείσεται from πάσχω, cp. καθεδοῦμαι).

3. Whereas in Att. many active verbs form a future *middle*, in N.T. the active form is in most cases employed throughout. Ἀκούσομαι occurs in the Acts (exc. in 28. 26 O.T. quot. -ετε) and R. 10. 14 a wrong reading of κ<sup>o</sup>DE al. for -σωσιν κ<sup>o</sup>B; but ἀκούσω, Jo. 5. 25 (-ονται AD al.), 28 (item), 10. 16 al. (where there is diversity of reading -σω is preferable, since -σομαι has not been corrupted in the Acts). Ἀμαρτήσω Mt. 18. 21 (Herm. Mand. iv. 1. 1, 2): ἀπαντήσω Mc. 14. 13: ἀρπάσω Jo. 10. 28 (κDLX οὐ μὴ ἀρπάσῃ): βλέψω Acts 28. 26 O.T.: γελάσω L. 6. 21: (γνώσομαι as ordinarily): διάξω Mt. 23. 34 al.<sup>1</sup> (ἐσθίω, φάγομαι, see 2): ζήσω Jo. 5. 25 κ<sup>o</sup>BDL (-ονται A al.), 6. 51 κ<sup>o</sup>DL (-εται BC al.), 57 ABC<sup>2</sup> (-εται ΓΔ al., ζῆ C\*D), with diversity of reading ibid. 58 and so *passim*, ζήσομαι all MSS. in Jo. 11. 25, R. 8. 13. ζήσω (1 Th. 5. 10, see § 65, 2) 2 Tim. 2. 11 (συνζήσομεν; -ωμεν CLP is only a corruption): both forms also occur in Att.: (ἀποθανοῦμαι as usual): θαυμάσονται Ap. 17. 8 κ<sup>o</sup>B, correctly for N.T. θαυμασθήσονται AP (from θαυμάζομαι = -ω, cp. 13. 3): κλαύσω L. 6. 25, Jo. 16. 20, Ap. 18. 9 (wrongly -ονται κ<sup>o</sup>A, though so read in Herm. Vis. iii. 3. 2):

<sup>1</sup> Επιορκήσω Mt. 5. 33 is also the Att. form: κατεπιορκησόμενος Demosth. 54. 40 is passive.

**κράξω** L. 19. 40 ΚBL, **κεκράξονται** AR al. as in Att. and LXX., **κραξονται** D: (*λή(μ)ψομαι*, *δύψομαι* as usual): **παξω** Mc. 10. 34: (*πεσοῦμαι*, *πίσημαι* as usual): **φέυστω** Jo. 7. 38: **σπουδάσω** 2 P. 1. 15 (-άζω §): **συναντήσω** (cp. ἀπαντ.: no Attic instance of fut. from *συναντώ*) L. 22. 10, A. 20. 22: (*τέξομαι*, *φεύξομαι*, *χαρίζομαι* as usual).<sup>1</sup>

### § 19. VERBS IN -Ω. FIRST AND SECOND AORIST.

1. 1st aorist act. in -σα instead of 2nd aorist.—(*Ἔξα*) beside *ἢγαγον* is seen in *ἐπάξας* 2 P. 2. 5, *ἐπιστράξαι* L. 13. 34, *συνάξαντες* A. 14. 27 D (found at the least in dialects, LXX., and late writers): *ἡμάρτησα* side by side with *ἥμαρτον* R. 5. 14, 16, Mt. 18. 15, Herm. Mand. iv. 3. 6, vi. 2. 7 etc. (Empedocl., LXX., Lob. Phryn. 732): *ἔβιωσα* 1 P. 4. 2 (the better Att. form is *ἔβιων*), *ἔξησα* often takes the place of the last word (Ionic and late, not Att.) A. 26. 5 etc.: *ἔβλαστησα* Mt. 13. 26, H. 9. 4, causative Ja. 5. 18 as in LXX. Gen. 1. 11 (Empedocl., late writers), never *ἔβλαστον*: *ἔθωσα* intrans. for *ἔδων* Mc. 1. 32 BD (*ἔδων* § A etc.), L. 4. 40 δύναντος D, δύναντος a few MSS., δύνοντος most MSS.: *ἔκραξα*, as in late writers, almost always (*ἀνέκραγον* L. 23. 18 ΚBL, Herm. Vis. iii. 8. 9) except A. 24. 21 *ἐκέκραξα* ΚABC as LXX.: *Ὥεψα* (late) A. 6. 2 (*κατέλ.*), L. 5. 11 D (*id.*), Mc. 12. 19 & *καταλείψῃ* for -λ(ε)ίτῃ, elsewhere *ἔλιπον*.<sup>2</sup> The assimilation to the fut. is everywhere well marked.—A new 2nd aor. *ἀνέθαλον* is formed from *ἀναθάλλω* Ph. 4. 10 (LXX.), apparently in causative sense (*ἀνέθάλετε τὸ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖν*), unless *τοῦ* should be read with FG; cp. §§ 24: 71, 2.

2. 2nd aorist passive for 2nd aorist active.—*Ἐφύνην* for *ἔφυν*, *φιένην* (*συμφνεῖσαι*) L. 8. 6 ff., *ἐκφνῆ* Mt. 24. 32 = Mc. 13. 20 (like *ἔρρύνην*; late). So also *παρεισεδίησαν* for -υσαν is read by B in Jd. 4.

3. 1st and 2nd aorist (and future) passive.—In the passive voice the substitution of the 2nd aor. for the 1st is a very favourite idiom. *ἢγγέλην* L. 8. 20 ἀπ. (LXX., and as early as Att.): *ἥνοιγην* Mc. 7. 35 (-οίχθ. A al.), A. 12. 10 (-χθη EHLP), Ap. 11. 19 (-χθη B), 15. 5 side by side with -χθην (Att. has 1st aor.): fut. -γήσομαι Mt. 7. 7, L. 11. 10 ΚAC al., δνοίγεται BD (as also B in Mt. loc. cit.), but -χθήσομαι L. 11. 9 f. (A)(D)EF al.: *ἥρπαγην* 2 C. 12. 2, 4 (late) for Att. *ἥρπάσθην* (so Ap. 12. 5 ACP, but -άγη §, -άχθη B), with fut. -γήσομαι 1 Th. 4. 17: *ἐκάνη* (Hom., Ionic, late writers) Ap. 8. 7, 1 C. 3. 15 (2 P. 3. 10), elsewhere, as in Att., we have the 1st aor. and the fut. formed from it: *ἐκρύβην* Mt. 5. 14, etc. In these new 2nd aorist forms there was a preference for the medial letters as the final sound of the stem, even though as in the last instance (*κρύψω*) the stem strictly had another termination (-φθην Att., -φην poet.): cp. pres. *κρύψω* § 17: *κατενύγην* Acts 2. 37: *διετάγην* G. 3. 19, *ἰπετάγην* R. 8. 20, 10. 3 al., *προστάγη* Herm. Mand. iv. 1. 10 (this writer also

<sup>1</sup> *Χαρήσομαι* is also to be regarded as Att. fut. of the aorist, as compared with *χαιρήσω* fut. of the present.

<sup>2</sup> Herm. Sim. viii. 3. 5 has *καταλείψεν* along with -ιπεν. Clem. Cor. ii. 5 *καταλείψαντας*, 10 -λείψωμεν.

has ὡρύγη for -χθη, from ὁρύσσω Sim. ix. 6. 7), ὑποταγήσομαι 1 C. 15. 28, H. 12. 9 (Barn. 19. 7), but L. 17. 9 f. διαταχθέντα as in Attic. Ψύχω makes ψυγήσεται Mt. 24. 12 (-χήσεται K; late writers even say ψύγω, Lob. on Soph. Ajax, p. 373<sup>2</sup>: cp. ἐκρύβην – κρύβω). New 1st aorists (for what in Attic is expressed by a different verb) are ἐτέχθην L. 2. 11, Mt. 2. 2 (Att. ἐγενόμην) : ἀπεκτάνθην passim (Att. ἀπέθανον). A substitute for 2nd aor. is ἐκλίθην (poet.), the regular form (also κλιθήσομαι) for Att. ἐκλίνην.

4. On the intermixture of terminations of the 1st and 2nd aor. act. and mid. see § 21, 1.

## § 20. VERBS IN -Ω. AORIST AND FUTURE OF DEPONENT VERBS.

1. **Aorist passive for aorist middle.** —'Εγενήθην (Hellenist., Phryn. 108, LXX.) in addition to ἐγενόμην : Mt. 6. 10, 9. 29, 15. 28, 26. 42 imperat. γενηθήτω, in O.T. quot. ἐγενήθη 21. 42; elsewhere only 11. 23 -νήθησαν NBCD, 28. 4 NBC\*DL; Mc. and Jo. (including Epp. and Apoc.) never have this form except in O.T. quotations, so also L. Gosp., but 10. 13 (=Mt. 11. 23) -νήθησαν NBDLΞ, 18. 23 -νήθη NBL: in Acts the only instance is 4. 4 all MSS. -νήθη, but D also has it in 7. 13, 20. 3, 16; it is frequent, however, in the epistles of Paul and Peter, and in Hebrews. Cp. the perfect γεγένημαι (found in Att.) in addition to γέγονα. 'Απεκρίθην (Hellenist., Phryn. 108) is universal, Luke alone uses the Attic form ἀπεκρινάμην as well, 3. 16 (23. 9, L correctly -νετο), A. 3. 12 (D is different), and always in the indic.; otherwise the latter form is only found with var. lect.: Mt. 27. 12 (D correctly -ετο), Mc. 14. 61 (-ίθη D; -νετο ?), Jo. 5. 17, 19, 12. 23. The corresponding fut. is ἀποκριθήσομαι. So also ὑποκρίνομαι 'dissemble,' ὑπεκρίθην, συνυπεκρίθησαν G. 2. 13 (Herm. Sim. ix. 19. 3, as Polyb.), διακρίνομαι 'doubt,' διεκρίθην. 'Απελογήθην L. 21. 14, -ησάμην 12. 11, but Clem. Alex. ii. 35 f. Dd. (quotation) -ηθῆτε (Att. ἀπελογησάμην, but the other aor. too is very old). Again, ἐγείρομαι only makes ἡγέρθην (found in Att.), never ἡγρόμην : ἀναπανόμαι, (ἐπ)αναπαήσομαι L. 10. 6 NBC\* (-άνσεται rell.), Ap. 14. 13 NBC (ibid. 6. 11 -άνσονται or -ωνται all MSS., and so elsewhere; but Herm. Vis. i. 3. 3 &, iii. 9. 1 & ἐπάην, and καταπαήσεται Pap. Londin. p. 113, line 916; ἔκανσα, ἔκάην corresponds to ἔπανσα, ἔπάην). To verbs expressive of emotion, which also in Att. take a passive aorist, belong ἀγαλλιάμαι (found along with -ιῶ, § 24), ἡγαλλιάθην (-σθην BL) Jo. 5. 35 (but 8. 56 -ασάμην, and so elsewhere) : (θαυμάζομαι, late form) ἥθαυμάσθην Ap. 13. 3 A (-αύμασεν NBC, -ανμαστώθη C), -σθήσομαι 17. 8, cp. § 18, 3 (the act. -άξω occurs in Ap. 17. 7 and regularly elsewhere; ἥθαυμάσθην in pass. sense 2 Th. 1. 10): θαυμβεῖσθαι Mc. 1. 27 ἥθαυμβήθησαν (-βησαν D), θαυμβηθέντες A. 3. 11 D, cp. impf. Mc. 10. 24, 32, but θαυμβῶν A. 9. 6 D as in Hom. etc.—Διελέξατο A. 17. 2 NBC (-έχθη DE), 18. 19 NBC (-έχθη EHLP) is a wrong reading for διελέγετο; the Attic διελέχθην stands in Mc. 9. 34. 'Αρνεῖσθαι and

ἀπ- have only the aor. mid. (Att. more often aor. pass.; a corrupt active form ἀπαρνῆσαι occurs in Herm. Sim. i. 5).

2. The future passive (i.e. strictly the aoristic fut., see § 14, 1) is found with other verbs similar to those mentioned: (*εὐφρανθήσομαι* only B for pres. Ap. 11. 16) *κοιμηθήσομαι* 1 C. 15. 51, *μεταμεληθήσομαι* H. 7. 21 O.T. quot., *φανήσομαι* (*φανοῖμαι* 1 P. 4. 18 O.T. quot.), *φοβηθήσομαι* H. 13. 6 O.T. On the other hand: *γενήσομαι*, *δυνήσομαι*, *ἐπιμελήσομαι* 1 Tim. 3. 5: *πορεύσομαι* (L. 11. 5 etc.).

## § 21. VERBS IN -Ω. TERMINATIONS.

1. As early as Attic Greek there is not wanting an intermediate form between the 1st and 2nd aor. act. mid., with the terminations of the 1st aor. but without its σ: *εἰπά* beside *εἶπον*, *ἥνεγκα* beside *ἥνεγκον*. The Hellenistic language had a tendency to extend this type to numerous aorists which in classical Greek had the terminations of the 2nd aor. throughout: *εἶλα*, -άμην, *εὗρα*, -άμην etc. (Kühner I.<sup>3</sup> ii. 104). Still this process, by means of which the second aorist was eventually quite superseded, is in the N.T. far from complete. *Εἰπά* (W. H. App. 164) keeps *a* unchanged in the forms with τ (as also in Att.): *εἴπατε*, -άτω, -άτωσαν; also fairly often before μ: *ἀπειπάμεθα* 2 C. 4. 2, *προείπαμεν* 1 Th. 4. 6 (-ο- AKL al.); *εἴπας* Mt. bis, L. semel, Mc. 12. 32 with v.l. -εις ή\*DEF al., Jo. 4. 17 -εις ήB\*; -αν has preponderant evidence; rarely *εἴπα* as in A. 26. 15; imperat. *εἴπε* and *εἶπον* (for accent, Lob. Phr. 348) interchangeably; the part *εἴπας* is rare (A. 22. 29 -ών HLP), *εἴπασα* hardly occurs (in Jo. 11. 28 all MSS. have *εἴπούσα* in the first place, BC\* have -ασα in the second; -ασα Herm. Vis. iii. 2. 3 ή, iv. 3. 7 ή\*); on the other hand *εἴπόντος* etc., *εἴπειν*. "ἥνεγκα has *a* except in the infin. (only 1 P. 2. 5 has *ἀνείγκαι*, always -εῖν in Joseph., W. Schm. de Joseph. elocut. 457); imp. Mt. 8. 4 *προσένεγκε* (-ον BC), παρ- Mc. 14. 36, L. 22. 42 (*male* vv. ll. -αι L. al., -εῖν AQ al.). Other verbs never have inf. in -αι nor part. -ας, nor yet imperat. 2 sing. in -ον; on the other hand these forms occur: *ἔβαλαν* Α. 16. 37 BD, 21. 27 ή\*Α (*ἐπ-*), Mc. 14. 46 ήB (*ἐπ-*), (*ἔξεβαλαν* Mc. 12. 8 B, cp. Mt. 13. 48 D, 21. 39 D, Ap. 18. 19 C); *ἔδαν* Mt. 13. 17 ήB, L. 10. 24 ήBC al., Mc. 6. 33 D etc.; *ἔδαμεν* Mt. 25. 37 B\*I, Mc. 2. 12 CD, 9. 38 DN: *ἔδατε* L. 7. 22 A, Jo. 6. 26 C: *ἔδα* Ap. 17. 3 A, 6 ήA; in these instances -ον has far the most support from the MSS. It is otherwise with *ἔβλον*, -λα: *ἔβλατο* 2 Th. 3. 10 (-ετο K), Herm. Sim. v. 6. 6: *ἀνείλατε* A. 2. 23, -ατο 7. 21 (-ετο P), -αν 10. 39 (-ον HLP): *ἔξείλατο* 7. 10 (-ετο H), 12. 11 (-ετο P), -άμην 23. 27 (-όμην HLP), but -έσθαι 7. 34 O.T. quot. *Ἐύρα* has only slender attestation: *εὐράμενος* H. 9. 12 (-ό D\*), -αν L. 8. 35 B\*, Mt. 22. 10 D, A. 5. 10 AE, 13. 6 A: -αμεν L. 23. 2 B\*L al. Again there is preponderant evidence for *ἔπεσα*, -αν, -ατε (G. 5. 4): imp. -ατε L. 23. 30 (-ετε ή\*ABD al.), Ap. 6. 16 (-ετε ήBC). *\*Ηλθα* Ap. 10. 9 A (-ον ήBCP), -αμεν A. 27. 5 ήA, 28. 16 A. 21. 8 B, Mt. 25. 39 D: -αν is often interchanged with -ον: but the imp. *ἔλθατε*, *ἔλθάτω* is

attested by the mass of the MSS. All other instances are quite isolated: ἀπέθανεν Mt. 8. 32 κ<sup>b</sup>, L. 20. 31 B\*, Jo. 8. 53 D\*: ἔλαβαν, -αμεν, -ατε Jo. 1. 12 and 1 Jo. 2. 27 B\*, L. 5. 5 A: ἔπιαν 1 C. 10. 4 D\* etc.

2. The (mod. Gk.) extension of the terminations -α, -ας etc. to the imperfect is rare, and in no case unanimously attested. Εἶχαν Mc. 8. 7 κBDΔ, A. 28. 2 κAB, 8. 10 κ, Ap. 9. 8 κA (9 -ον omn.), L. 4. 40 D, Jo. 15. 22, 24 D\* (rell. -ον or -σαν): -αμεν 2 Jo. 5 κA: έλεγαν Jo. 11. 56 κD, 9. 10, 11. 36 κ\*, A. 28. 6 B. According to Buresch, Rh. Mus. 46, 224, these forms should not be recognised in the N.T., since the MSS. supporting them are quite thrown into the shade by the enormous mass of those which support -ον, -ες etc.

3. The (aoristic) termination -αν for -ασι in the 3rd pers. plur. perf. (Alexandrian according to Sext. Emp. adv. gramm. 213) is not frequent either in the LXX. or in the N.T., and in the latter is nowhere unanimously attested, so that its originality is subject to the same doubt with the last exx. (Buresch, p. 205 ff.). The instances are: ἔώρακαν L. 9. 36 BC<sup>2</sup>LX, Col. 2. 1 κ\*ABCD\*P: τετήρηκαν BDL Jo. 17. 6: ἔγνωκαν ABCD al., ibid. 7 (ἐτήρησαν - ἔγνων κ): ἀπέσταλκαν κAB A. 16. 36: εἰσελήγλυθαν BP Ja. 5. 4: γέγοναν R. 16. 7 κAB, Ap. 21. 6 κA (-α κ\*BP, Buresch): πέπ(τ)ωκαν 18. 3 AC: εἴρηκαν 19. 3 κAP.

4. The termination -σαν for -ν in the 3rd pers. plur. in Hellenistic and N.T. Greek is constant in the imper. (also in the pass. and mid. as προσενέξασθωσαν Ja. 5. 14); in the impf. (Hellenist., Kn. ii.<sup>3</sup> 55) it is found in ἐδόλιονσαν R. 3. 13 O.T. quot.: also εἰχοσαν Jo. 15. 22, 24 κB al. (εἰχαν D\*, εἰχον AD<sup>2</sup> which makes a very serious ambiguity), παρελάβοσαν 2 Th. 3. 6 κ\*AD\* (-ετε BFG, -ον κ\*D<sup>corr</sup>E al., somewhat ambiguous). The forms are apparently authentic, since they were hardly current with the scribes, except in contract verbs, where these forms are also found in mod. Gk.; cp. ἐθορυβούσαν D A. 17. 5 (κατοικουσαν ? D 2. 46; D also has ψηλαφήσασαν, ἔνροισαν in 17. 27, see 5; Herm. Sim. vi. 2. 7 εὐσταθούσαν, ix. 9. 5 ἐδοκούσαν). Cp. Buresch, 195 ff.

5. The termination -ες for -ας (in perf. and 1st aor.)<sup>1</sup> is not only quite unclassical, but is also only slenderly attested in the N.T.: Ap. 2. 3 κεκοπίακες AC, 4 ἀφῆκες κC: ἐλήλυθες A. 21. 22 B, ἔώρακες Jo. 8. 57 B\*, ἔδωκες 17. 7 AB, 8 B, εἴληφες Ap. 11. 17 C etc. (W.-Schm. § 13, 16; Buresch, 219 ff.; εἴωθες Papyr. of Hyperides c. Philipp. col. 4. 20).

6. The rare optative has 3rd sing. of the 1st aor. in αι (also Clem. Cor. i. 33. 1 ἔάσαι), not the better Att. -ειε; and a corresponding 3rd plur. in αιεν: ποιήσαιεν L. 6. 11 BL (-ειεν κA, -ειαν Att. EKM al.: D has quite a different reading): A. 17. 27 ψηλαφήσειαν B al., -ειεν κE, -αισαν and ibid. εῦροισαν D, which may be correct (cp.

<sup>1</sup> Apollonius, Synt. i. 10, p. 37: 37, p. 71, attests εἴρηκες, ἔγραψες, γραψέτω for -ας, -άτω as forms about which grammarians were in conflict. Αφήκετε B\* Mt. 23. 23.

LXX. *αἰνέσαισαν* Gen. 49. 8, *ελθοισαν* Deut. 33. 16, W.-Schm. § 13, 14, note 14), since the scribes of D and of its ancestors certainly did not find the optative in the living language.

7. The plurf. of course keeps *ει* (not *ε*) in the plur.: *πεποιήκεισαν* Mc. 15. 7 etc.

8. The 2nd pers. sing. of the pres. and fut. pass. and mid. regularly ends (as also in the older Attic) in *-η*; the later Attic *ει* (*η* and *ει* interchangeable, § 3, 5) is found only in the word *βούλει*, borrowed by Luke from the literary language (L. 22. 42 -λη FGR al.; cp. Herm. Sim. ix. 11. 9 *βούλη*, v. 5. 5 apparently *βούλει*), = *θέλεις* of the popular language. Along with *-η*, the termination *-σαι*, esp. frequent in contract verbs in *-ω*, corresponding to the forms *-μαι*, *-ται* as in the perf., is a new formation of the popular language which coincides with the primitive ending, and in mod. Greek has affected verbs of all classes.<sup>1</sup> 'Οδυνάσαι L. 16. 25: *κανχάσαι* 1 C. 4. 7, R. 2. 17, 23, 11. 18: also *φάγεσαι*, *πίεσαι* L. 17. 8. (Herm. Vis. ii. 4. 1 *πλανάσαι*: Sim. i. 3 *χρᾶσαι* [Vis. iii. 6. 7 the same form, but corrupt], ix. 2. 6 *ἐπισπᾶσαι*.) These should be regarded as the regular forms in the N.T., since *όδυνη*, *φάγη*, *πίη* are not represented.<sup>2</sup>

## § 22. CONTRACT VERBS.

1. **Verbs in *-άω*.**—*Zῆν* takes *η* as in Att., but *πεινᾶν*, *διψᾶν* take *α* for *η* as in other Hellenist. writings (cp. *ἐπέινασα*, § 16, 1). (From *ζῆν* 1 sing. impf. *ἔζην* R. 7. 9 B for *ἔζων*.<sup>3</sup>) From *χρῶμαι* we have *χρῆται* in 1 Tim. 1. 8 &D al., *χρήσηται* AP, otherwise there is no apposite example; *χρᾶσθαι* is Hellenistic, cp. Clem. Cor. ii. 6. 5 A, § 21, 7, W.-Schm. § 13, 24.—Confusion of *-άω* and *-έω*: *ἡρώτουν* Mt. 15. 23 &ABCD, Mc. 4. 10 &C, Jo. 4. 31 C (no MS. in 4. 40 [9. 15 X], 12. 21), A. 16. 39 A; no other form of this vb. with *ον*:—*ἐνεβριμοῦντο* Mc. 14. 5 &C\*, *-μούμενος* Jo. 11. 38 &AU:—*κοπιοῦσιν* Mt. 6. 28 B:—*νικοῦντι* Ap. 2. 17 AC, 2. 7 A (-οντι B), 15. 2 C:—*κατεγέλοντι* L. 8. 53 D\*KX etc. Cp. mod. Gk.; W.-Schm. § 13, 26.—On *-άσαι*, 2 pers. sing. pass., see § 21, 7.

2. **Verbs in *-έω*.**—Uncontracted contrary to the rule is *ἐδέετο* L. 8. 38 (-*εὗτο* &BC<sup>2</sup>LX, -*εεὕτο* AP formed out of *-εετο* with correction *ει* written over it), cp. Clem. Hom. iii. 63, *κατέρρεε* Apoc. Petr. 26, Phryn. 220.—Confusion of *-έω* and *-άω*: *έλεῶντος* R. 9. 16 (-οῦντος B<sup>3</sup>K), *έλεᾶτε* Jd. 22 &BC<sup>2</sup>, 23 &AB (there is much variety of reading in this verse); but R. 9. 18 *έλεει* &A<sup>2</sup>BD<sup>c</sup>L al., *έλεῃ* only in D\*(E)FG (otherwise no exx. of such forms from *έλεω*: both forms found in

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Lob. Phryn. 360.

<sup>2</sup> It is otherwise with verbs in *-έω*: L. 23. 40 *φοβῆ σύ*, Herm. Vis. iii. 1. 9 *λυπῆ*, but 10. 7 *αιτησαι*, i.e. *αιτεῖσαι* & for *αιτεῖσαι* as. From verbs in *-ώω*, *ἀπεξένοῦσαι* (sic) LXX. 3 Kgs. 14. 6, *διαβεβαιοῦσαι* Clem. Hom. xvi. 6. *χαριεῖσαι*, from *χαριοῦσαι*, occurs as early as 3rd cent. B.C. on an Egyptian papyrus. Grenfell-Hunt, Greek Papyri, series ii. (1897), p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ζῆν* also occurs in Demosth. 24. 7 nearly all mss., Eur. Alc. 295 v.l., Phryn. Lob. 457. Cp. *σύζηθι*, Herm. Mand. iv. 1. 9; Kühner, Gr. I.<sup>3</sup> ii. 436.

LXX.:<sup>1</sup> the tenses have  $\eta$ , though  $\dot{\epsilon}\alpha\omega$  has  $\dot{\epsilon}\alpha\sigma\omega$ ):— $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\dot{\omega}ga$  Philem. 18, - $\epsilon\iota$   $\aleph^c D^{corr}$  EKL, - $\hat{\alpha}ta\iota$  R. 5. 13 only  $\aleph^a$  (and  $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\dot{\omega}\hat{a}to$  A); the Hellenistic vb. elsewhere employs - $\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu$ .<sup>2</sup>

3. Verbs in - $\dot{\omega}$ .—Infin. - $\omega\hat{\iota}\nu$  (=  $\omega\epsilon\nu$ ) for - $\omega\hat{\iota}\nu$ :  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\eta\nu\hat{o}\nu$  Mt. 13. 32 B\*D, Mc. 4. 32 B\*:  $\dot{\alpha}\pi\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\hat{o}\nu$  H. 7. 5 BD\*:  $\phi\mu\omega\hat{\iota}\nu$  1 P. 2. 15  $\aleph^*$ : but  $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\hat{\iota}\nu$  all uncials in L. 9. 31, and it is the constant form in LXX., so that the termination - $\omega\hat{\iota}\nu$  is hardly established for the N.T. Cp. W.-Schm. § 13, 25: Hatzidakis Einl. in d. neogr. Gramm. 193.—The conjunctive is regular in  $\epsilon\hat{\nu}\delta\hat{\omega}\tau\alpha\iota$  1 C. 16. 2 (- $\delta\omega\theta\hat{\gamma}$   $\aleph^c ACI$  al.): on the other hand it takes the indic. form in G. 4. 17  $\zeta\eta\lambda\omega\hat{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ , 1 C. 4. 6  $\phi\mu\omega\hat{\iota}\nu\sigma\theta\epsilon$  (just as the sing. of the conj. act. is identical with the indic., and in vbs. in - $\dot{\omega}$  the whole conjunctive).

### § 23. VERBS IN -ML.

1. The conjugation in - $\mu\iota$ , which from the beginning of the Greek language gradually gives way to the other conjugation in - $\omega$ , and which has eventually entirely disappeared in modern Greek, in spite of many signs of decay is not yet obsolete in the N.T. In vbs. in - $\nu\mu\iota$  (and in  $\delta\lambda\lambda\nu\mu\iota$ ), which in Attic and other early writers have already a very strong rival in the forms in -(v) $\dot{\omega}$ , the older method of formation has not yet disappeared in the N.T., and is especially the prevalent form (as in Att.) in the *passive*: Mt. 8. 25  $\dot{\alpha}\pi\omega\lambda\lambda\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ , 9. 17  $\dot{\alpha}\pi\omega\lambda\lambda\mu\tau\alpha\iota$ , etc. *Active forms*:  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\nu\mu\iota$  1 C. 12. 31 (never - $\nu\omega$  in this form),  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\nu\mu\iota\epsilon$  Jo. 2. 18 (never - $\nu\varsigma$ ),  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\nu\mu\iota\sigma\iota\mu$  Mt. 4. 8 ( $\aleph^c$  - $\nu\epsilon\iota$ ), Jo. 5. 20 (- $\nu\epsilon\iota$  D, but ibid. D - $\nu\mu\iota\sigma\iota\mu$  for  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\nu\mu\iota\epsilon$ ), cp.  $\dot{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\epsilon\nu\mu\iota\sigma\iota\mu$  § 24; but  $\dot{\alpha}\pi\omega\lambda\lambda\mu\iota\epsilon$  Jo. 12. 25 (v.l. - $\epsilon\sigma\iota\mu$ ),  $\delta\mu\nu\mu\iota$  Mt. 23. 20 ff. (from this verb there is no certain form in - $\mu\iota$ ),  $\delta\mu\nu\mu\iota\sigma\iota\mu$  H. 6. 16. Imperf. only in - $\omega$  form:  $\dot{\epsilon}\zeta\omega\nu\nu\mu\iota\epsilon$  Jo. 21. 8, ( $\dot{\nu}\pi$ ) $\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega\nu\nu\mu\iota\sigma\iota\mu$  Mt. 21. 8 (v.l.  $\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\mu$ ), Mc. 11. 8 D, L. 19. 36. Imperat.  $\dot{\alpha}\pi\omega\lambda\lambda\mu\iota\mu$  R. 14. 15,  $\delta\mu\nu\mu\iota\epsilon$  Ja. 5. 12,  $\sigma\beta\epsilon\mu\mu\iota\mu$  1 Th. 5. 19. Infin.  $\delta\mu\nu\mu\iota\epsilon$  Mt. 26. 74, Mc. 14. 71 (- $\nu\mu\iota$  BEHL al.),  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\nu\mu\iota\epsilon$  16. 21 (- $\nu\mu\iota$  B). Partic.  $\dot{\alpha}\pi\omega\lambda\lambda\mu\iota\omega\mu$  Ap. 9. 11,  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\nu\mu\iota\omega\mu$  22. 8 (- $\nu\mu\iota\omega\mu$   $\aleph^c$ ): but  $\dot{\nu}\pi\omega\mu\mu\iota\omega\mu$  A. 27. 17,  $\dot{\alpha}\pi\omega\epsilon\kappa\mu\iota\omega\mu$  2 Th. 2. 4 (- $\nu\mu\iota\omega\mu$  AFG).

2. In verbs in - $\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota$ , - $\dot{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ , - $\dot{\omega}\nu\alpha\iota$  there are similar transitions to the  $\omega$  conjugation.  $\Sigma\mu\nu\iota\sigma\mu\iota\mu$  R. 16. 1,  $\sigma\mu\nu\iota\sigma\mu\iota\mu$  3. 5, 5. 8, 2 C. 10. 8 are a few certain relics of the *active* of these forms in - $\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota$  (undoubtedly from the literary language); elsewhere this verb takes the form of *iστάνειν* (Hellenist.), for which *iστάν* (more often than - $\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota$  in LXX.) is a frequent v.l., occasionally also the plebeian *στάνειν* ( $\dot{\alpha}\pi\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\iota\epsilon$  A. 1. 6 D, 17. 15  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\iota\epsilon$  D\*, Mc. 9. 12  $\dot{\alpha}\pi\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\iota\epsilon$   $\aleph^c D$ , - $\tau\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\iota\epsilon$  B\*). Thus:  $\sigma\mu\nu\iota\sigma\mu\iota\mu$  2 C. 3. 1, FG - $\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota$ , BD\* - $\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota$ : 4. 2  $\sigma\mu\nu\iota\sigma\mu\iota\mu$   $\aleph^c D$ \*FG, - $\dot{\omega}\nu\alpha\iota$  D\*EKL, - $\dot{\omega}\nu\alpha\iota$  ABP, a similar division of the MSS. in 6. 4 (- $\dot{\omega}\nu\alpha\iota$  is also read by  $\aleph^c$ ): 1 C. 13. 2  $\mu\epsilon\theta\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\iota\mu$  ACKL, - $\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota$   $\aleph^c B$ DEFG (this is the only instance where a  $\mu\iota$  form is strongly supported as a v.l.):  $\mu\epsilon\theta\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\iota\mu$

<sup>1</sup> W.-Schm. § 13, 26, note 26.

<sup>2</sup> On this confusion of - $\dot{\omega}$  and - $\dot{\epsilon}\omega$  see Hatzidakis, Einl. in d. neogr. Gr. 128.

Herm. Vis. i. 3. 4. Πιμπλάν stands for πιμπλάναι in A. 14. 17 ἐρπιμπλάν (LXX.). The *passive* remains unaffected by this change (cp. 1): περάπτωτο 2 Tim. 2. 16, Tit. 3. 9, καθίσταται H. 5. 1 etc. [ἐρ]πέμπτριθαι A. 28. 6, Tisch. ἀπθαι, κρίπται Mt. 22. 40, κρεί-μεναι A. 28. 4, G. 3. 13 O.T. quot.: so also δέναμαι, ἐπάγταμι as usual, except that δένομαι, δρέμαι, δρενοι are read by B or B\* in Mt. 19. 12, 26. 53, Mc. 10. 39, A. 4. 20, 27. 15 (also in the papyri), cp. ἀφερέστο L. 19. 48 sB; and δένγη stands for δένωμαι in Mc. 9. 22 f. & (or \*) BD al., L. 40 B, L. 16. 2 sBDP (v.l. -γρη), Ap. 2. 2, but ωνται is read by all MSS. in Mt. 5. 36, L. 5. 12, 6. 42, Jo. 13. 36 (Phryn. 359: still δένγη or γη is already found in Attic poets). Cp. W. Schmidt, § 14, 17; both forms are found in Hermas, e.g. δένγη Via. ii. I. 3, iii. 10. 8, -ωνται iii. 8. 5. On ἔστην vide infra 4.

3. Τιθημι, δέδωμι.—The pres. indic. as in Att.; τιθη, i.e. τιθε, occurs in L. 8. 16 D; παριδίδωται is also found L. 22. 4; δέδω only occurs in Ap. 3. 9 AC<sup>1</sup> (-ηται BP, δέδωκα sT). But in the impf. the forms ἐτίθεαι, ἐδίδωται are already found in Att. and so in N.T.; 3rd plur. ἐτίθουν A. 3. 2, 4. 35 (cp. for Attic, Bekk. Anekd. i. 90), also 8. 17 according to D\*EHL<sup>2</sup> (οὐαν sAD<sup>2</sup>, οὐαν B, -ειαν C), Mc. 6. 56 ADN al. (-ειαν sBLΔ): δέδων A. 4. 33, 27. 1, Mc. 15. 23, but A. 16. 4 -οὐαν (-ουν HLP), Jo. 19. 3 sB; the forms in -ουν are to be preferred. Imperat. τιθε, δέδω as in Att. But δέδωμι in the *passive* goes over to the *a* conjugation, the analogy between the two forms being very close: διδάσκεται A. 4. 35 (-εται B<sup>3</sup>P), παριδίδεται I C. 11. 23 (-εται B<sup>3</sup>L<sup>3</sup>P), and so 2nd aor. mid. ἀπέδεσται H. 12. 16 AC, cp. Mt. 21. 33 s\*B\*CL, Mc. 12. 1 sAB\*CKI, L. 20. 9 s\*AB\*CL; but ἀπέδεσθαι A. 5. 8 all MSS.—For pres. conj. see 4.

4. 2nd aorist active and middle.—Ἐστην is found as an alternative for ἐστάθην, see 6; τιθημι, δέδωμι employ the 2nd aor. only in the mid., while ἐθίκουεν, -ετε, -εν, ἐδύκαμεν<sup>2</sup> etc. are the aor. act. forms in use (only L. 1. 2 has a 2nd aor. act. παρέδοσαν, literary language in the preface). From other verbs ἐβῆν, ἐγνων may be added. The indic. is regular (for the mid. cp. 3). The conj. to ἐδώκα (and δέδωμι) ἐγνων shows great fluctuation (2 sing. δέψ Mt. 5. 25): in the 3rd sing., which through the loss of the *i* in pronunciation had become identical with the 1st sing., beside δέψ (διδέψ) and γνψ we also have the forms δοῖ (διδοῖ), γνοῖ or δέψ (identical with the optat.). This last form, however, is almost confined to the Pauline Epistles, where the scribes often met with the optat., which was not current in their own day, and therefore introduced it occasionally for the conj. (vide infra): E. 1. 17 δέψ most MSS. (δέψ B), 3. 16 δέψ only DEK al., 2 Tim. 2. 25 δέψ s\*ACD\*P (Jo. 15. 16 δέψ

<sup>1</sup> Διδω Tisch., others διδῶ, cp. ἀποδιδοῦν for -εν A Ap. 22. 2 (παραδίδων s Mt. 26. 46, D Mc. 14. 42, J. 18. 2, 21. 20). In Hermas τιθῶ occurs Vis. i. 1. 3, ii. 1. 2; Clem. Cor. i. 23 ἀποδιδοῖ. Examples from the papyri in W. Schmidt, GtG. Gel. Anz. 1894, 45.

<sup>2</sup> No inference for an aor. δέδωται can be drawn from Ινα ... δέστη Jo. 17. 2 s\*AC al. (v.l. -σω, -σει, δῶ etc.); nor yet from Mc. 6. 37 ἀγοράσωμεν ... δέσωμεν (s\*BD, v.l. -σουμεν and δῶμεν), see § 65, 2.

EGH al.; ἀποδοίη D\* 1 Th. 5. 15). It is more difficult to decide between δῆ, γνῶ and δοῖ, γνοῖ (the latter like ζηλοῦ): still γνῶ has the greater attestation (Jo. 7. 51, 11. 57 [γνοῖ D\*], 14. 31, A. 22. 24: whereas γνοῖ has equal or greater authority in its favour in Mc. 5. 43, 9. 30, L. 19. 15); also (ἀπό)δῆ all MSS. in Mt. 18. 30, the same form or δώῃ all MSS. in E. 1. 17, 3. 16, 2 Tim. 2. 25, Jo. 15. 16 (ἢ δώσει), cp. 13. 29 (δοῖ D).—The optat. δώῃ is Hellenistic (Phryn. 345 f., Moeris)<sup>1</sup> and in Paul. Epp. R. 15. 5 etc.—Imperat. ἀνάστηθι and ἀνάστα A. 12. 7, E. 5. 14 O.T. quot. (-ῆτω, -ητε are constant), ἀνάβα Ap. 4. 1 (-ηθι A), μετάβα Mt. 17. 20 along with μετάβηθι Jo. 7. 3, κατάβηθι Mt. 27. 40 etc., προσανάβηθι L. 14. 10; this verb also has -βάτω, -βάτε Mt. 24. 17, 27. 42, Ap. 11. 12 (-ητε B) like τίμα, -άτε.<sup>2</sup>

5. Perfect active.—Of the perfects formed after a partial analogy to verbs in -μι, ἐστηκα limits these shorter forms to the infin. Ἐστάναι L. 13. 25, A. 12. 14, 1 C. 10. 12 (no other form: also usu. in the LXX.), and partic. ἐστῶς (in most cases: ἐστηκῶς is also found), fem. ἐστῶσα 1 C. 7. 26, 2 P. 3. 5, neut. ἐστός Mt. 24. 15 (v.l. -ώς), Ap. 14. 1 (B -ώς), but ἐστηκός (ἢ -ώς) 5. 6. But the indic. remains ἐστήκαμεν etc. (cp. ἐδώκαμεν). On στήκω see § 17. From τέθνηκα we have inf. τεθνάναι A. 14. 19 DEHLP; τεθνηκώς always. Οὖδα, -ας, -ε, -αμεν etc. (Ionic and Hellenist.); only in A. 26. 4 (speech of Paul before Agrippa) ὕστασιν (literary language); ὕστε H. 12. 17 (unless it be imperat.); plupf. ὕδειν, -εις etc.; moods as in Att.: εἰδός, ὕστε Ja. 1. 19, E. 2. 5 (v.l. ἐστε); infin. εἰδέναι, part. εἰδώς.

6. Remaining tenses of the ordinary verbs in -μι.—Ιστάνω in transitive sense has fut. στήσω, aor. ἐστηγα, perf. ἐστάκα (differentiated from -ηκα; first found in Hyperides) A. 8. 11. Intransitive are ὕσταμαι, fut. στήσομαι and σταθήσομαι, aor. ἐστην and ἐστάθην; both forms in the simple vb. are identical in meaning, as in Ionic and Hellenist.<sup>3</sup> (in Att. ἐστάθην, σταθήσ. have a passive sense). Compounds of ὕσταμαι, e.g. ἀνθύσταμαι, ἀν-, ἀφ-, δι-, ἔξαν-, ἔξ-, ἔφ- etc. take -ην, -ησομai in aor. and fut. in intransitive senses; on the other hand the following also take aor. in -θην in passive senses: καθίσταμαι (R. 5. 19), ἀποκαθ. (Mt. 12. 13, Mc. 3. 5 -στη C, Mc. 8. 25 -στη ΚΒCLΔ, L. 6. 10 -στη Η\*, H. 13. 19), μεθ. (L. 16. 4).<sup>4</sup> The perf. ἐστηκα has present meaning; but in Jo. 8. 44 οὐκ (ΝΒ\*DLX al.) ἐστηκεν (§ 4, 3) it has true perfect sense 'has stood,' a new formation related to ἐστην (?).—From φημί, except for -μι, -σι, ἔφη (which is at once impf. and aor., as in Att.), no forms are represented in N.T.

<sup>1</sup> This -ψην is found in other Hellenistic writings in all optatives in -οην: Philodem. Rhet. ed. Sudhaus, ii. 52, 144, 169, 285, εὐπορψή, παιψή, ὁμολογψή, φρονψή.

<sup>2</sup> Attic poets also have ἀνάστα, κατάβα, but other forms with η; LXX. only has -στα side by side with -στηθι.

<sup>3</sup> There is not sufficient ground for attributing a passive sense to the simple verb σταθῆμαι in passages like L. 21. 36 (D ibid. στήσεται).

<sup>4</sup> But also without passive sense ἐπεστάθην D L. 4. 39, 10. 40, Clem. Cor. i. 12. 4; ἀντεστάθην Herm. Mand. xii. 2. 3, παρεστ. Sim. viii. 4. 1.

—Τίθημι has, as generally in the Hellenist. language, perf. act. τέθεικα (Jo. 11. 34: Att. -ηκα), perf. mid. τέθειμαι (*συντ.*) Jo. 9. 22 (pass. in ἦν τεθειμένος Jo. 19. 41 ΙB for ἐτέθη;<sup>1</sup> in the parallel passage L. 23. 53 ἦν κείμενος according to the Att. usage, which is adhered to elsewhere in N.T. in the substitution of κεῖσθαι for τεθεῖσθαι).

7. **Ἴημι.**—Only found in composition with ἀν-, ἀφ-, (*παρ-*), καθ-, συν-, and in the case of ἀφ-, συν-ίημι (the only compounds in use in the popular language) with the alternative form in -ιω: in -ιετε, -ιεται the two conjugations coincide. Ἀφίημι (so Jo. 14. 27), -ήστι (Mt. 3. 15), -ιέναι (Mc. 2. 7 etc.); on the other hand -ιομεν (so ΙΑΒΓΕ) in L. 11. 4 (Mt. 6. 12 D al., but Ι\*Β ἀφήκαμεν); 2nd sing. pres. ἀφεῖς (i.e. -ιεις, -ιις, cp. § 6, 5, note 2), though in this case there appears in Att. also -ιεις (and τιθεις); impf. ἤφιεν Mc. 1. 34, 11. 16; in the passive there is fluctuation between -ιενται, -ιονται, -έωνται (vide infra). Cp. in Hermas ἀφίησιν Mand. x. 3. 3, -ιενται Vis. ii. 2. 4, -ιονται iii. 7. 1. In the case of συνίημι there is only one undisputed instance of the conjugation in -μι: A. 7. 25 συνιέναι: elsewhere Mt. 13. 19 συνιέντος, DF -ιοντος: L. 24. 45 συνιέναι, B\* συνιέναι; also συνίω, except in quotations, is never without var. lect.: Mt. 13. 13 συνίονται (language influenced by O.T.: -ιωσιν B\*\* ep. D), 2 C. 10. 12 συνίονται (-ιάσιν Ι\*Β, -ισασιν Ι\*), R. 3. 11 συνίων O.T. quot. (Barn. 12. 10 συνίων, but 4. 6, 10. 12 -ιέναι: Herm. Mand. iv. 2. 1, x. 1. 3 συνίω, iv. 2. 2 συνίει, x. 1. 6 συνίονται, Sim. ix. 12. 1 σύνιε; in the LXX. the forms from ἀφίω and συνίω are more established and fairly frequent, W.-Schm. § 14, 16). Ἀνίημι, ἀνιέντες E. 6. 9; καθιέμενος A. 10. 11, 11. 5.—Tenses: N.T. has ἀφῆκαν etc. like ἔθηκαν (4 supra), the perf. -έικα never occurs, while συνήκατε Mt. 13. 51, ἀφήκαμεν καὶ ἡκολούθηκαμεν (BCD, al. -ισαμεν) Mc. 10. 28 may indeed give the impression of being perfects, but are still to be taken as aorists (cp. Mt. 19. 27, L. 18. 28, and with συνήκατε Aristoph. Ach. 101 ἔννηκαθ' ὁ λέγει). The Doric (and Ionic) perf. was ἔωκα, pass. ἔωμαι, and the latter also appears in N.T.: the form ἀφέωνται is to be preferred in Jo. 20. 23 (wrong variants -ιενται, -(ε)ιονται: Ι\* ἀφεθήσεται), 1 Jo. 2. 12, L. 7. 47 f., 5. 20, 23 (also in Mt. 9. 2, 5 against -ιονται D [5 DΙ\*], -ιενται Ι[5 Ι\*]B, Mc. 2. 5 [-ιενται B], 9 [-ιε- ΙB]). On ἀνέθην, ἀφέθην see § 15, 4.

8. **Εἰμι.**—The transition to the inflection of a deponent vb. (seen in ἔσομαι: in mod. Gk. universally carried out) appears in ἦμην 1st pers. (differentiated from ἦν 3rd pers. Lob. Phryn. 152), from which ἦμεθα is also formed Mt. 23. 30, A. 27. 37, E. 2. 3 ΙB; in G. 4. 3 ἦμεν in the first instance (all MSS.) with ἦμεθα (Ι\*Δ\*FG) following; elsewhere ἦμεν.—The 2nd sing. impf. ἦσθα only occurs in Mt. 26. 69, Mc. 14. 67 (Euseb. quotes the verse with ἦς), elsewhere it is ἦς (the termination -σθα occurs nowhere else) as in Hellenistic Gk. (Phryn. 149). The imperat. has beside ἔστω, ἔστωσαν the vulgar form ἦτω Ja. 5. 12, 1 C. 16. 22 (Herm. Vis. iii. 3. 4, Clem. Cor. i. 48. 5), cp. W.-Schm. § 14, 1. "Ἐνι (i.e. strictly ἔνεστι, ἐνί = ἐν: cp. πάρα = πάρεστι) occurs

<sup>1</sup> Herm. Sim. ix. 15. 4 has τεθειμένοι in pass. sense, similarly περιτεθειμένα, Clem. Cor. i. 20. 4.

in 1 C. 6. 5, G. 3. 28, Col. 3. 11, Ja. 1. 17, already in the sense of ἔστιν ‘there is,’ which together with εἰσί has been supplanted by this word, now written εἶναι, in modern Greek. W. Schmidt, Atticism. iii. 121.

9. Εἴημι.—In the popular language the verb occurs neither in its simple form nor in composition, ἔρχομαι taking its place, § 24; the compounds only are employed by L. and Hebr. (from the literary language) and not always correctly. Εἰσίασιν H. 9. 6 for Att. εἰσέρχονται (εἰσίασιν is fut. in Att.): εἴσιθι B Acts 9. 6 (-ελθε): εἰσίεναι 3. 20. 7, 4 D, 27. 43: partic. L. 8. 4 (-ελθόντος D), Acts 13. 42, in aoristic sense 21. 17 in the β text, so aoristic εἰσήγει 21. 18, 26, -εσαν 17. 10, 15. (Clem. Cor. i. 24. 3 ἀπεισι ‘departs’ [Att. ‘will depart’], cp. 54. 2: Clem. Hom. ii. 1, iii. 63, (ἐπ)εισιών = -ελθών.)

10. Ἡμαί, κείμαι.—Κάθημαι, κάθῃ A. 23. 3 (cp. δύνη, supra 3; so already in Hyperides for -ησαι), imperat. κάθον (already in late Att.) Ja. 2. 3, Mt. 22. 44 etc., and O.T. for -ησο. Imperf. always ἐκαθήμην § 15, 7; fut. καθήσομαι Mt. 19. 28 (-ισεσθε CD\* al.), L. 22. 30 &AB<sup>3</sup> al. Cp. § 24.—Κείμαι is regular: also used as perf. pass. of τίθημι as in Att., supra 6.

#### § 24. TABLE OF NOTEWORTHY VERBS.

(The prefixing of \* indicates that the paradigm embraces several stems.)

**Ἄγαλλιάν** active L. 1. 47 (Ap. 19. 7, prob. more correctly -ώμεθα B; 1 P. 1. 8 -άτε only BC\*); elsewhere deponent with aor. mid. and pass., § 20. The verb is absent from profane Greek (which has ἄγάλλομαι instead).

**Ἄγγέλλειν**, ἥγγέλην constant, § 19, 3.

**Ἄγειν**, aor. ἥγανον and rarely ἥξα, § 19, 1; perf. act. unattested.

(**Ἄγνύναι**) only in composition κατάγνυ. (as in Att.), pres. impf. unattested: aor. κατέζαν (Att.) Jo. 19. 32 f., but the use of the augm. is incorrectly extended (§ 15, 2) to the fut. κατεάξει Mt. 12. 20, O.T., and aor. conj. pass. κατεαγώσιν Jo. 19. 31.

\***Αἰρεῖν**, aor. εἴλον and -λα, § 21, 1: fut. ἐλῶ (late writers, LXX.) L. 12. 18, 2 Th. 2. 8 (v.l. ἀναλοῦ, vide inf.), Ap. 22. 19 (but αἱρήσομαι Ph. 1. 22).

**Ἀκούειν**, fut. ἀκούσω and Attic -σμαί, § 18, 3.

**Ἀλήθευν** for ἀλεῖν (Phryn. p. 151): only pres. attested (aor. ἥλεσα in LXX.: no other form of the aor. is likely to have existed). Cp. νήθειν.

**Ἀλλεσθαι**, with compounds ἀν-, ἔξ-, ἐφ-, almost confined to Acts: (Jo. 4. 14, 21. 7 D), 1st aor. ἡλάμψην (LXX.) A. 14. 10 (Jo. 21. 7 D): 2nd aor. ἐφαλόμενος 19. 16 (also 3. 8 ἔξαλόμ. is better than -Ἀλ- of the MSS.): both forms occur in Att.

**Ἀμαρτάνειν**, fut. ἀμαρτήσω, § 18, 3: 1st aor. ἡμάρτησα along with 2nd aor. ἡμαρτον, § 19, 1.

**Ἀμφιάζειν**, -έξειν, -εννύναι: see § 17.

**Ἀναλοῦν** = ἀναλίσκειν (both Att., -οῦν also in LXX., W.-Schm. § 15): ἀναλοῦ 2 Th. 2. 8 &<sup>3</sup> Origen (v.l. ἀναλώσει, ἀνελεῖ). Tenses regular: L. 9. 54, G. 5. 15.

(**Ἀντάν**): fut. ἀπαντήσω, συν-, § 18, 3.

**Ἀπειλεῖσθαι** deponent A. 4. 17, 21 for Att. ἀπειλέν (1 P. 2. 23); διαπειλεῖσθαι as depon. is also Att.

**Ἀρπάζειν**: fut. -άσω, § 18, 3: 2nd aor. pass. -γην (and 1st aor. -σθην? as in Att.), § 19, 3.

**Αὔξειν, αὔξανειν**, both forms Att., but in transit. sense ‘increase,’ whereas ‘grow’ is *-ομαι*. N.T. has *-άνω* trans. only in 1 C. 3. 6 f., 2 C. 9. 10 (Herm. Vis. iii. 4. I αὔξω, i. l. 6 αὔξησας). Elsewhere *-άνω* (and *αὔξω*: only E. 2. 21, Col. 2. 19) is used = Att. *-ομαι* A. 6. 7 al.: along with *-άνομαι* Mt. 13. 32 (Ν<sup>δ</sup>Ι -ήσῃ), Mc. 4. 8 v.l., Epp. Paul. passim, 1 P. 2. 2.

**Βαίνειν**: aor. ἔβην, ἀνάβαται, -βατε, § 23, 4.

**Βαρέιν**: βεβαρημένος old (βεβ. ηδέν Plat. Sympos. 203 B) Mt. 26. 43, L. 9. 32 (Mc. 14. 40 var. lect. βεβ., καταβεβ., καταβαρούμενοι, καταβαρυόμενοι). *Βαρέων* is the ordinary Att. word, but in N.T. besides this passage it only occurs as a v.l. in L. 21. 34 DH, 2 C. 5. 4 D\*FG). Elsewhere in the pass.: 2 C. 1. 8, 5. 4, 1 Tim. 5. 16, L. 21. 34. Also the compounds ἐπιβαρέιν, καταβ. in St. Paul (καταβ. Herm. Sim. ix. 28. 6, βαροῦντα Clem. Hom. xi. 16). W. Schmidt, Atticism. iii. 187.

**Βασκαλίνειν**: aor. -άνα, § 16, 3.

[**Βιοῦν**]: βιώσαι 1 P. 4. 2, for Att. *-ναι* (the only form in which this verb occurs: elsewhere ξῆν, cp. inf.).

**Βλαστάνειν**: pres. conj. *-νη* Mc. 4. 27 ΙΑC<sup>2</sup> al., but BC\*DЛΔ *βλαστᾶ* from *βλαστᾶν*, as Herm. Sim. iv. 1 *βλαστῶντα* (W.-Schm. § 15): a new 1st aor. *-ησα* occurs, § 19, 1.

**Βλέπειν**, ‘to look,’ aor. *ξβλεψα* (Acts 3. 4) as in Att.: περιεβλεψάμην Mc. 3. 5, etc. With the meaning ‘to see’ (for ὄδαν, vide inf.) only in pres. and impf., except Acts 28. 26 βλέψετε O.T. quot., see § 18, 3. (Προβλέψασθαι = προϊδέσθαι H. 11. 40, see § 55, 1.)

**Βούλεσθαι**, § 15, 3: § 21, 7.

**Γαμεῖν**: also used of the wife (for Att. *-εῖσθαι*) Mc. 10. 12 (-ηθῆ v.l.), 1 Tim. 5. 11, 14 etc.; elsewhere for the wife N.T. uses *-ίζεσθαι* (but aōr. *-ήθην* 1 C. 7. 39 = ἐγμάμην Att.), for which γαμίσκονται is read Mc. 12. 25 E al., L. 20. 34 ΙΑBL (ἐκγαμίσκ. E al., ἐκγαμίζ. A al., γαμοῦνται D), 35 B (γαμίζ. ΙΔ al., ἐκγαμίζ. A al.). The act. γαμίζειν (έκγ.) ‘to give to wife’: Mt. 24. 38 (γαμ. ΙΔ, rell. ἐκγ.), 1 C. 7. 38.—Aor. act. ἐγάμησα Mt. 5. 32 al., Herm. Mand. iv. 4 (so -ήθην, vide supra), for which the Att. form occurs as a v.l., γήμας Mt. 22. 35 ΙΑBL, L. 14. 20 (Ἐλασσον D), 1 C. 7. 28 γαμήσης ... γήμη (D\*FG γαμῆ).

**Γελᾶν**, fut. *-άσω*, § 18, 3.

**Γίνεσθαι** (never γίγν. as in Att.), aor. ἐγενόμην and *-νήθην*, § 20.

**Γινώσκειν** (never γίγν. as in Att.), 2nd aor. conj. γνοῖ and γνῷ, § 23, 4.

**Γρηγορεῖν**, § 17; cp. ἐγείρειν.

**Δεῖσθαι**, ἐδέστο, § 22, 2.

**Διακονεῖν**, διηκόνουν, § 15, 6.

**Διδόναι**, see § 23, 3 and 4.

**Διψᾶν**, -ᾶσ, § 22, 1; διψήσω, § 16, 1.

**Διώκειν**, fut. *-ξω*, § 18, 3.

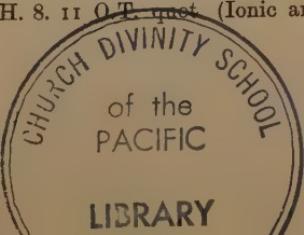
**Δίνασθαι** pres., § 23, 2; augm. ḥ. or ἵ-, § 15, 3; fut. δινήσομαι, § 20, 2; aor. διδυνίθην (and διδυνάσθην Mt. 17. 16 B, Mc. 7. 24 ΙΑB, Epic and Ionic).

**Δίνειν** intrans. ‘to set’ E. 4. 26 (Homeric: Att. δίνομαι), for which δύνω (Xenoph. and others) occurs in L. 4. 40 (δύσαντος D): aor. ἔδων, ἔδωσα, § 19, 1 (ἐδύνησαν, § 19, 2); ἔνδυνοντες ‘creeping in’ 2 Tim. 3. 6 (cp. Barn. 4. 10). ‘Ενδύειν trans. ‘to put on’ pres. only in Mc. 15. 17 AN, correct reading -διδύνσκειν, see § 17: so mid. ἔνδιδύσκεσθαι, see ibid.: but tenses as in Att. *-έδυναι*, -άμην etc.: similarly ἔκδύναι (pres. and impf. unattested).

**Ἐγέίρειν** ‘raise up,’ ‘awake’: intrans. ἐγείρει (not *-αι* aor. mid.), sc. σεαυτὸν Mc. 5. 41 etc. (Eurip. Iph. Aul. 624); intrans. *-ομαι* ‘rise’ (διεγέίρομαι ‘awake’ intrans.), aor. ἡγέρθην, § 20; perf. ἡγήγερται ‘has been raised’ 1 C. 15. 4 (late writers; Att. ἐγρήγορα ‘I am awake’ has become γρηγορῶ, § 17).

**ΕΙΔ - οἶδα**, § 23, 5: fut. εἰδήσω H. 8. 11 O.T. quat. (Ionic and late = Att. εἰσομαι).

**Ἐλπεῖν, εἱρκα** etc. see λέγειν.



**Ἐλεῖν – ἐλεῖν**, § 22, 2.

**Ἐλκειν**, aor. ἐλκύσα as in Att., fut. ἐλκύσω Jo. 12. 32 (Att. ἐλξω).

**Ἐλκοῦν**: εἰλκωμένος, § 15, 6.

**Ἐργάζεσθαι**: ἡργαζόμην, ἡργασάμην, εἴργασμα, § 15, 5 and 6.

\***Ἐρχεσθαι**. In Att. for ‘to come’ ἔρχομαι is used only in the indic., conj. τώ, inf. ένει etc., impf. ἦτα, ήσει : ‘will come’ = εἰμι. When εἰμι fell out of use (§ 23, 9), ἔρχομαι was employed throughout: ἔρχωμαι, ἡρχόμην etc., fut. ἐλεύσομαι (Epic and Ionic: Phryn. 37). Aor. ἥλθον and perf. ἐλήλυθα as in Att.

\***Ἐσθίειν** and **Ἴσθειν** (-θειν as early as Hom., Doric and late writers). The former predominates (as also in LXX.), so without var. lect. Mt. 9. 11, 11. 18 f., 12. 1 etc., R. 14. 2 f., 6, 20 etc.; but ἵσθητε L. 22. 30 BD\*T, ἵσθων Mc. 1. 6 NBL\*Δ, 12. 40 B, L. 7. 33 BD, 34 D, 10. 7 BD (elsewhere even Mc. and L. have ἴσθειν in all the MSS.). Fut. φάγουμαι from aor. ἔφαγον, § 18, 2: 2nd sing. -εται, § 21, 7. Pf. βέβρωκα (from the obsolete βιβρώσκω) Jo. 6. 13, aor. pass. βρωθῆ L. 22. 10 D. (The pres. in the popular language was τρώγω, so always in S. John, elsewhere only Mt. 24. 38; see also Herm. Sim. v. 3. 7, Barn. 7. 8, 10. 2, 3.)

**Ἐχειν**, fut. only ἔξω, § 14, 1; similarly ἀνέχεσθαι has only ἀνέξομαι: impf. and aor. ἀνειχ., ἀνεσχ., § 15, 7.

**Ζῆν**, fut. ζήσω and -ομαι, § 18, 3: aor. ζῆσα A. 26. 5, Herm. Sim. viii. 9. 1, for which in Att. ἐβίων was introduced as a supplementary form (cp. sup. βιοῦν): perf. unattested. (Impf. 1st sing. ζῆην, -ων, § 22, 1.)

**Ζωννύναι**, perf. pass. and mid. περιέωσμένος (Att. without σ) L. 12. 35 al.

**Ηκειν**: 3rd. plur. ηκαστιν Mc. 8. 3 NADN (al. ηκοντιν, B εισιν), cp. Clem. Cor. i. 12. 2. The transition of this verb of perfect meaning to the inflection of the perfect tense is found also in LXX. and other late writings, W.-Schm. § 13, 2: Kühner I. ii.<sup>3</sup> 438 : W. Schmidt, Jos. elocut. 470.

**Ἡσσοῦσθαι**, 2 C. 12. 13 N\*BD\* ἡσσώθητε (Ionic ἐσσοῦσθαι), with v.l. ἡττήθητε (the Attic form [literary lang.] as in 2 P. 2. 19 f. ἡττηται, ἡττῶνται, and even ἡττημα in S. Paul), FG ἡλαττώθητε, cp. Jo. 3. 30 (literary lang.).

(**Θάλλειν**), aor. ἀνέθαλον, § 19, 1 (no other form attested); ἀναθάλλω (intrans.) Clem. Cor. i. 36. 2.

**Θαυμάζειν** (-εσθαι depon.), aor. θαύμασα and -άσθην, fut. (θαυμάσομαι), -ασθήσομαι, § 18, 3: § 20, 1.

**Θεάσθαι**, see θεωρεῖν.

**Θέλειν** not (as in Att.) ἐθέλειν, the ordinary word of the popular language for ‘will’ (so mod. Gk.): beside it is found βούλεσθαι (literary lang.) without distinction of meaning, rare in the Gospels, and not often in the Epistles, frequent only in the Acts.—Augm. always η-, § 15, 3 (perfect unattested).

\***Θεωρεῖν**, generally defective, only pres. and impf. being used, but fut. Jo. 7. 3, aor. Mt. 28. 1, L. 8. 35 D, 23. 48 NBCD al., Jo. 8. 51 (-εται Η), Ap. 11. 12; elsewhere the tenses of θεᾶσθαι (pres. impf. wanting) are used: aor. -άσθην, perf. τεθέαμαι, aor. pass. θεάθην.

**Ιλάσκεσθαι**, mid. (Att.) H. 2. 17; ιλάσθητε ‘be merciful’ L. 18. 13, cp. ἐξιλασθέν ‘expiated’ Plat. Legg. 862 C.

**Ιστάνειν** (ιστᾶν), ιστασθαι, § 23, 2, 4, 5, 6.

**Καθαρίζειν** ‘to cleanse’ not καθαίρειν (Jo. 15. 2 D correctly καθαρεῖ, cp. H. 10. 2; κεκαθαρένων is found in Herm. Sim. ix. 18. 3). In compounds the simpler form is more attested: διακαθάραι L. 3. 17 N\*B (al. διακαθαρεῖ), ἐκκαθάρατε 1 C. 5. 7, ἐκκαθάρη 2 Tim. 2. 21.

**Καθέξεσθαι**, καθίξειν, καθησθαι. In Attic ἐκαθέξόμην aor. = ‘I seated myself,’ καθίω ‘I seat’ trans. and also intrans. ‘I seat myself,’ which is elsewhere expressed by -ίσομαι: κάθημαι ‘I sit’ (in perfect sense). In the N.T. ‘I set’ or ‘seat’ is καθίω, aor. -ίσα (as in Att.): ‘I seated myself’ = ἐκάθισα (not mid.), so that the sense of Jo. 19. 13 is extremely doubtful: there is also a perf. κεκάθικεν (intrans.) H. 12. 2 (the present only appears in trans. sense: for fut. vide inf.); aor. ἐκαθέσθην from καθέξομαι (Phryn. 269) only in L. 10. 39 NABC\*

al., -ισασα C<sup>3</sup>DP etc.; 'sit' is κάθημαι (in the majority of cases) and καθέζομαι (rare): ἐκαθέζετο impf. 'sat' ('had seated himself') Jo. 4. 6, 11, 20, for which ἐκάθητο occurs elsewhere, as in Mt. 13. 1; καθέζομενος = καθήμ. A. 6. 15 (D. -ήμενοι) etc.; fut. καθήσομαι Mt. 19. 28 (-ἰσεσθε CD\* al.), L. 22. 30 ΗΑΒ<sup>3</sup> al. (-ἰσεσθε EF, but B\* κάθησθε conj., D καθέζησθε) for Attic καθεδοῦμαι. The 2nd pers. of κάθημαι is κάθῃ, § 23, 9: imperat. κάθου ibid. ('sit' = 'seat thyself' Ja. 2. 3).

**Καλαίνειν**: aor. and fut. pass. § 19, 3.

**Καλεῖν**: fut. καλέσω, § 18, 1.

(Κεραννύναι), perf. pass. κεκέρασμαι (late; Att. κέκραμαι) Ap. 14. 10.

**Κερδαίνειν** (pres. and impf. unattested), aor. ἐκέρδησα as if from κερδέω (Ionic and late writers) Mt. 16. 26 and passim; but κερδάνω (§ 16, 3) 1 C. 9. 21 ΗΑΒ<sup>3</sup> al. (ΗΑΒ<sup>3</sup> DE al. κερδήσω, as also four times in the same chap. ver. 19, 20, 22); a corresponding fut. pass. κερδηθήσονται occurs 1 P. 3. 1. There is fluctuation also in Josephus between the Attic and the vulgar forms, W. Schmidt, de Jos. elocut. 451, 459.

**Κλαίειν**, fut. κλαύσω, § 18, 3.

**Κλείειν**, perf. pass. κέκλεισμαι for -ειμαι, § 16, 1.

**Κλίνειν**, aor. and fut. pass. ἐκλίνηρ, κλιθήσομαι, § 19, 3.

**Κράζειν**, the pres. rare in Attic (which uses κέκραγα instead) is often in N.T., on the other hand κέκραγα is only used in Jo. 1. 15: fut. κράξω (κεκράξομαι), § 18, 3: aor. ἐκέκραξα (LXX., from κέκραγα) only A. 24. 21 ΗΑΒ<sup>3</sup>.

**Κρίνειν**: ἀποκρίνομαι, ὑποκρίνομαι, aor. and fut. § 20, 1.

**Κρύβειν**, aor. pass. ἐκρύβηρ, § 19, 3.

(Κτείνειν): only in compound ἀποκτείνω and -έν(ν)ω, § 17; aor. pass. ἀπεκτάνθηρ (late) Mc. 9. 31 al. = Att. ἀπέθανον.

(Κνεῖν) ἀποκυῆ Ja. 1. 15, -ύσεν 1. 18 (from κύω we have ἐκύομεν in LXX., W.-Schm. § 15).

**Κυλίειν** (already in Att.; older form -ίνδω) Mc. 9. 20, fut. -τσω Mc. 16. 3, aor. act. ἀκύλισσα, perf. pass. κεκυλίσμαι as in Att.

**Δᾶκειν** 'to burst': ἐλᾶκησεν A. 1. 18 (cp. Acts of Thomas, § 33) as in Aristoph. Nub. 410 διαλάκησσα: elsewhere unknown: to be distinguished from λάσκω 'sound' (aor. ἐλᾶκον).

**Δαρμάνειν**, fut. λήμφομαι, aor. pass. ἐλήμφθηρ (λήμψις Ph. 4. 15, ἀνάλημψις L. 9. 51: προσωπολήμπτης) as in other Hellenistic writings, § 6, 8. (The later MSS. restore the Attic form by omitting the μ.)

(Δέγειν 'to collect'): only in συλλέγω, -ξα, ἐκλελεγμένος (Att. usually ἐξελεγμ.) L. 9. 35.

\***Δέγειν** 'to say': Att. λέξω, ἔλεξα etc.; but in N.T. defective (the beginning of this defective state reaches back into Attic times, Miller, Amer. Journ. of Philol. xvi. 162) with only pres. and impf.; the remaining tenses being aor. εἶπον, -α (§ 21, 1), fut. ἐρῶ, perf. εἴρηκα, aor. pass. ἐρρέθηρ, ρήθηραι, § 16, 1, perf. εἴρημαι. (Still λέγειν and εἶπεν were felt to be separate verbs, otherwise we should not find these combinations: τοῦτο εἶπὼν λέγει Jo. 21. 19, εἶπεν λέγων L. 12. 25, 20. 2.) But διαλέγομαι, διελέχθηρ as in Att. (Mc. 9. 34), see § 20, 1.

**Δείπειν**: (class.) with alternative form λιμπάνειν, διελιμπανεῖν Acts 8. 24 D, 17. 13 D, ὑπολιμπάνειν 1 P. 2. 21, ἐγκαταλιμπανόμενοι FG Euseb. Chrys. in 2 C. 4. 9 (also LXX.); 1st aor. ἔλειψα occurs occasionally instead of ἐλιπον, § 19, 1.

**Δούειν**, λελουμαι, § 16, 1.

(Μέλειν) ἐπιμελοῦμαι (LXX.) or -ομαι (both Attic forms) not represented: fut. -ήσομαι, § 20, 2: μεταμέλομαι (the only Att. form) 2 C. 7. 8, aor. -ήθηρ (not attested in Att.) Mt. 21. 29 etc., fut. -ηθήσομαι H. 7. 21 O.T. quot.

**Μέλλειν**: ἐμέλλον and ημέλλον, § 15, 3.

**Μιαίνειν**: μεμίαμαι, § 16, 3.

**Μυηστεύειν**: perf. pass. μεμυήστευμα v.l., § 15, 6.

**Νήθειν** ‘to spin’ for νῆν (Ionic and late), the constant N.T. form, cp. ἀλήθειν.

**Νίπτειν** for νίξειν, § 17.

(Ξύρειν), pres. unattested: aor. mid. ξύρασθαι as if from ξύρειν (not ξυράσθαι pres.) 1 C. 11. 6 and ξυρήσασθαι A. 21. 24 (both forms unattested in Att.), but in Acts D has ξύρωνται, ΗΒ\*Δ<sup>2</sup>ΕΡ ξυρήσονται: perf. ξύρημα (Att.) 1 C. 11. 5.

(Οἴγειν) ἀνόγειν (never -γνώναι): the augment is always in the *a* in the comp. διανοίγειν, δηγοίχθσαν L. 24. 31, διήνογεν 32 etc.; also in the simple vb. constantly in the 2nd aor. pass. ἄγοιγην A. 12. 10 (-χθη E al.), which is a new formation; in the other forms (the impf. is only attested for διαν.) the old syllabic augm. is still strongly represented: 1st aor. act. ἀνέῳξα Jo. 9. 14 (ἀνέῳξεν LX, ἀνοίξεν D), 17 θνούξεν ΗΑΔ al., BX ἀνέψει, KL ἀνέψει, similarly ver. 32: in verses 21, 26, 30 B also has ἄγοιξεν, and this form deserves preference (cp. A. 5. 19, 9. 40, 12. 14, 14. 27, Ap. 6. 1, 3 etc.);—perf. (intrans. as in late writers) ἀνέῳγε Jo. 1. 52 (ἡνεῳγότας), 1 C. 16. 9, 2 C. 6. 11, elsewhere ἀνέῳγμα as in Att. R. 3. 13 Ο.Τ. quot., 2 C. 2. 12 (ἡνεῳγμ. DEP), A. 10. 11 (ἥνε. E), 16. 27: Ap. 4. 1 B, but ΗΑΠ ᥤνε, similarly 10. 1, 8, 19. 11 (3. 8 ἀν. ABC);—1st aor. pass. ἀνέῳχθην Mt. 3. 16 (ἥνε. B), 9. 30 (ἥνε. BD), 27. 52, L. 1. 64 etc.: ἡνεῳχθ. Jo. 9. 10 with preponderant evidence (ἀν. AK al.): Acts 16. 26 ἡνεῳχθ. ΗΑΕ, ἡνεῳχθ. BCD, ἀνε. HLP: there is diversity of reading also in Ap. 20. 12. Infin. ἀνεῳχθήναι L. 3. 21 (-νοι- only D), cp. supra ἀγνώναι, § 15, 2. On 1st and 2nd aor. (ἡνοίγην) and fut. -γνήσομαι (-χθήσ-) see § 19, 3.

**Οἰκτίρειν** (so to be spelt for -ειρειν), fut. οἰκτίρησθαι R. 9. 15 O.T. quot. (late).

(ΟΛΛÓΝΑΙ) ἀπολλ., § 23, 1: fut. ἀπολέσω as also in Herm. Sim. viii. 7. 5 (=Att. ἀπολῶ 1 C. 1. 19 O.T. quot., so nearly always in LXX.): but fut. pass. ἀπολούμαι L. 13. 3 etc.

\***Ορᾶν** is still more defective than in Attic, since even the pres. and impf. are rare (being confined to the literary language): the popular language replaced them by means of βλέπειν and θεωρεῖν. (Exceptions: ὅρα, ὅράτε, care, -ete Mt. 8. 4 etc. [but βλέπετε is also used in this sense A. 13. 40 etc.]: also L. 16. 23, 23. 49, A. 8. 23?, H. 11. 27, 1 P. 1. 8, Ja. 2. 24 [Ap. 18. 18, Jo. 6. 2, Mc. 8. 24]: in composition H. 12. 2, A. 2. 25 O.T., R. 1. 20: pres. and impf. are rare also in Hermas: Vis. iii. 2. 4, 8. 9, Mand. vi. 2. 4: Barn. ὅράτε 15. 8). The perf. is still always ἔόρακα (ἔώρα), § 15, 6: aor. ἔλδον (-α, § 21, 1): fut. δύομαι: aor. pass. ὄφθην apparui, fut. δύθήσομαι (perf. δύπται Herm. Vis. iii. 1. 2 Η). In addition a new present form is created δύτάνομαι A. 1. 3 (LXX. Papyr. Louvre notices et extr. de mss. xviii. 2, no. 49 according to the facsimile).

**Παλέειν**, παλέω etc., § 16, 2; § 18, 3.

**Πανέειν**, ἀναπατήσομαι, § 20, 1.

**Πειθεῖν**, aor. pass. ἐπεισθην, fut. πεισθήσομαι L. 16. 31 (*πιστεύσουσιν* D).

**Πεινᾶν**, -ῆς etc., § 22, 1: aor. ἐπεινασα, § 16, 1.

**Πειράζειν** ‘to tempt’ or ‘try any one’ (Hom., and late writers) always for Att. πειρᾶν; also for ‘to attempt anything’ = Att. πειρᾶσθαι A. 24. 6 al. (πειρᾶσθαι A. 26. 21 speech of Paul before Agrippa).

**Πιάζειν**, **Πιέζειν**. The latter = ‘to press’ as in Att. L. 6. 38; the former is confined to the common language = ‘to lay hands on’ (mod. Gk. πιάνω), aor. ἐπίσασα, ἐπίσασθην (John, Acts, once even in St. Paul, Apoc.).

**Πιμπλᾶν** for -άναι, § 23, 2.

**Πίνειν**, fut. πίσαι, πίσαι, § 21, 7; aor. ξπιον, imper. πίε L. 12. 19 (Att. also πῖθι), infin. contracted to πεῖν, πῖν (§ 6, 5) Mt. 27. 34 ΗΒ\*D, Mc. 10. 38 D, 15. 23 D, Jo. 4. 7 ΗΒ\*Δ<sup>2</sup>ΕΡ, cp. ibid. 9, 10 etc. (Anthol. Pal. xi. 140 in verse: papyri in W. Schmidt, Gtg. Gel. Anz. 1895, 40.)

\***Πιπράσκειν**, in Hellenistic Gk. conjugated in full with the exception of fut. and aor. act. (so impf. act. ἐπιπρασκον A. 2. 45). In Attic it is only in the pass. that the conjugation is fairly complete: the act. has perf. πέπρακα (Mt. 13. 46: D ἐπώλησεν), but in the other tenses πωλεῖν and ἀποδίδοσθαι

are used. The N.T. employs the aorist of the latter of these two verbs (A. 5. 8, 7. 9, H. 12. 16), from the former we have *πωλῶ*, *ἐπώλουν*, *ἐπώλησα*, *ἐπωλούμαι* pass. (all used in Att. as well): in addition to these *πέπραμαι* R. 7. 14, *ἐπάρθη* Mt. 18. 25 etc.

**Πίπτειν**, *ἐπεσον*, and more frequently *ἐπεσα*, § 21, 1.

**Ποθεῖν**, aor. *ἐπόθησα*, § 16, 1.

**Ράλνειν**, *ῥαντίζειν*. For reduplication, § 15, 6.

**Ῥεῖν**, fut. *ῥεύσω*, § 18, 3 (Attic has pres. fut. *ῥεύσομαι*, aoristic fut. *ῥυσσομαι*).

**Ῥηγγίνειν** in the pass. Mt. 9. 17, L. 5. 6 A al.: for which *ῥήσσειν* (-ττειν, late writers) appears in Mt. 9. 17 D, L. 5. 6 ΚΒL, Mc. 2. 22 ΑΓ al., v.l. *ῥήξει*; aor. *ἔρρηξα*; the old epic word *ῥήσσειν* = *τύπτειν*, cp. the Attic (and LXX.) *ῥάττειν* 'to dash down' Demosth. 54. 8 is found with the latter meaning in Mc. 9. 18 (*ῥάσσει* D), L. 9. 42, LXX. Sap. 4. 19: Hermas, Mand. xi. 3 *ῥᾶξαι as*. To this word also belongs *προσέρηξεν* = *προσέβαλε* L. 6. 48.

**Ῥίπτειν** and **ῥίπτειν**, Att., in the N.T. the present stem only occurs in A. 22. 23, -οιντων (-όντων DEHL) cp. *ἐρ(ρ)ιπτον* Herm. Vis. iii. 5. 5: perf. *ῥίριμαι*, § 15, 6.

**Ῥύεσθαι** 'to save' (Epic, Ionic, and late writers) with aor. mid. *ἐρ(ρ)υσάμην* and aor. pass. *ἐρ(ρ)ύσθην* (late) L. 1. 74 etc.

**Σαλπίζειν**, *σαλπίσω* etc., § 16, 2.

**Σημαίνειν**, *ἔσημάνα*, § 16, 3.

\***Σκοπεῖν**, *σκέψασθαι* in Attic form one verb, since only pres. and impf. of *σκοπεῖν* are found, and from *σκέψη*, the forms *-πτομαι*, *ἔσκεπτόμην* are absent. In N.T. *σκοπεῖν* is used as in Att., *ἐπισκέπτεσθαι* however is also found in the pres. = 'to visit' (H. 2. 6, Ja. 1. 27); *ἐπισκοπεῖν* = 'to take care' H. 12. 15 (*ἐπισκέπτεσθαι* 'to inspect' Clem. Cor. i. 25. 5; *συνεσκέπτοντο* Ev. Petr. 43).

**Σπουδάζειν**, fut. -σω, § 18, 3.

**Στηρίζειν**, tenses, § 16, 2.

**Στρωννύειν** (not *στρεννυν*, which appears first in late scholiasts), § 23, 1.

**Σώζειν** (ι adscript, § 3, 3): like *ἔσώθην* (*ἔσασθην*, *σαδω*) the perf. *σέσωται* is still found Acts 4. 9 ΚΑ (v.l. -σται), but *σεσωσμένοι* E. 2. 5 all MSS., and in v. 8 only P has the Att. form -ωμένοι.

**Τάσσειν**, *ἐτάγγην*, together with *ἐτάχθην*, § 19, 3.

**Τελεῖν**, fut. *τελέσω*, § 18, 1.

**Τίκτειν**, *ἐτέχθην*, § 19, 3.

**Τυγχάνειν**: the Hellenistic perf. is *τέτευχα* for Att. *τετύχηκα*, Phryn. 395: so H. 8. 6 *τέτευχεi* ΚΒD\*Ε (v.l. *τετύχηκεi* Ρ, *τέτυχε* male Κ\*ΑD\*ΚL, a form which is also occasionally found in the older editions of late writers: Lob. on Phryn. loc. cit.).

\***Τύπτειν** is defective and completed by means of other verbs as in Attic: *τύπτειν*, *ἔτυπτο*, *πατάξω*, *ἐπάταξα* (pres. impf. etc. from this stem not found), *ἔπαισα* (no pres. and impf. found), pass. *τύπτομαι*, aor. *ἐπλήγην* (the only form of this verb represented) Ap. 8. 12.

\***Ὑπάγειν** 'to go,' 'depart,' a word of the common language (never in Acts, Paul, or Hebrews; mod. Gk. *πάγω*, *πηγαίνω*), which makes only a present tense (most frequently the pres. imperat.); supplemented by *πορεύομαι* (which, however, is not defective itself).

**Φαίνειν**, *ἔφαντα*, § 16, 3: *φανήσομαι* (*φανοῦμαι*), § 20, 2.

(**Φάντακειν** LXX.), **Φώσκειν** (*ἐπιφώσκουσα* Mt. 28. 1, *ἐπέφωσκεν* L. 23. 54), an Ionic and Hellenistic verb, only found in composition with *δια-*, *ἐπι-*, *ὑπο-*, and elsewhere only in pres. and impf. (cp. *φάος*, *φώς*): N.T. has fut. *ἐπιφαίνει* E. 5. 14 a quotation (*διέφανσε* LXX. Gen. 44. 3; *ιπόφανσις* Herodot.).

\***Φέρειν**, *ἥμεγκα*, -εῖν etc. § 21, 1.

**Φθάνειν**, aor. *ἔφθᾶσα* (so and *ἔφθην* Attic), perf. *ἔφθακα* (unattested in Att.) 1 Th. 2. 16 ΒΔ\*. Meaning 'to arrive at,' 'come upon' as in mod. Gk.; 'to anticipate' only in 1 Th. 4. 15 (for which *προφθ.* is used Mt. 17. 25).

**Φοβεῖσθαι**, **φοβηθῆσθαι**, § 20, 2.

**Φορέν**, **φορέω** etc. § 16, 1.

**Φύειν**, in act. only H. 12. 15 (O.T. quot.) intransitive (frequently in late writers); elsewhere only aor. **ἔφύην**, § 19, 2.

**Χαίρειν**, **χαρήσθαι**, § 18, 3.

**Χύνειν** for **χεῖν**, § 17: fut. **χεῦ**, § 18, 2: aor. **ἔχειν** as in Att.: pass. **κέχυμαι**, **ἔχύθην** also Att.

**Ψύχειν**, pres. L. 21. 26 **ἀπο-**: fut. perf. **ψυγήσθαι**, § 18, 3.

**Ὦθεῖν**, augment, § 15, 2.

**Ωνεισθαι**, augment, § 15, 2: aor. **ώνησάμην** A. 7. 16 (Att. **ἐπριάμην**, which is still used in the LXX.).

## § 25. ADVERBS.

1. **Adverbs of manner** formed from adjectives with termination **-ως** occasionally have a comparative with a corresponding ending in **-τέρως**: **περισσοτέρως** 2 C. 1. 12, and constantly in St. Paul, H. 2. 1, 13. 19 (6. 17 **-ότερον**, but B. **-οτέρως**, 7. 15 **-ότερον**), Mc. 15. 14 ENP al. (**περισσώς** ΙΑΒ al.), 7. 36 D (**-ότερον** ΙΑΒ al.), cp. for their meaning and usage § 11, 4; **σπουδαιοτέρως** Ph. 2. 28 (D\*FG **-ότερον**); cp. **ἐσχάτως** **ἔχειν** (Polyb.) Mc. 5. 23. Elsewhere such comparative adverbs take **-τερον**, which is also the predominant termination in Attic, and from **(-ι)ων** the constant adverbial form is **(-ι)ον** (**βέλτιον** etc., Attic has also the adverbial ending **-όνως**). ‘Well’ is **καλῶς**, no longer **εὖ** (except in E. 6. 3 O.T. quot., A. 15. 29 literary language: **εὖ ποιεῖν** ‘to benefit’ anyone, only in Mc. 14. 7); ‘better’ is **κρείσσον** (1 C. 7. 38). **Διπλότερον** ‘in double measure’ Mt. 23. 15 (late).—On **ἀνώτερον**, **κατώτερω**, **πορρώτερον** (-τέρω) see § 11, 5. We have an instance of a numeral adverb **πρώτως** in A. 11. 26 ΙBD<sup>2</sup> (**πρώτων** A al., D\* reads differently), i.e. ‘for the first time,’ cp. Clem. Hom. ix. 4 **τὸν πρώτως ἀναγκάσαντα**, xvi. 20 **πρώτος ἐφθέγξω**, ἢ **πρώτως ἡκούσαμεν**, always used of the first appearance of something. Similarly in Polyb. vi. 5. 10, Diod. Sic. iv. 24 **τότε πρώτως** etc., Phryn. Lob. 311 f.—An instance of an adverb formed from a participle (according to classical precedent) is **φειδομένως** 2 C. 9. 6 (Plutarch).

2. In **adverbs of place** the distinction between ‘where?’ and ‘whither?’ is not always preserved even in classical Gk. (**ἐνθα**, **ἐνταῦθα**, **ἐνθάδε**, **ἄνω**, **κάτω**, **εἴσω**, **ἔξω**);<sup>1</sup> in the N.T. there is no longer any distinction whatever, in the same way that **ἐν** and **εἰς** begin to be confused (§ 39, 3). **Ποῦ** is ‘where?’ and ‘whither?’ (**ποῖ** has disappeared); to it corresponds **οὗ**, **ὅπου** (**πον** indef. is only in H. 2. 6, 4. 4, and in the sense ‘about’ in R. 4. 19; **δήπον** H. 2. 16). ‘Here’ (‘hither’) is expressed by **ἐνθάδε** in L. (esp. in Acts) and Jo. 4. 15 f. (nowhere by **ἐνταῦθα**), but usu. by **ὧδε** (in Acts only 9. 14, 21), which no longer has its original meaning ‘thus’ (from **ὧς** – **δέ**): Att. also occasionally

<sup>1</sup> But Attic writers still have beside **εἰσω**, **ἔξω** the forms **ἐνδον**, **ἐντός**, **ἐκτός** to express the answer to the question ‘where?’; accordingly Phrynicus 127 condemns the use of **εἰσω** in answer to this question, in spite of the instances that occur in poetry and prose. N.T. never has **ἐνδον**, and only rarely **ἐντός**, **ἐκτός** (the latter most often in St. Paul), which are still correctly used to answer the question ‘where?’.

uses ὥδε = 'hither.'<sup>1</sup> 'There' ('thither') is ἐκεῖ, in scholarly language ἐκεῖστε A. 21. 3, 22. 5 = 'there' (D ἐκεῖ).<sup>2</sup> Cp. ὁμόστε for ὁμοῦ A. 20. 18 D joined with ὄντων; πανταχοῦ 'to every quarter' Mc. 1. 28, ἀλλαχοῦ 'to another place' ibid. 38, Lob. Phryn. 43 f.—The local adverbs in -γ are no longer represented except πάντας πανταχῇ (-οῦ HLP) 'everywhere' A. 21. 28; πάντη τε καὶ πανταχοῦ 24. 3 appears to mean 'in every way and everywhere.'

3. Adverbs answering the question 'whence?' with termination -θεν: πόθεν (ποθέν nowhere), ὅθεν (όποθεν nowhere), ἐνθεν (opposed to ἐκεῖ, unclass.) Mt. 17. 20 (ἐντεῦθεν C), L. 16. 26 (= Attic ἐντεῦθεν, ἐνθένδε), elsewhere ἐντεῦθεν, which is also used for Attic ἐνθεν in the phrase Jo. 19. 18 ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν = Attic ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν (Ap. 22. 2 ἐντ. καὶ ἐκεῦθεν AB, ἐντ. καὶ ἐντ. some minuscules, ἐνθεν καὶ Κ\*, ἐνθεν add. Κ<sup>c</sup>). 'Thence' is ἐκεῦθεν; other forms are πάντοθεν (πανταχόθεν Mc. 1. 45 EGU al. as in Attic prose), ἀλλαχόθεν.—The termination -θεν has become stereotyped and meaningless in most cases in the words ἔσωθεν, ἔξωθεν 'within,' 'without,' as is often the case even in Attic Gk. (they have the meaning 'from within,' 'from without' in Mc. 7. 18, 21, 23, L. 11. 7; these forms are never used in answer to the question 'whither?'): also in κυκλόθεν Ap. 4. 8 (Att.): and the termination is entirely without force in ἐμπροσθεν, ὅπισθεν, as it is from the earliest times. On the other hand ἀνωθεν = 'from above' (κάτωθεν does not appear); ἀπ' ἀνωθεν ἦσαν κάτω in Mt. 27. 51 (ἀπ' om. ΚL), Mc. 15. 38 is like ἀπὸ μακρόθεν beside μακρόθεν Mt. 26. 58 (ἀπὸ om. ΚCF al.), Mc. 15. 40, 5. 6 (ἀπὸ om. AKL al.) etc. (also used in conjunction with ὕστασθαι, so that ἀπὸ and -θεν both lose their force), ἐκ παιδιόθεν Mc. 9. 21 (without ἐκ AX al., D ἐκ παιδός), cp. (ἀπ', ἐξ) οὐρανόθεν Homer, Acts 14. 17 (without prep.); later writers are fond of reviving this kind of expression Lob. Phryn. 46. Μακρόθεν first occurs in Hellenistic Gk. (= Attic πόρρωθεν which occurs in L. 17. 12 with ἔστρων, H. 11. 13), also παιδ(ι)όθεν is first found in late writers (Lob. Phryn. 93); on the other hand the classical ἐγγύθεν is absent from N.T.

4. **Adverbs of time.**—Πότε, ποτέ, ὅτε (όπότε only L. 6. 3 AEHK al., ὅτε ΚBCD al.), τότε; besides these (ἄλλοτε is wanting) πάντοτε frequently in St. Paul for ἀεὶ<sup>3</sup> (mod. Gk. and late writers, cp. Phryn. 103), and occasionally in Mt. Mc. L. (never in Acts), H. 7. 25 (never in Epp. Cath.).; ἀεὶ only occurs in [Mc. 15. 8 ACD al., om. ΚΒΔ] A. 7. 51, 2 C. 4. 11, 6. 10 [Tit. 1. 12 quot., H. 3. 10 O.T.], 1 P. 3. 15 (om. A Syr. Euseb.), 2 P. 1. 12.—Πηνίκα etc. do not occur, only ἡνίκα in 2 C. 3. 15 f.

5. The waning of the system of the correlative adverbs is seen chiefly in the indefinite adverbs, of which ποτέ alone is in ordinary

<sup>1</sup> Hermas frequently has ὥδε κάκεῖστε 'hither and thither,' Mand. v. 2. 7 etc.

<sup>2</sup> For ἐκεῖ in A. 18. 19 BHLP have αὐτοῦ, which is only found elsewhere in Mt. 26. 36 (om. ΚC\*), A. 15. 34 β text (?), 21. 4 (not without var. lect.).

<sup>3</sup> In Hermas the use of ἀεὶ instead of πάντοτε is one of the indications which mark the forged conclusion of Simonides (Sim. ix. 30-x.).

use ( $\pi\omega\varsigma$  only in  $\epsilon\pi\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\mu\dot{\eta}\pi\omega\varsigma$ : on  $\pi\sigma\upsilon$  [ $\pi\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$ ] see 2 and 3); also in the indefinite relatives, which become confused with the definite forms (§§ 13, 3; 50, 1), and then in some cases (for  $\delta\pi\theta\epsilon\nu$  sup. 3,  $\delta\pi\theta\tau\epsilon$  4) entirely or almost entirely disappear.

6. On compounded adverbs see § 28, 7.

### § 26. PARTICLES.

1. In the use of particles the New Testament language is poor in comparison with the classical, not only because a considerable number of old particles are completely absent, but more especially because many of the remainder are only employed in a limited way. The Syntax will treat of the manner of employment and the combinations of the individual particles; here we merely give a table of those which are represented and those which are absent, together with remarks on the form of some of them.

2. Particles (and conjunctions) or combinations of particles in the N.T.: ἀλλά, ἄμα, ἀν, ἄρα ( $\ddot{\alpha}\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ ), ἄρα ( $\ddot{\alpha}\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ ), ἄχρι(ς), γάρ, γε, δέ, δή, δήπου (one ex.), διό, διόπερ, διότι, ἔάν, ἔάνπερ, εἰ, εἴπερ, εἴτα, εἴτε, ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, ἐπειδήπερ (one ex.), [ἐπείπερ R. 3. 30 v.l.], ἐπειτα, ἔως, η̄, [η̄, more correctly εἰ] (see § 3, 6), in εἰ μήν O.T. quot.], η̄δη, η̄νικα, [η̄περ v.l. in Jo. 12. 43], η̄τοι, ὥνα, καθά, καθάπερ, καθό, καθότι, καθώς, καί, καίπερ, καίτοι(γε), μέν, μενοῦνγε, μέντοι, [μέχρι(ς), v.l. for μ. οὖ], μή, μηδέ, [μήν only in εἰ μήν, vide sup.], μήτε, μήτι, ναί, νή, ὅμως, ὅπότε (one ex.), ὅπως, ὅταν, ὅτε, ὅτι, οὐ (οὐχί), οὐδέ, οὐκοῦν (one ex.), οὖν, οὔτε, (περ as in Att. prose only in combinations: διόπερ, εἴπερ etc.), πλήν, πρίν, τε, (τοι only in καίτοι, μέντοι etc.), τοιγαροῦν, τοίνυν, ω̄, ω̄σάν, ω̄σει, ω̄σπερ, ω̄σπερέ, ω̄στε.<sup>1</sup>

3. The following Attic particles are entirely wanting: ἀτάρ, ἄτε, αῦ, γοῦν, δῆθεν, δῆτα, εἴθε, μὰ, νή, μήτοι, μῶν, νιν, δόποταν, (οὐκονν), οὐτι, οὐτοι, τέως. But the limitation of the rich store of particles began at an early period, as may be shown e.g. by the fact that in the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτείᾳ of Aristotle not only all the last-named particles with the exception of ἄτε are absent, but also the following among those enumerated under 2: ἄρα, ἄρα, ἄχρι, γε, δήπου, διότι, ἔάνπερ, εἴπερ, εἴτε, ἐπειδήπερ, (ἐπείπερ), (η̄περ), η̄τοι, καίτοι, μενοῦνγε, (μέντοι?), μέχρι, μήτι, ναί, ὅμως, ὅπότε, οὐκοῦν, οὐχί, τοιγαροῦν, τοίνυν.

4. 'Εάν is the Hellenistic form for 'if' (cp. ἔαντοῦ, σταυτοῦ), not ήν or ἄν; ἄν however is found in the MSS. of the N.T. in some few instances, so Jo. 12. 32 B, 13. 20 (έάν DEFG al.), 16. 23 BC al., 20. 23 bis (έάν AD, semel &\*), Acts 9. 2 &E. This may perhaps be connected with the disproportionately greater encroachment which έάν made into the province of ἄν, out of which a kind of interchange of meanings between the two words might easily grow (modern Gk. uses έάν and ἄν for 'if'). 'Εάν is found very frequently after

<sup>1</sup> Hermas has further καὶ μήν Mand. iv. 1. 8, V. 1. 7 (Barn. 9. 6) and γοῦν (= οὖν, as also in other late writers, see Steph.-Dind. γοῦν), Sim. viii. 8. 2; Barnabas has πέρας γέ τοι in 10. 2 and elsewhere.

relatives in the N.T., as in the LXX. and the papyri:<sup>1</sup> Mt. 5. 19 ὁς ἐάν (immediately followed by ὁς δ' ἀν), 8. 19 ὅπου ἐάν, 10. 42 ὁς ἐάν (BD ἀν), 11. 27 ὃς ἐάν (ἀν D) etc.; in St. John only in 15. 7 (ἀν B), 1 Jo. 3. 22 (B ἀν), 3 Jo. 5.

## § 27. WORD-FORMATION BY MEANS OF TERMINATIONS AND SUFFIXES.

1. The formation of words is naturally carried further in the Hellenistic language than in the classical to meet new requirements, but in all essentials the old patterns are adhered to.

Verbs from noun forms in -ος have termination -ώ : ἀναστατοῦν, ἀποδεκατοῦν (in the older lang. δεκατεύειν), ἀνακαινοῦν (class. -ίζειν), ἀφινποῦν ‘to fall asleep’ (-ίζειν in class. Gk. = ‘to awake,’ -οῦν in Hellenistic Gk. has the same meaning; ‘to fall asleep’ in the older lang. = καθυπνοῦν, cp. ἐπικαθυπνοῦν Barn. 4. 13), δολιοῦν ‘to deceive’ (δόλιος) R. 3. 13 O.T. quot., θεμελιοῦν, κεφαλαιοῦν (-λιοῦν & BL) Mc. 12. 4 appears to mean ‘to beat on the head’ = κολαφίζειν, but is quite unparalleled in this sense (cp. Lob. Phryn. 95), κραταιοῦν, so also σθενοῦν from τὸ σθένος, (ἐν)δύναμοῦν from δύναμις, νεκροῦν, σαροῦν = σαίρειν (from σάρος : Lob. Phryn. 83), χαριτοῦν from χάρις. Verbs in -έω are principally compounds, see § 28, but there is also δυνατεῖν from δυνατός (ἀδύνατεῖν is old). For ἔξουθενίζειν (Plut.) N.T. generally has ἔξουθενεῖν (LXX.), with θενοῦν as a v.l. in Mc. 9. 12.—In -ίζειν or (after an i) -άζειν : ἀγάζειν (ἀγιος, old form ἀγίζειν), αἰχμαλωτίζειν, ἀναθεματίζειν, ἀνεμίζειν (old form -μοῦν), δογματίζειν, δειγματίζειν, ἐνταφιάζειν, θεατρίζειν, θυσιάζειν for θύειν (θυσία), ἰματίζειν (from ἴμα = ἔμα, not from ἴματιον; ἰματισμός appears already in Polyb.), ἰονδαζεῖν, μυκτηρίζειν, νηπιάζειν (Hippocr.), ὄρθρίζειν, πελεκίζειν (Polyb.), σινιάζειν (σινίον ‘sieve,’ also a late word; old form σάω, then σήθω), (δια)σκορπίζειν (old-Ionic, Phryn. 218), σμυρνίζειν σπλαγχνίζεσθαι from σπλάγχνα Σιγμῆ, συμμορφίζειν, φυλακίζειν from φυλακή ‘prison’; in Hermas συνετίζειν from συνετός, Mand. iv. 2. 2, cp. σοφίζειν ‘to make wise’ (LXX.) 2 Tim. 3. 15.—Verbs in -έων are likewise formed from the most various stems : (αἰχμαλωτεύω only in 2 Tim. 3. 6 as a v.l. for -τίζω, vide supra; -ένω Diod. Sic.), παγιδεύειν (παγίς), (ἐξ)ολεθρεύειν (LXX. passim) : γυμνητεύειν (-ιτεύειν) from γυμνητης (§ 3, 6), μεσιτεύειν from μεσίτης (Polyb.) ‘to be naked,’ ‘to be a mediator,’ so too ἱερατεύειν (like βασιλεύειν, ἥγεμονεύειν); on a similar pattern ἐγκρατεύεσθαι ‘to behave as an ἐγκρατής’ (Aristot.) like εἰρωνεύεσθαι : so περπερεύεσθαι 1 C. 13. 4, παραβολεύεσθαι Ph. 2. 30 (nowhere else) ‘to show oneself παράβολος’ (‘foolhardy’), ἀναιδεύεσθαι (ἀναιδής) Herm. Vis. iii. 7. 5, ἀκριβεύεσθαι Barn. 2. 10.—In -ύνω we have σκληρύνω (like βαθύνω, μηκύνω). Cp. W.-Schm. § 16, 1. On new present formations like στήκω, γρηγορῶ see § 17.

2. Verbal substantives in -μός, denoting an action : ἀγιασμός, βαπτισμός, ἐνταφιασμός (-άξω 1), δύνειδισμός, παροργισμός, πειρασμός, ῥαντισμός, σαββατισμός (from σαββατίζω, not in N.T.), σωφρονισμός

<sup>1</sup> For exx. see Berl. Aeg. Urk. no. 12. 18, 13. 10, 33. 16, 46. 17 etc.

all from verbs in *-ίω*, *-άζω*, whereas with other verbs the tendency to form such derivatives (*όδυρμός*, *ἀρδμός* and others in the earlier language) appears to have almost died out; we only have *ἀπελεγμός* from *ἀπελέγχω*, *ἀρπαγμός* from *ἀρπάζω*: and in Hermas *συμφυρμός* Vis. ii. 2. 2 &, *πλατυμός* Mand. v. 2. 3 (Clem. Cor. 3. 1). But substantives in *-μα* (generally denoting the result of the action) are formed from verbs of all kinds: *ἀγνόημα* 'a sin,' *αιτίαμα* A. 25. 7 (a strange form instead of the old *αιτίαμα* 'an accusation'),<sup>1</sup> *ἀνταπόδομα* (old form *-σις*), *ἄντλημα* 'an instrument for drawing water,' a strange form (elsewhere *ἀντλητήρ*, *-τήριον*), *ἀπανγάσμα*, *ἀποσκίασμα*, *βάπτισμα* (cp. supra *-σμός*, which is never used of John's baptism, and of Christian baptism only in Col. 2. 12 & BD\*FG, cp. H. 6. 2; the distinction of meaning is preserved: *βαπτισμός* is the act of immersion, in *βάπτισμα* the result is included),<sup>2</sup> *ἔξεραμα*, *ῆττημα*, *θέλημα*, *ἱεράτευμα* (*ἱερατεύειν* 1), *κατάλυμα* (Hellenistic for *καταγωγεῖν*; here also there is a peculiar use of *-μα* for the place of lodging), *κατόρθωμα* (Polyb.), *πρόσκομμα*; Hermas has *ματαίωμα* 'a vain thing' Mand. ix. 4, *μέθυσμα* 'an intoxicating drink' vi. 2. 5 etc. (also in Philo, like *ἔδεσμα*). Abstract nouns, again, take termination *-σις*, and are mainly formed from stems that end with a vowel (not from verbs in *-ζω*, where *-σμός* is used): *βίωσις*, *ἐπιπόθησις*, *θέλησις* H. 2. 4 (elsewhere *-ημα*), *κατάνυξις* R. 11. 8 O.T. quot. (*κατανύσσειν* 'to stupefy' Dan. 10. 9),<sup>3</sup> *πεποίθησις* (*πέποιθα*, Phryn. 294 Lob.), *πρόσκλισις* (Polyb.), *πρόσχυσις* (*ἀμάρτησις* Herm. Vis. ii. 2. 5). Nouns in *-εία* are from verbs in *-εύω*: *ἀρεσκεία* (*ἀρεσκος*, *-σκεύματι*, *-εία*; Polyb.), *ἐριθεία* (Aristot.), *ἱερατεία* (*-εύω* sup. 1), *μεθοδεία* (*-εύειν* is Hellenistic from *μέθοδος*). The termination *-μονή* occurs in a few instances: *πλησμονή* (old), new forms *πεισμονή* from *πείθω* and *ἐπιλησμονή* Ja. 1. 25, LXX. Sir. 11. 29, related to *ἐπιλήσμων*. Without suffix is *οἰκοδομή* 'edification' or 'a building,' a new word, and strictly speaking incorrectly formed instead of *-ία* or *-ησις*, Lob. Phryn. 490 (the formation *δομή* belongs to a primitive word *δέμω*, not to *οἰκοδομέω*); but cp. *παρασκευή* from *-άζω* and esp. the Attic *μισθοφορά*.—New nouns to express the doer are formed in *-της* (no longer in *-τωρ*, *-τήρ*): *βιαστής*, *βαπτιστής*, *γογγυστής*, *διώκτης*, *δότης* (old form *δοτήρ*), *έλληνιστής* from *-ίζειν* 'to speak Greek,' so the Greek-speaking Jew A. 6. 1 etc., *εὐαγγελιστής*, *λυτρωτής*, *μεριστής*, *προσκυνητής*; such words, as is shown e.g. by Mt. 11. 12 *βιάζεται* — *βιασται*, Jo. 4. 20 ff. *προσκυνεῖν* — *προσκυνηταί*, are coined with almost the same facility as verbal forms. With *ἐπενδύτης* 'an upper garment' Jo. 21. 7 (already in Sophocles) cp. the German 'Ueberzieher' [English 'overcoat'].—In *-τήριον* (from *-τήρ*) are *ἱλαστήριον* (on *σωτήριον* inf. 6.), *ἀκροατήριον*.—It is noticeable that words in *-μα* in the Hellenistic language follow the analogy of those in *-σις* and *-της* (*-τος*) in so far that they, like the latter, now prefer the verbal stem ending in a short vowel and avoid the stem with

<sup>1</sup> *Αἰτίωσις* in Eustathius p. 1422. 21 is compared.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph. Ant. 18. 5. 2 uses *βαπτισμός* of John's baptism.

<sup>3</sup> Fritzsche, Paul. ad Rom. ii. 558 ff.

a long vowel: δόμα like δόσις δότης, θέμα (already in old Doric) like θέσις θετός, whence ἀνάθεμα = Att. -θημα,<sup>1</sup> so πόμα = Att. πῶμα, κλίμα, κρίμα, even ἀνάστεμα for -στημα<sup>2</sup> (true stem στᾶ), διάστεμα A. 5. 7 D (but κατάστημα Tit. 2. 3).

3. **Substantives from adjectives:** with termination -ότης: ἀγιότης, ἀγνότης (old form ἀγνεία from -εύω), ἀδηλότης, ἀφελότης A. 2. 46 from ἀφέλης ‘simple,’ ‘plain,’ Hellenistic (elsewhere the subst. is always ἀφέλεια), γυμνότης, ματαύτης, μεγαλειότης; corresponding forms from substantives are θεότης (Lucian), ἀδελφότης (1 and 4 Macc., Dio. Chrys.) in concrete sense ‘the brotherhood’ 1 P. 2. 17, 5. 9 (Clem. Cor. i. 2. 4; in abstract sense Herm. Mand. x. 1. 4), κυριότης in concrete sense ‘principality’ (an angelic order) E. 1. 21 (abstract Herm. Sim. v. 6. 1) etc.—With -σώη: from adj. in -μων, with which this formation is specially frequent (*σωφροσύνη, μνημοσύνη*), ἐλεημοσύνη (already found in Callimachus: in N.T. usu. in concrete sense ‘alms’): from adj. in -ος (like δικαιοσύνη, ἀκεραοσύνη Barn. 10. 4), but with lengthening of the antepenultimate, as in the comparative, when the syllable preceding it is short: ἀγαθωσύνη, ἀγιωσύνη, μεγαλωσύνη; ἴερωσύνη (= ἴερωστ. from ἴερεω- which is from ἴερεύς) occurs in the older language. With -τα: ἐλαφρία, παραφρονία 2 P. 2. 16 (from παράφρων -ονεῖν, cp. εὐδαιμονία).

4. **Substantives from substantives:** The feminine in -ιστα is the correct form corresponding to masculine in -ιξ, Φοῖνιξ Φοίνισσα, but in the later language this becomes an independent suffix (βαλάνισσα from βαλανεύς, βασίλισσα, Γαλάτισσα), so in N.T. Συροφοίκισσα from Συροφοίνιξ (Lucian) Mc. 7. 26 (v.l. Συραφ. i.e. Σύρα Φ.: D Φοίνισσα, Latt. Συροφοίνισσα).<sup>3</sup>—Of Latin origin are the designations ending in -ιανός derived from proper names, in the N.T. Ἡρῳδιανοί ‘adherents of Herod’ Mc. 3. 6 etc., and Χρηστιανοί from Χρηστός=Χριστός, the heathen designation for Christians A. 11. 26, 26. 28, 1 P. 4. 16 (on η cp. § 3, 6), formed on the model of Pompeiani, Caesariani; in later times this form was frequently employed for the names of sects.<sup>4</sup>—**Diminutives** are, in keeping with the whole character of the N.T., not abundant; some, however, had become popular expressions, such as παιδίον, παιδάριον, παιδίσκη (old), ψιχίον ‘bread-crumb’ (only in N.T. from ψίξ), πτερύγιον, ὡτίον, ὡτάριον ‘ear’ (the latter form in Mc. 14. 47 NBC, Jo. 18. 10 NBC\*LX) of the part of the body considered as such (Moeris says ὡτίον is Hellenistic for Attic οὖς),<sup>5</sup> whereas οὖς (together with ἀκοή) denotes the organ of hearing regarded as such; St. Luke, therefore, atticises when he uses οὖς for the part of the body (L. 22. 50: ὡτίον

<sup>1</sup> Also in the sense of ‘votive offering’ L. 21. 5 according to ΚΑΔΧ (B al.-θήμασι).

<sup>2</sup> Buresch, N. Jahrb. f. kl. Philol. 1891, 539, cod. A LXX.

<sup>3</sup> W.-Schm. § 16, 2 c, who explains it as due to a form Φουικίς (βασιλίς), and cites for Φουικίσσα Herodian L. ii. 455. 19 (but see ibid. i. 268. 14, ii. 708. 10).

<sup>4</sup> R. A. Lipsius Ursprung des Christennamens (Jena 1873); Blass, Hermes xxx. 465 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The popular language was fond of denoting the parts of the body by diminutives (Lob. Phryn. 211 f.), so modern Gk. μάτι ‘eye’ from ὅματιον, αἴτι ‘ear’ (also σωμάτιον Clem. Hom. v. 1, and as early as Isocrat. Epist. 4, 11).

DK). Denoting smallness: *κλινίδιον* L. 5. 19, 24, *κλινάριον* (Lob. Phryn. 180) A. 5. 15 &BCD (v.l. *κλινῶν*), *βιβλαρίδιον* Ap. 10. 2, 8 ff. (Herm. Vis. ii. 1. 3 v.l. *βιβλιδάριον*, cp. *λιθαρίδιον* late writers), formed from *βιβλάρι(ον)* + -ίδιον (only here). The following diminutives contain a subjective idea and belong to the special class of ὑποκοριστικά [endearing terms]: *κυνάριον* Mt. 15. 26 f., Mc. 7. 27 f., *ἰχθύδιον* Barn. 10. 5, *γυναικάριον* (also contemptuous) 2 Tim. 3. 6, also probably *όνάριον* Jo. 12. 14 (elsewhere *όνος*): with the subjective sense of love *ραβδίον* Herm. Sim. viii. 2. 9.—Formed with -εῖον or -ιον is *εἰδωλεῖον* or -ιον (§ 4, 2) from *εἴδωλον* (also LXX.).<sup>1</sup>—With -ών we should not reckon *ἐλαιών* ‘mount of olives,’ which should rather be written *ἐλαιῶν* gen. plur. (with variant form in A. 1. 12), but no doubt ἀφεδρών ‘privy’ Mt. 15. 17, Mc. 7. 19, cp. *κοπρών*, *περιστερεών*, and others.<sup>2</sup>

5. **Adjectives from verbs.**—Πειθός would be formed directly from a verbal stem, did not this word in 1 C. 2. 4 owe its origin to a patent corruption (*πειθοῖς* written for -οῖ). In -τός (verbal adjectives) there are many instances of compound words (see § 28, 5); an uncompounded word is *παθητός* ‘capable of suffering’ A. 26. 23 (Plutarch), in the narrower sense of words in -τός; on the other hand in the more general sense, equivalent to a perf. part. pass., we have *σιτιστός* Mt. 22. 4 ‘fattened’ (besides compounded words). With the rare suffix -ωλος we have *ἀμαρτωλός* LXX. N.T. cp. *φειδωλός*.

6. **Adjectives from nouns (and participles).**—In -τός *σωτήριος* (old); from which the substantive τὸ *σωτήριον* is formed, in LXX. ‘a thankoffering,’ also in the N.T. L. 3. 6, A. 28. 28 etc. = ‘salvation’: cp. ἡ *ζευκτηρία* A. 27. 40 (only here, *ζευκτήριος* is old). From the LXX., again, is λαὸς *περιουσίος* Tit. 2. 14 = **הַבָּנָדָם** ‘a people of possession,’ = ὁς *περιεστή*, ὃν ὁ θεὸς *περιεποιήσατο* ἔαντῳ, cp. Jerome ap. Tisch. ad. loc., W.-Schm. § 16, 3 b. Quite unique in the Greek language is *ἐπιούσιος* Mt. 6. 11, L. 11. 3 which cannot well be derived from any other source but ἡ *ἐπιοῦσα* sc. *ἡμέρα* (A. 16. 11 and elsewhere in Acts), so that its meaning is ‘bread for the coming day’: see the detailed exposition in W.-Schm. § 16, 3, n. 23.<sup>3</sup> Origen (i. 245) was not acquainted with the word either in literature or in the colloquial language, and it must therefore be an artificial translation of an Aramaic expression. An obscure word in -ικός is *πιστικός* Mc. 14. 3, Jo. 12. 3 (*ναρδὸν πιστικῆς*), which should perhaps be rendered ‘genuine’ and be derived from *πιστός* or *πίστις*, but may on the other hand have an entirely different origin, W.-Schm. § 16, 3 b. Other forms in -ικός (or -ακός, after ι) are *κυριακός* (*ἡμέρα Αρ. 1. 10, δεῦπνον* 1 C. 11. 20), *σκεύη κεραμικά* Ap. 2. 27 with v.l.

<sup>1</sup> For -εῖον *Ἀπολλωνεῖον* and the like are quoted as parallels, but even there -ιον is at least in the majority of cases the correct form, *Ἀπολλώνιον*. But *μουσεῖον*, *καπηλεῖον* may be compared. In the LXX., e.g. in 1 Esd. 2. 9 AB have -ιον.

<sup>2</sup> For details see Fischer, *Vitia lexicorum N.T.* 698 ff.

<sup>3</sup> [See also Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision of the N.T.*, Appendix. Tr.]

-εικά i.e. ‘the vessels of the potter’ (*κεραμεύς*, but the more natural meaning is ‘earthen,’ so that the word is incorrectly used instead of *κεραμεόν*, Lob. Phryn. 146), συρκικός = ‘belonging to σάρξ,’ ‘of the nature of σάρξ’ (opposed to *πνευματικός*), in the MSS. occasionally confounded with σύρκινος ‘consisting of flesh’ (like λίθινος and N.T. ὀστράκινος) 2 C. 3. 3 (-ικός R. 15. 27, 1 C. 9. 11, 2 C. 1. 12 [FG -ίνγ], 2 C. 10. 4, 1 P. 2. 11, also 1 C. 3. 3 according to Κ al. [D\*FG -ινος]; in the similar passages R. 7. 14, 1 C. 3. 1, H. 7. 16, while the best tradition is in favour of -ινος, the sense demands -ικός, since there is an antithesis with *πνευματικός*). In -ινός we have adjectives of time (as in class. Gk. *μετημβρινός*): ὥρθινός<sup>1</sup> L. 24. 22 (ὥρθιαι Κ<sup>2</sup>P al., an atticising correction, Lob. Phryn. 51: -ινός also in Herm. Sim. v. 1. 1), πρωΐνός (older form *πρώιος*, *πρώος*), καθημερινός A. 6. 1, Herm. Vis. i. 3. 2 (a similar form *μεθημερινός* in class. Gk.) ‘daily’ (from καθ’ ἡμέραν = class. *καθημέριος*), ταχινός ‘speedy’ (from *τάχα*, *ταχέως*) 2 P. 1. 14, 2. 1, Herm. Sim. viii. 9. 4.

## § 28. WORD-FORMATION BY COMPOSITION.

1. A distinction is drawn in Greek between **true composition** (*σύνθεσις*), in which the first of the component parts, if subject to inflection, is represented by the stem alone without inflection, and **improper composition** (*παράθεσις*), i.e. the mere coalescing of words originally separate, without further adaptation than is required for euphony. To the class of parathetic compounds belong all compounds of verbs with prepositions, together with some substantival forms such as Διόσκοροι from Διὸς κόροι, and many adverbs, in the formation of which the later language showed itself as prolific as it did in the production of compound verbs. A third category is formed by the **derivatives** of (true or improper) compounds (*παρασύνθετα*), such as *ιπποτροφεῖν*, -ία from *ιπποτρόφος*, Διοσκόριον from Διόσκορος.

2. To enumerate the new (parathetic) compounds formed from verb and preposition, together with the verbal substantives and verbal adjectives belonging to them, does not come within the province of the study of grammar.<sup>2</sup> We may also have more than one preposition combined in a word, as in the classical language; special mention may be made of διαπατριβαῖ 1 Tim. 6. 5 ‘perpetual disputations’ (*παρατριβή* = ‘dispute’ Polyb.). Adverbs formed by composition or cohesion (incorrectly used as prepositions) are coined more freely by the later than by the classical language (Lob. Phryn. 45 ff.); as a rule they are composed of preposition and adverb, as *ἰπεράνω* E. 1. 21 etc. (*ἐπάνω*, *ἰποκάτω* belong to the earlier period),

<sup>1</sup> In the Hellenistic poets the quantity of the ι, which in other words of this class is short, is used indifferently as long or short; cod. B writes -ινος, not -ινος.

<sup>2</sup> Winer, five essays ‘de verborum cum praep. compositorum in N.T. usu,’ Leips. 1834-43; A. Rieder ‘Verbs (and other words) compounded with more than one prep. in the New and Old Test.,’ Progr. Gumbinnen, 1876.

*ἐκπαλαι* 2 P. 2. 3, 3. 5 (*ἐκ παλαιοῦ* in Attic according to Phrynicus); also from prepos. and adj. as *ἐκπειριστόν* (beside *ἐκπειριστῶς?* as σΒCD read in Mc. 14. 31: the word would naturally be forced into an adverbial form), by accumulation *ὑπερεκπειριστόν* (-*ως*), E. 3. 20, 1 Th. 3. 10, 5. 13, cp. (-*ως*) Clem. Cor. i. 20. 11 (§ 4, 1 note), also *ὑπερπειριστῶς* Mc. 7. 37 (v.l. *ὑπερεκπ.*), *ὑπερλίαν* 2 C. 11. 5, 12. 11, *ὑπεράγαν* Clem. Cor. i. 56. 2; *ὑπερέκεινα* 2 C. 10. 16 is another new form (prep. and pron.: *ἐπέκεινα* is old).

3. **True compounds** are in a few cases fundamentally **substantives**, formed in such a way that in front of a substantive, which keeps its ordinary form, there is placed another substantive (or adj.) more nearly defining or restricting its meaning (e.g. lion-head, Greek *λεοντοκεφαλή* an architectural term); so in N.T. *Συροφοίνισσα* or -*ίκισσα* § 27, 4 (Διβυφοίνικες Polyb.): *εὐρακύλων* a hybrid word from *εὖρος* and *aquilo* (cp. *εὐρόνοτος* 'north east'); *ψευδοπροφήτης*, -*δάδελφος*, -*δαπόστολος*, -*δοδιδάσκαλος*, (*ψευδόμαρτος* appears in Attic); *σαρδόνυξ* (Α *σαρδιόνυξ*) Ap. 21. 20 from *σάρδιος* and *ὄνυξ*, ibid. *χρυσόλιθος* (but *χρυσόπρασος* in the same verse is an adjective formed from *πράσον* 'leak,' sc. *λίθος*); *χρεοφειλέτης* from *χρέος* and *φειλέτης*, but words of this kind (cp. *ἰππηλάτης*, *ἴπποδιώκτης*) belong rather to compounds of subst. and verbal stem, vide infra 5; on the other hand *οἰκοδεσπότης* (cp. Phryn. 373 who condemns the word: derivative *οἰκοδεσποτεῖν*) does really consist of *οἶκος* and *δεσπότης*.—The subst. is defined by a *particle* in *συντρατιώτης* (class.), *συμπρεσβύτερος*, *συγκληρονόμος*: by a verbal stem in *ἀρχιερέως* (but the older form is *ἀρχιέρεως*, i.e. ὁ *ἀρχων τῶν ιερέων*), *ἀρχιτέκτων* (which is likewise strictly to be explained as ὁ *ἀρχων τῶν τεκτόνων*), *ἀρχιτελώνης* L. 19. 2, *ἀρχιποίμην* 1 P. 5. 4, *ἀρχάγγελος* (but in *ἀρχιστυνάγωγος*, *ἀρχιτρίκλινος* it is clear that the first component still continues to govern the second).<sup>1</sup>

4. There are a great number of **adjectival** forms composed of adjectives (adv., prep., numeral) and substantive (adj.), which express the combined notion of both ideas, such as the peculiar δευτερόπρωτον *σάββατον* L. 6. 1 (from two numeral adjectives), variously explained, see Tisch. ad loc. and W.-Grimm; an example of the ordinary type (particle and subst.) is *ἀνέλεος* Ja. 2. 13 (class. *ἀνηλεῖς*: the N.T. form due to *τὸν ἄλεος* § 9, 3), so *σκληροτράχηλος* (LXX.) A. 7. 51, *δίψυχος* Ja. 1. 8, 4. 8 (Hermas *pass.*), *ἔτερόγλωσσος* (Polyb.), *δίστομος* and *μονόφθαλμος* already found in classical Gk.; *ἰσάγγελος* = *ἴσος τοῖς ἀγγέλοις*, like Homeric *ἰσόθεος*; especially with a preposition in the first place, in which case the formation of the adj. in -*ως* (*ἀκρογωνιαῖος* is from -*α-ιος*) is preferred: *παραθαλάσσος* (old), *ἐπιθανάτιος* 1 C. 4. 9 = *ἐπὶ θανάτῳ συνειλημμένος* (also in Dionys. Halic.), *ἐπίγειος* and *ἐπιούριος* (old), *καταχθόνιος* (also old); *ἐνώπιον* (neuter of *ἐνώπιος*) likewise takes this formation. From these words again neuter substantives are formed. A peculiar compound of elements which are coordinate and simply added together, is *νυχθήμερον* (late) 2 C. 11.

<sup>1</sup> There are also correspondingly formed adjectives, thus in Hermas *περίπικρος* 'very bitter' Sim. vi. 2. 5, *ἀπόκενος* 'somewhat empty' Mand. xii. 5. 2.

25, 'a period of a night and a day,' Kühner i.<sup>3</sup> ii. 318; note moreover τὸ δώδεκα φυλαί (§ 44, 1); ἵπποτόδιον 'footstool,' ὑπολίρινον (*ληνός*) the receptacle or vat excavated beneath the winepress, ἀνάγαιον (§§ 3, 7; 6, 4); further ἀκροθίνιον H. 7. 4 (old), μεσονύκτιον (Hellenistic, Lob. Phryn. 53; § 6, 2), ἡμιώριον 'half an hour' Ap. 8. 1 (ἡμιώρον AP, cp. ἡμιόραχμον, ἡμιπόδιον etc.; Kühner i.<sup>3</sup> ii. 323); προσάββατον, ἡδύστρων a plant (garden mint). In the femin. we have ἡ καλλιέλαιος and its opposite ἀγριέλαιος (for which, according to Moeris, Attic has κότινος) R. 11. 17, 24, not ἀγριελαία, although ἀγριο- in the later language is also directly compounded with the substantive (supra 3), as in ἀγριοκολοκύνθη; also ἀκροβυστία, a distorted form of ἀκροποσθία or -ιον (the old word) from πόσθη. Then from adjectives of this kind there was a further creation of abstract substantives, such as σκληροκαρδία 'hardness of heart' (LXX.) related to σκληροκάρδιος (LXX.), and therefore for -καρδί-ία, cp. διπλοκαρδία Barn. 20. 1, and of verbs (cp. 5), amongst which may be specially noticed ὁρθοποδεῖν (ὁρθόποντος is old) G. 2. 14 (nowhere else), and ἔγκακεῖν (the word ἔγκακεῖν is a wrong reading, occurring also in Herm. Mand. ix. 8) 'to be slack in anything' Polyb. 4, 19. 10, formed directly from ἐν and κακός, although no word ἔγκακος ever existed; ἐνωτίζεσθαι A. 2. 14 (LXX.) is also certainly formed directly from ἐν and ὧτα, cp. ἐνστερνίζεσθαι Clem. Cor. ii. 1, ἐντηθίζειν Athanasius.

5. The greater number of compounds, originally adjectival, are formed of substantive (adject., pronoun) or particle and verbal stem; from these adjectives there are then formed parasyntetic abstract substantives and verbs. The most ordinary form is: adj. -ος, abstract subst. -ία, verb -έω, like ἵπποτρόφος, ἵπποτροφία, ἵπποτροφέω. So in the N.T. we have ἀγαθοποιός 1 P. 2. 14, ἀγαθοποία 4. 19 (ἀγαθοποίησις Herm. Mand. viii. 10, Sim. v. 3. 4), ἀγαθοποεῖν 2. 15 (beside ἀγαθοεργεῖν 1 Tim. 6. 18, ἀγαθουργεῖν with v.l. ἀγαθοποεῖν A. 14. 17), καλοποιεῖν 2 Th. 3. 13, κακοποιός (and κακοῦργος, both old), κακοποεῖν (old), εἰρηνοποιός -εῖν, μοσχοποιεῖν only in N.T. (Acts 7. 41) of the image of the golden calf, where the adjectival stem only exists, and only needed to exist, in idea, ἰσχυροποιεῖν (and -ποήσις) Hermas, Vis. i. 3. 2 etc. With other verbal stems there are: κακουχεῖν an old form (from ἔχω: κακούχος nowhere), πληροφορεῖν -ία (first<sup>1</sup> in N.T.: -φόρος nowhere), λογομαχεῖν -ία (late, other writers also have -μάχος), λιθοβολεῖν 'to stone' together with λιθάξειν (the old word was λεύειν), λατομεῖν, ἐτεροζυγεῖν 2 C. 6. 14 (ἐτερόζυγος LXX.), ἀνθρωποκτόνος, ἀνθρωπάρεσκος (ἀρέσκω), of uncertain meaning δεξιολάβος Acts 23. 23 (an infantry corps), according to a probably certain conjecture κενεμβάτεύειν = -εῖν Col. 2. 18 (κενεμβάτης has to be imagined: the word is formed like ἐμβατεύειν) etc. Where the verbal stem has an active sense the adjectives generally are paroxytone (in the case of a short paenultima) or oxytone (if the paen. is long), whereas in the case of a passive stem (and a short paenultima) the accent is thrown back on to the first part of the word (πρωτότοκος 'firstborn,' whence πρωτότοκια, cp. εὐαγγέλιον,

<sup>1</sup> [πληροφορεῖσθαι occurs in LXX. Ecclesiastes 8. 11. Tr.]

H. 12. 16). But for words of passive meaning the form of the verbal adj. in *-tos* is preferred to that in *-os*; thus in N.T. *πατροπαράδοτος* 1 P. 1. 18, *σητόβρωτος* Ja. 5. 2, *λιθόστρωτος* (Sophocles) Jo. 19. 3, *ποταμοφόρητος* (-*φορεῖν*) Ap. 12. 15,<sup>1</sup> *εἰδωλοθύτον* (like *ἱερόθυτον*); just as in active words *-της* (the noun of the agent) may take the place of *-os*, *χρεοφειλέτης* supra 3, *καρδιογνώστης* Acts 1. 24, 15. 8 Herm. Mand. iv. 3. 4 (nowhere else), *προσωπολήμπτης* 10. 34 (-*τεῖν*, -*ημψία*). From διδάσκειν the compounds are formed with termination -διδάσκαλος: *νομοδιδάσκαλος*, *καλοδιδάσκαλος* Tit. 2. 3 (like *χοροδιδάσκαλος*, in older Greek), *έτεροδιδάσκαλεῖν?* (= *έτερα διδάσκειν?* or = *έτέρους διδασκάλοις χρῆσθαι?*) 1 Tim. 1. 3, 6. 3; from φυλάσσω with -φύλαξ (Hellenistic words): *δεσμοφύλαξ* A. 16. 23 (*γαζοφυλάκιον* Mc. 12. 41 etc. LXX., a *παρασύνθετον* from *γαζοφύλαξ*); from verbs in -άω, -έω with termin. -ης (1st decl.): *πατρολώας* (§ 6, 2) ἀλοᾶν, *φρεναπάτης*<sup>2</sup> ἀπατᾶν (whence *φρεναπατᾶν*), *πορφυροπώλης πωλεῖν*, with fem. -πωλης A. 16. 14; so also ἀρσενοκοίτης (*κοιτάζεσθαι*, *κοίτη*) 1 C. 6. 9, 1 Tim. 1. 10, *εἰδωλολάτρης* (*λατρεύειν*), whence *εἰδωλολατρεῖν* Hermas, *εἰδωλολατρία* N.T. (a more correct form than -εία like λατρεία; B however, except in 1 C. 10. 14, has -λατρεία = -ία), and from ἄρχειν we have words in -άρχης beside those in -αρχος, see § 9, 2. In ὄφθαλμοδονία E. 6. 6, Col. 3. 22 (B reads with ει, like δουλεία which is formed from δουλεύω) the underlying word is ὄφθαλμόδονλος (which occurs in Const. Apost.), where the formation is dependent on δοῦλος. Occasionally ίης, -ης also appears as a termination: *εἰλικρινής* (*κρίνω*), subst. -ίνεια (old), *τηλανγής* Mc. 8. 25 (-ώς; v.l. δηλανγῶς <sup>καὶ</sup> al.), an old poetical word, but also in LXX.: the sense has become weakened to 'clear,' so also in Herm. Sim. vi. 5. 1; *γονυπετής* (*πίπτω*, Eurip.), -τεῖν (Polyb.), *νοννεχής* (ep. inf. 7) from ἔχω (Polyb.), *ἱεροπρεπής* (Att.). *Αλεκτοροφωνία* 'cock-crowing' (vulgar word, Lob. Phryn. 229 = ἡ ὥρα ἡνίκα ὁ ἀλ. φωνεῖ) is peculiar, there being no conceivable adjective from which it can be derived. In γλωσσοκομον 'a case'<sup>3</sup> Jo. 12. 3, 13. 29 the verb *κομεῖν*, *κομίζειν* is concealed; the Atticists require in place of this vulgar form the longer γλωττοκομεῖον Phryn. Lob. 98 (cp. *χερνιβεῖον* 'a hand-basin').

6. In the older language it frequently happens that in compound words of this kind the verb is given the first place (φερέοικος, δηξίθυμος), in the later language this does not often occur; on compounds in ἄρχι- vide supra 3: ἐθελοθρησκία (-εια B, cp. 5) Col. 2. 23 based on ἐθελοθρησκος (from θρῆσκος) which is not found, cp. ἐθελοδιδάσκαλος Hermas, ἐθελοδυνλ(ε)ία Plato, ἐθελεχθρος Demosth., ἐθελοκακέιν Hdt., (ἐθελο- expressing spontaneity): *φιλόθεος*, *φιλάγαθος* and *φίλαντος* (Aristot.), (*φιλόπρωτος* late language, and) *φιλοπρωτεύων*<sup>4</sup> 3 Jo. 7 (no-

<sup>1</sup> Hesychius also has the phrase *ποταμοφόρητον ποιεῖν*, 8.v. ἀπόβερσεν.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. one who deceives his own mind = 'conceited'; the word also occurs on a papyrus of the 2nd cent. B.C. (in rhetorical and artificial prose, Grenfell 'An Alexandrian erotic fragment,' Oxf. 1896, p. 3).

<sup>3</sup> Strictly a case for the mouthpiece of a flute (γλωττα).

<sup>4</sup> Found already in an Attic inscription of the 1st cent. B.C., 'ΕΦ. ἀρχαιολ. 1893, 49 ff., l. 30.

forms with *μισο-* appear in N.T.).—The words compounded with certain pronouns and particles deserve a special mention : *αὐτοκατάκριτος* Tit. 3. 11 (ἀντόματος and *αὐθαίρετος* are old); words with *ἀ-* privative for the most part formed in *-τος*, e.g. in N.T. ἀγενελόγητος, ἀδιάκριτος, ἀδιάλειπτος,<sup>1</sup> (ἀδύνατος, -εῖν are old), ἀκατάγνωστος, ἀκατακάλιπτος, ἀκατάκριτος, ἀκατάλυτος, ἀκατάπαυστος, (ἀκατάστατος is old, -ασία Polyb.), ἀναπολόγητος, ἀμετανόητος, (ἀνόητος old), ἀνεξερεύνητος, ἀνεξιχνιαστος etc., not however exclusively in a passive sense (e.g. those from ἀπολογεῖσθαι, [μετα]νοεῖν) : so also ἀπταυστος Jude 24 (old) is active.<sup>2</sup> The opposite to *ὁ-* is *ἐν-* (e.g. ἐντιμος=ἐν τιμῇ opposed to ἄτιμος) : ἐμπερίτομος is opposed to ἀπερίτυμος in Barn. 9. 6 C and =ἐν περιτομῇ of Ι&G: Paul has ἄνομος – ἔννομος 1 C. 9. 21, § 36, 11.—With *ἐν* we have: *εὐάρεστος* (already in Xenoph.), *εἰμετάδοτος* ‘ready to impart’ 1 Tim. 6. 18, *εἰπρόσδεκτος*, *εἰπερίστατος* H. 12. 1 (nowhere else) probably =ἡ ῥᾳδίως περισταμένη ‘easily surrounding and thereby hindering’ a person; with *δυσ-*: δυσβάστακτος, δυσερμήνευτος, δυσνόητος. 'Α(ν)- (and δυσ-) can also be compounded with ordinary adjectives (in classical Gk. ἀναγνος, δίσαγνος), but in the case of *εὐπάρεδρος* 1 C. 7. 35 we should rather refer the word to *παρεδρείειν* than to *πάρεδρος*; a compound of adverb and verb is quite inadmissible, therefore *εὐδοκεῖν* (Hellenistic) must be derived from an imaginary *εὐδόκος* (δέχομαι), certainly not from *δοκεῖν* (aorist εὐδόκησα), similarly the old word *καραδοκεῖν* (N.T. ἀποκαραδοκία) is derived through an imaginary *καραδόκος* from *κάρα* and *δέχομαι* (cp. *δοκεῖω*).<sup>3</sup> *Εἰάγγελος* (class.) is from *εν* and ἀγγέλλειν; whence *εὐαγγέλιον* (as early as Homer)= reward for good news, thanks for a good message, cp. *πρωτοτόκια* supra 5; it is only late writers who employ it for the good news itself; *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* ‘to bring good news’ is also found in Attic Greek.—Προσφάγιον Jo. 21. 5, which according to Moeris is Hellenistic for Attic ὅψον ‘something eaten with bread,’ comes from *πρός* and *φαγεῖν*; *προσήλυτος* however (LXX.) is connected with *προσέρχεσθαι* (ἐπηλιν, ἐπηλύτης are old).—A special formation is that in *-ασία*, *-εσία*, *-ισία*, *-οσία*, *-ισία*, allied to *-σις*, and not to be confused with abstract nouns from adjectives in *-τος* (ἀκαταστασία), since the former has the active sense of the verbal substantive: ὁρκωμοσία ‘an oath,’ ὁροθεσία A. 17. 26 ‘a setting of bounds’ (unless with Hesychius τὰ ὁροθέσια should be read, cp. τὰ ὄρια; γυμνάσιον, συμπόσιον), δικαιοκρίσια ‘righteous judgment’ R. 2. 5, αἵματεκχυσία H. 9. 22, also παλιγγενεσία (γίνεσθαι) Tit. 3. 5; in composition with a preposition this formation appears in the older language, e.g. ἀποστάσια (*προστάσια* is as early as Attic; also from a simple verb ὄνομασία).

7. Of compound adverbs, which were not originally derived from adjectives, there are not many instances in the N.T. In *-ει* there are *παμπληθεί* L. 23. 18, *πανοικεί* A. 16. 34, in the cultivated language of Luke, although these particular instances are not Attic;

<sup>1</sup> See note 3, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> But ἀπείραστος Ja. 1. 13 is passive, cf. § 36, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. § 6, 7 πανδοκεύς.

cp. Kühner i.<sup>3</sup> ii. 303 (*i* is probably an incorrect spelling, ἐλληνιστὶ and the like have *i*). Ὁμοθυμαδόν is frequent in the Acts (also occurring in R. 15. 6), a classical word. (For adverbs in -δον see Kühner *ibid.* 307 f.)

8. As is already apparent from the preceding instances, the employment of compound words in the N.T. is fairly large, and is not absent even from the simplest style, although the more elevated style naturally has a larger number of them: for the διπλᾶ (as Aristotle terms the compounds) serve from the earliest times as an embellishment to the speech. In the short letter to Titus the following striking instances occur (verbal compounds and others are neglected): ἀδόκιμος, ἄκαρπος, ἀκατάγνωστος, ἄμαχος, ἀνέγκλητος, ἀνόητος, ἀνομία, ἀνυπότακτος, ἀνωφελής, ἀπειθής, ἀσωτία, ἀφθορία, ἀψεύδης; ἀνθάδης, ἀντοκατάκριτος; αἰσχροκερδής; εὐάρεστος; γενεαλογία; ἱεροπρεπής; καλοδιδάσκαλος; ματαιολόγος; οἰκουρ(γ)ός, οἰκονόμος; παλιγγενεσία; πειθαρχεῖν; φιλάγαθος, φιλανδρός, φιλανθρωπία, φιλόξενος, φιλότεκνος; φρεναπάτης.—With regard to the manner of the composition, it is further to be noticed that, at least in the case of words compounded with numerals, the numeral undergoes no elision as it does in Attic, but remains intact, in accordance with the effort after a clearer isolation of the words—a tendency which has likewise diminished the number of cases of elision between separate words (§ 5, 1, cp. 3, 12). Thus τετραάρχης, -χεῖν Tisch. in Acts 13. 1 according to  $\kappa^*$ , L. 3. 1  $\kappa^*C$  etc. (Tisch. on L. loc. cit.), τευτερακονταετής A. 7. 23, 13. 18, ἑκατονταετής R. 4. 19 (which is an old form in dialects, but this is due to Féretos Kühner i.<sup>3</sup> ii. 332; Att. -τούτης from -τοέτης); in addition to these, ἀγαθοεργεῖν 1 Tim. 6. 18, ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος 1 P. 4. 15 KLP, but  $\kappa B$  -τριεπ-; cp. LXX. γραμματοεισαγωγέύς (Deut. 31. 28), μακροημερένειν, ἀρχιοινοχόος, later ὁμο-ούσιος and the like.

### § 29. PROPER NAMES.

In the proper names of the N.T. the only grammatical point which calls for attention is the class of (hypocoristic) abbreviated names. These abbreviated names have always existed in Greek, and present a great diversity in their formation, see Bechtel-Fick, Griech. Personennamen 26 ff.: -*is*, -*ias*, -*eias*, -*ēas* (-ῆς), -*vs*, -*v(λ)os*, -*v(λ)los*, -*wv*, -*īwv* etc.; the Hellenistic language, on the other hand, as it meets us in the N.T., has hardly any other form of the abbreviated name than that in -*as*, which is employed not only when the full name contains an *a*, as in 'Αντίπας Ap. 2. 13 from 'Αντίπατρος, but also when there is no such support for it, and the second half of a name containing two stems is completely set aside. These short names were in some cases given at birth, as when a Mantitheus called his son Mantias, a Niceratus Nicias, a Demoteles Demon, but in others the person originally had the full name, but was frequently called by the shorter name, as Menodorus the admiral of Sextus Pompeius is spoken of by the historians sometimes by his full name, sometimes

as Menas (W.-Schm. § 16, 9).<sup>1</sup> An instance of this in the N.T. is Σιλονανός, as he is always called in St. Paul (also 1 P. 5. 12), and Σιλᾶς A. 15. 22 etc.: also no doubt Ἀπολλάνιος A. 18. 24 D and Ἀπολλῶς in St. Paul (Ἀπελλῆς & in Acts, see § 6, 2), Ἀμπλίατος R. 16. 8 with v.l. Ἀμπλίας; but Ἐπαφρᾶς Col. 1. 7, 4. 12 (of Colossae) Philem. 23 and Ἐπαφρόδιτος Ph. 2. 25, 4. 18 (of Philippi) cannot be one and the same person, although undoubtedly the one name is an abbreviation of the other. The remaining abbreviations in -as, in many cases of which the original name is not distinctly recognisable, are: Ἀρτεμᾶς (Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Varro de lingua Lat. viii. 21), Ἐρμᾶς (Ἐρμόδωρος and the like), Ζηνᾶς (Ζηνόδωρος, see Bekk. Anecd. 857), Νυμφᾶς (Νυμφόδ.), Ὄλυμπᾶς (Ὀλυμπιόδωρος), Δημᾶς (Δημήτριος ?), Στεφανᾶς (Στεφανήφόρος ? or a development of Στέφανος, found in Attic Greek ?),<sup>2</sup> Παρμενᾶς (Παρμένων),<sup>3</sup> Πατρόβας (Πατρόβιος), Λουκᾶς (Λουκανός ? Λουκίλιος ?).<sup>4</sup> In -ῆς there are Ἀπελλῆς R. 16. 10 (vide supra), and Ἐρμῆς ibid. 14 (which can hardly be merely identical with the name of the god, although at a later period this kind of appellation is also found);<sup>5</sup> in -ῶς there is only Ἀπολλῶς, vide supra. The name Ἀνδρέας, which has early attestation, is of a genuine old Greek form.

<sup>1</sup> See also Crusius, N. Jahrb. für Philol. 1891, p. 385 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Bechtel-Fick, op. cit. 253 f., regard Στέφανος itself as an abbreviation of Φιλο-στέφανος or of Στεφανο-κλῆς.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 205 (cp. Παρμενίδης, -ίσκος, -ίων, -μενις etc.).

<sup>4</sup> Some ancient Latin MSS. translate the title κατὰ Λουκᾶν by secundum Lucanum. In Ἀνδρόνικον καὶ Ἰουνίαν R. 16. 7 is commonly found a man's name Ἰουνίας (=Junianus?); some of the ancient commentators (see Tisch.) took them to be a married couple like Aquila and Priscilla.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 304 ff.

## PART II.

### SYNTAX.

#### § 30. SUBJECT AND PREDICATE.

1. It has already been noticed (in § 2, 1) that it is in the syntax, *i.e.* in the method of employing and combining the several word-forms and ‘form-words’ current in the language, that the principal grammatical difference between the classical and the N.T. language undoubtedly lies, just as it is here too that there is the greatest difference between the individual writers of the N.T. It is also on the syntactical side that the language itself has shown the greatest development, and moreover it is here that the antithesis between the artificial writer and the plain narrator of facts or the letter-writer—as also that between the man who has received a pure Greek education and the man whose education has been wholly or preponderantly Hebrew—is most clearly marked. Hence the difference in culture between the individual N.T. writers must make itself felt in their syntax, from the author of the Apocalypse at one extreme to Paul, Luke, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews at the other.

2. The two principal kinds of words are the **noun** and the **verb**. The simplest sentence is formed by the combination of these two, where the noun (*ὄνομα*) represents the subject, *i.e.* the fundamental idea, and the verb (*ρῆμα*) represents the predicate, *i.e.* some further statement concerning the subject. If however the predicate is complex, the noun must very soon be called into requisition for this office as well, and will serve sometimes as the principal part of the predicate, sometimes as the complement of the verb. In the former case, where one noun serves the purpose of specifying and defining another noun, the verb is in many cases a mere ‘form-word’ necessary for the statement of this relation, though like every verb it still presents the two inflections denoting tense and mood. It is therefore only natural that, at least in the case of the commonest tense, the present, and the commonest mood, the indicative, the language should omit the verbal ‘form-word’ ‘to be’ as readily intelligible. On the question of the omission or non-omission of the auxiliary verb different languages are divided. In

Hebrew the omission is the rule, in Greek it is allowable from the earliest times and occurs also in the N.T., whereas modern Greek has given up this liberty and always inserts the auxiliary verb.

**3. Omission of the auxiliary verb.** By far the most frequent instance of omission, as in the classical language, is that of the commonest form of the pres. indic. of the auxiliary verb, namely the 3rd pers. sing. ἔστιν. Still this omission never grew into a fixed usage of the language, except in the case of a few stereotyped phrases. Such are: δῆλον ὅτι (class.) 1 C. 15. 27, (1 Tim. 6. 7 ??), also with reverse order of words ὅτι ..., δῆλον G. 3. 11; τί ἐμοὶ (ἡμῖν) καὶ σοὶ Mt. 8. 29, Mc. 1. 24, 5. 7, L. 4. 34, 8. 28, Jo. 2. 4<sup>1</sup> (= Hebr. בָּרוּךְ יְהוָה וְיַעֲשֵׂה כֵּן Judges 11. 12 etc.; there are, however, similar classical phrases);<sup>2</sup> τί πρὸς σέ (ἡμᾶς) Mt. 27. 4, Jo. 21. 22 f., quid hoc ad te (similar classical phrases),<sup>3</sup> cp. τί γάρ μοι 1 C. 5. 12, and many other instances, infra § 50, 7; τί (μοι) τὸ ὄφελος 1 C. 15. 32, Ja. 2. 14, 16 (ἀλλὰ τί τούτων ὄφελος αὐτοῖς Demosth. 9. 69); ἔτι μικρόν, καὶ ... Jo. 14. 19, 16. 16 f., 19 (ἔτι μ. ὅσον ὅσον H. 10. 37 O.T., but in LXX. Is. 26. 20 without this ellipse); μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὁ — Ja. 1. 12, R. 4. 8 O.T. (Hebr. אָשָׁר יְהִי מְכֹרֶב), so also μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί etc. Mt. 5. 3 etc., in this exclamation where the 3rd pers. is used the auxiliary verb is never expressed (it is different with the 2nd pers., Mt. 5. 11, 16. 17, and in a statement of fact, 11. 6 [om. ἔστιν X ab]=L. 7. 23): cp. the classical μακάριος γ' ἀνὴρ ἔχων κ.τ.λ. Aristoph. Ran. 1482. The classes of sentence where this omission is particularly frequent are exclamations (A. 19. 28, 34 μεγάλη ἡ "Αρτεμις Ἐφεσίων, R. 11. 33 ὡς ἀνεξερευνήτα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ) and questions (L. 4. 36 τίς ὁ λόγος οὗτος; A. 10. 21 τίς ἡ αἰτία δι' ἣν —; R. 3. 1 τί τὸ περισσόν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου, ἡ τίς ἡ ὀφέλεια τῆς περιτομῆς): but it is also found not infrequently in statements of fact, Mc. 14. 36 πάντα δυνατά σοι, H. 9. 16 f. ὅπου διαθήκη, θάνατον ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου διαθήκη γάρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία, 1 C. 10. 13 and 2 C. 1. 18 πιστὸς ὁ θεός, 1 Th. 5. 24 πιστὸς ὁ καλῶν ὑμᾶς (with ἔστιν in 2 Th. 3. 3, but the verb is wanting in FG al.), πιστὸς ὁ λόγος 1 Tim. 1. 15, 3. 1, 4. 9, 2 Tim. 2. 11, Tit. 3. 8. Another class of expression where (as in classical Greek) the omission is common consists of impersonal phrases; ἀνάγκη H. 9. 16 (vide supra), 9. 23, R. 13. 5? (with ἔστι Mt. 18. 7 but om. BL), ὥρα R. 13. 11, ἔξον A. 2. 29, 2 C. 12. 4, δόδύνατον H. 6. 4, 18, 10. 4, 11. 6, εἰ δυνατόν (as we say 'if possible') Mt. 24. 24, Mc. 13. 22, R. 12. 18 (G. 4. 15 vide infra), but with ἔστιν Mt. 26. 39, Mc. 14. 35. Κεφάλαιον δὲ H. 8. 1 is classical. The verb may also be omitted even when it is not a

<sup>1</sup> Nonnus in his metrical paraphrase presents a very noteworthy various reading: τί ἐμοὶ, γύναι, ἡ σοὶ αὐτῆ; = τί ἐμοὶ ἡ σοὶ γύναι; ('What is this to me or to you?' cp. the following words οὕτω ἥκει ἡ ὥρα μου). Cp. τί δὲ σοὶ ταῦτα Aristoph. Lysistr. 514.

<sup>2</sup> Kühner, Gr. ii. 364 (Herodot. 5. 33 σοι δὲ καὶ τούτοισι τοῖς πρήγμασι τί ἔστι; Demosth. 29. 36 τί τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῷ βασάνῳ).

<sup>3</sup> Οὐδέποτε πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον; Dem. 18. 21 οὐδέποτε ἔστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ.

mere copula: 1 C. 15. 40 καὶ σώματα ἐπουράνια (sc. ἔστιν 'there are') καὶ σ. ἐπίγεια. Other forms of εἰμί are omitted: εἰσίν with μακάριοι vide supra, R. 11. 16 εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀπαρχὴ ἀγία, καὶ τὸ φύραμα, καὶ εἰ ἡ ρέζα ἀγία, καὶ οἱ κλάδοι, cp. R. 4. 14, 1 C. 16. 9, H. 2. 11 etc. Εἴμι, ἐστέν, εἰ are not often omitted, and the omission is even more rare when ἔγώ, ἥμεῖς, or σύ are not inserted; Mc. 12. 26=A. 7. 32 O.T. ἔγὼ ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ κ.τ.λ. (but LXX. has εἰμί here, though it is absent from the original Hebrew, and so Mt. 22. 32; also some MSS. in Mc. and Acts), Jo. 14. 11, 2 C. 10. 7; without a pronoun 2 C. 11. 6 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ (sc. εἰμί which D\*E introduce, St. Paul has been speaking of himself just before in verse 5),<sup>1</sup> Ap. 15. 4 ὅτι μόνος ὅστος (sc. εἰ), Ph. 3. 15. <sup>2</sup>Hv 3rd sing. is always omitted in the phrase φ (ἡ) ὄνομα L. 1. 26 f., 2. 25, 8. 41, 24. 13 (D ὄνόματι), 18 (ὄνόματι & B al.), A. 13. 6 (D is different), or οὐ τὸ ὄνομα Mc. 14. 32 (φ C), or in the still more Hebraic (cp. 1 Kings 1. 1 etc.) καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς (αὐτοῦ) L. 1. 5, 27; parenthetically ὄνομα αὐτῷ (Demosth. 32. 11 Ἄριστοφῶν ὄνομα αὐτῷ) Jo. 1. 6 (with ἦν inserted &\*D\*), 3. 1 (&\* ὄνόματι, as Luke has elsewhere in his Gospel and almost always in the Acts [class.], cp. §§ 33, 2; 38, 2; Xenophon Mem. 3. 11. 1 writes ἦ ὄνομα ἦν); in these phrases it makes no difference whether ἦν is to be supplied (with persons) or ἔστιν (with place-names). "Εσται (or ἔστι) is omitted in 1 P. 4. 17, 1 C. 15. 21, cp. 22. <sup>3</sup>Ht only occasionally in St. Paul (2 C. 8. 11, 13). Εἴη is commonly omitted in formulas expressing a wish, such as ἰλεώς σοι (sc. ὁ θεὸς εἶη) Mt. 16. 22, εἰρήνη ὑμῖν etc., as in classical Greek (Ιλαος Soph. O.C. 1477; cp. LXX. 2 Kings 20. 20) and in Hebrew (קַדְשָׁם בָּרוּךְ בָּרָא); in doxologies such as εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός (2 C. 1. 3 etc.) = Hebr. בָּרוּךְ אֱלֹהִים (Ps. 66. 20 etc.) we may supply either 'is' (cp. R. 1. 25 ὃς ἔστιν εὐλ. κ.τ.λ., 2 C. 11. 31 ὁ ὀν εὐλογ., 1 P. 4. 11 φ ἔστιν [ἔστιν om. A] ἡ δόξα, Buttmann p. 120) or 'be' (Winer, who compares 1 Kings 10. 9 γένοιτο εὐλ., Job 1. 21 εἴη εὐλ.); the former, however, appears to be the sense in which the N.T. writers understood the phrase. "Εστω is omitted in μηδὲν σοι καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἔκεινοι Mt. 27. 19 (cp. for the formula what is said above), in χάρις τῷ θεῷ (class.) 2 C. 8. 16, 9. 15, (R. 6. 17); see further H. 13. 4, 5 τίμος ὁ γάμος κ.τ.λ., R. 12. 19 ff., Col. 4. 6. On the omission of εἶναι and ὄν cp. §§ 34, 5; 73, 4 and 5; 74, 2. The present or imperf. (aor. and fut.) of εἶναι (γίνεσθαι, παρεῖναι, παραγίνειν) may, after Hebrew precedent, be omitted after ἰδού=תְּבִנָה, which can stand by itself for the verbal predicate, though it may also be introduced in addition to the predicate. Mt. 3. 17 (17. 5) καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ (sc. ἔγένετο) ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν λέγοντα (but the same phrase occurs without ἰδού A. 10. 15), L. 5. 18 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες φέροντες κ.τ.λ. (sc. ήσαν, παρῆσαν as in 13. 1), cp. 5. 12, A. 13. 11 καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ χεὶρ κυρίου ἐπὶ σέ, 8. 36. On the more extended use of the ellipse of the verb vide infra § 81.

<sup>1</sup> On R. 1. 15 οὗτος τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμος (so more correctly than -ov) sc. εἰμι (ὁφειλέτης εἰμι precedes), see § 42, 2.

4. **Absence of the subject.** On the absence of the subject, where it is not contained in the verb or in the context, the following remarks may be made for the N.T. usage. The so-called **impersonal verbs** expressing meteorological phenomena are almost entirely wanting. *Βρέχει* (the vulgar word for *ὕει*, which nowhere appears) is personal in Mt. 5. 45, sc. ὁ θεός (LXX. Gen. 2. 5, but ὁ θεὸς *ὕει* is also a classical phrase), impersonal in Ja. 5. 17, L. 17. 29 (Ap. 11. 6 ἡνα μὴ ιετὸς *βρέχη*, in the Vulgate simply *pluat*); *βροντά*,<sup>1</sup> *ἀστράπτει* etc. are nowhere found (*ἡ ἀστραπή ἀστράπτουσα* L. 17. 24; the verb is used = 'to shine' as in class. Greek ibid. 24. 4, cp. *περιαστράπτειν* A. 9. 3. 22. 6 'to shine round about'). Equally uncommon in the N.T. are the classical expressions in which the agent is readily supplied from the verb in the person to whom some particular task belongs (e.g. ἐκήρυξε sc. ὁ κῆρυξ): *σαλπίσει* 1 C. 15. 52 'the trumpet shall sound' (Winer compares the German 'es läutet'; in any case ὁ *σαλπιγκτής* cannot be understood, the most that can be supplied is *ἡ σάλπιγξ*). Peculiar phrases are *τρίτην ταῖτην ἡμέραν ἄγει* ('it is,' as *ἄγω ἡμέραν* is used) L. 24. 21, and *ἀπέχει* 'it is enough' Mc. 14. 41 (Anacreon tea 28. 31; but D has *ἀπ-* *τὸ τέλος*, the matter has received its completion). Somewhat more frequent is the impersonal passive, like Latin *itur* 'one goes,' but this usage was never developed to any great extent in Greek: Mt. 7. 2 ἐν δὲ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν (= Mc. 4. 24, L. 6. 38), L. 6. 38 δίδοτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν (cp. Mt. 7. 7, Mc. 4. 25), where the writer passes at once to the 3rd pers. plur. act. with equivalent meaning *μέτρον ... δύσοισιν*: 1 P. 4. 6 *νεκροῖς εὐλγελίσθη*, R. 10. 10, 1 C. 15. 42 f. *σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ, ἐγέρεται ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ κ.τ.λ.*, Herm. Mand. iii. 3 *ἐπιστεύθη τῷ λόγῳ μου*. But *ἔρρεθη ὅτι* Mt. 5. 21 does not come under this head, since the question 'What was said?' finds its answer in the *ὅτι* clause; in the same way *πρέπει*, *πρέπον ἔστι*, *δεῖ*, *ἔξεστι*, *ἔξόν* (*ἔστι*), *ἐγένετο*, *ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ* (A. 7. 23)<sup>2</sup> followed by an infinitive are not instances of the loss of the subject. The use of the 3rd pers. plur. act without a subject is occasioned by the indefiniteness of the agent, but the subject may also, if one likes, be denoted by *οἱ ἀνθρώποι*, as in L. 6. 31, *καθὼς θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἀνθρόποι* = 'that *one* should do unto you.' The instances of omission in this case are not very many: Mt. 7. 16 *συλλέγοισιν*, Mc. 10. 13 *προσέφερον*, L. 17. 23 *ἔροῦσιν*, 12. 20, Jo. 15. 6, 20. 2, A. 3. 2, Ap. 12. 6 (1 C. 10. 20).—In the formulas of citation such as *λέγει* 2 C. 6. 2, G. 3. 16 etc., *φησίν* 1 C. 6. 16, H. 8. 5, *εἴρηκε* H. 4. 4, ὁ θεός is to be understood ('He says'); in 2 C. 10. 10 *φησίν* (SDE etc., ? 'one says') appears to be a wrong reading for *φασίν* (B), unless perhaps a *τις* has dropped out (but cp. Clem. Hom. xi. 9 ad init.).

<sup>1</sup> *Βροντὴ γέγονεν* take its place in Jo. 12. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Used impersonally in Herm. Mand. iv. 1, μὴ ἀναβανέτω σου ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν περ γυναικὸς ἀλλοτρίας (Hebr. בְּלִי נֶגֶד).

## § 31. AGREEMENT.

1. The arrangement (*σύνταξις*) of the different parts of the sentence, primarily of subject and predicate, involves a mutual assimilation, inasmuch as the individual nouns and verbs are not represented by a single abstract radical form, but only appear in certain definite and distinctive forms, and these forms cannot differ from each other in different parts of the sentence, where they refer to the same thing or person. In addition to its application in the case of subject and predicate, this law of **agreement** holds good also for nouns which are bound up together into a smaller whole within the sentence, one noun more nearly defining the other (the attribute, apposition). The individual forms [or inflections] to which nouns and verbs are subject express the following ideas: (a) one of the three genders, since there are nouns which possess different forms for these genders (adjectives), or which at least draw a distinction between the masculine and feminine genders (designations of persons such as *βασιλεύς* – *βασίλισσα*); (b) one of the two numbers (the dual no longer existing in the N.T.)—this applies equally to nouns and verbs; (c) one of the five cases (nouns); (d) one of the three persons in the case of the verb, while the noun is for the 1st and 2nd persons represented by a certain class of words—the pronouns. Any combination of words where the agreement in any of these respects is not adhered to is strictly proscribed as a solecism, except in some definite cases where the language admits of the violation of the law of agreement.

2. **Want of agreement in gender.**—Instances of an adjectival predicate in neuter sing. agreeing with a feminine subject are: Mt. 6. 34 ἀρκετὸν τῷ ίμέρᾳ ἡ κακία αὐτῆς, 2 C. 2. 6 ἰκανὸν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἡ ἐπιτυμία αὗτη, A. 12. 3 D ἴδων ὅτι ἀρεστόν ἔστιν τοῖς 'Ιουδαίοις ἡ ἐπιχείρησις αὐτοῦ. The third instance is, however, uncertain, since the text in D may be due to corrupt conflation of different readings. In the other two instances it appears better to regard ἀρκετόν and ἰκανόν as imitations of the Latin *satis* (cp. L. 22. 38 ἴδον μάχαιραι ὅδε δύο – ἰκανόν ἔστιν, Herm. Vis. iii. 9. 3 τὸ ἀρκετὸν τῆς τροφῆς *satis cibi*; on the other hand the predicate is ἀρκετός in 1 P. 4. 3) than to compare the classical usage in general propositions such as οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη; in instances like the last the word ‘thing’ must be supplied, and a comparison is drawn between the *general* idea contained in the subject and other things of a different character. Καλὸν τὸ ἄλας Mc. 9. 50, L. 14. 34 ‘salt is a good thing’ would also in classical Greek be expressed by something like *χρήσιμον οἱ ἄλες*; but there is an absence in the N.T. of analogous instances of this use with a masculine or feminine subject, just as the fuller classical forms of this neuter predicate—μάταιόν τι, χρῆμα σοφόν—are also wanting. Still we find τι ‘something (special),’ οὐδέν ‘nothing’ i.e. ‘nothing worth’ used as neuter predicates to a masc. or fem. subject: G. 6. 3 εἰ δοκεῖ τις εἶναι τι μηδέν ὃν (as in

class. Greek; beside this we have *εἶναι τις* A. 5. 36, cp. 8. 9 = 'a great man'). Further instances are *τί ὁ Πέτρος ἐγένετο* (*τί εἴη ταῦτα*), see § 50, 7; 1 C. 11. 5 (the woman who is unveiled) *καὶ ἔστι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν τῆς ἐξυρημένης*, Mt. 6. 25 = L. 12. 23 *ἡ ψυχὴ πλειόνων ἔστι τῆς τροφῆς*: in general assertions of this kind *μία καὶ η ἀυτή, πλείων* would be impossible. But in particular statements the pronoun is brought into agreement with the noun: R. 11. 5 *τίς ἡ πρόσληψις εἰ μη—* (German would use the neuter 'was'), E. 1. 18 *τίς ἔστιν ἡ ἐλπὶς τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ*, 1 C. 3. 17 (*ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*) *οἵτινες ἔστε ὑμεῖς* (but in 1 C. 6. 11 *ταῦτα* [*sc. κλέπται κ.τ.λ.*] *τινες ἥτε = τοιοῦτοι*, which would not have been sufficiently clear, while *οἵτοι* would have been impossible; Herm. Sim. ix. 5. 3 *τί ἔστιν* [is the meaning of] *ἡ οἰκοδομή*). If the pronoun is the subject, in this case also there is agreement, which is contrary to German usage: Mt. 22. 38 *αὕτη ἔστιν ἡ μεγάλη ἐντολή*, Ph. 1. 28 *ἥτις* (i.e. resistance, *τὸ ἀντικεῖσθαι*) *ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἔνδειξις ἀπωλείας*, cp. E. 3. 13, A. 16. 12 *Φιλίππους ἥτις ἔστι πόλις*. But in assimilation of this sort Latin goes a step further than Greek: see 1 P. 2. 19 f. *τοῦτο χάρις, εἰ - ὑποφέρει τις — ἀλλ' εἰ - ὑπομενεῖτε, τοῦτο χάρις παρὰ θεῷ*, where the Greek regards the two ideas of 'grace' and 'endurance' as too distinct to admit of being merged into one, while the Latin translation has *haec est gratia* (Buttmann, p. 112). In interpretations by means of a relative sentence (as in 1 C. 3. 17 *οἵτινες* quoted above) the prevalent form elsewhere for the relative is the neut. sing. (which in that passage would be intolerable: *ὅ ἔστιν ὑμεῖς*), even though neither the explanatory word nor the word explained has this gender: Mt. 27. 33 *τόπον λεγόμενον Γολγ., ὅ (οἱ A al.) ἔστιν κρανίου τόπος* (the repetition of *λεγόμενος* either before or after *τόπος* is rightly omitted by *N<sup>o</sup>aD*), Mc. 15. 22 *Γολγ. τόπον, ὅ ἔστιν μεθερμηνεύομενον κρ. τ.*, 3. 17 *Βοανηργές, ὅ ἔστιν νιὸι βροντῆς*, Jo. 1. 42<sup>1</sup> etc.; Mc. 12. 42 *λεπτὰ δύο, ὅ ἔστιν κοδράντης*; Col. 3. 14 *τὴν ἀγάπην, ὅ (v.l. ὅ, ἥτις) ἔστιν σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος*<sup>2</sup> (Barn. 15. 8 *ἀρχὴν ... , ὅ ἔστιν ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχήν*); cp. Mc. 15. 16 *τῆς αὐλῆς, ὅ ἔστιν πραιτώριον*; E. 6. 17 *τὴν μάχαιραν — , ὅ ἔστιν ρῆμα θεοῦ*; in the Apocalypse alone is there assimilation of the relative to the subject or predic.: 4. 5 *λαμπάδες, ἃ (v.l. αἱ) εἰσιν τὰ πνεύματα* 5. 6, 8. This phrase *ὅ ἔστι* has become as much a stereotyped formula as the equivalent *τοῦτο ἔστι (τουτέστι)* in Mt. 27. 46 *ἥλι — τοῦτο ἔστι Θεός μου κ.τ.λ.*, H. 2. 14 *τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τουτέστι τὸν διάβολον*, 7. 5, 9, 11 etc. But all these instances represent not so much a classical as a Hellenistic usage. (*Tί ἔστι ταῦτα* is common to N.T. and classical Greek § 50, 7). On *πρώτη πάντων* Mc. 12. 28 see § 36, 12; on want of agreement in the constructio ad sensum vide infra 4; on the construction

<sup>1</sup> Jo. 19. 17 *τὸν λεγόμενον Κρανίου τόπον, δ (al. ὅ) λέγεται Ἐβραϊστὶ Γολγοθᾶ* is badly corrupted; we should read with LX, vulg. al. *Kρ. τ., Ἐβρ. δὲ Γ.*

<sup>2</sup> Since this is a case not of interpretation but description, *ὅς* would be more correct, cp. Col. 3. 5 *τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ἥτις ἔστιν εἰδωλολατρία*, where *ὅ ἔστι* 'that is to say' would be more in place than in verse 14, cp. the v.l. in E. 5. 5. The reading *ὅ* (BDEFG) for *ὅς* in Col. 2. 10 is entirely wrong; in 2. 17 *ὅ* (BFG) for *ἃ* is harsh.

where the subject of the sentence is composed of several words, or in the case of an attribute to several nouns vide infra 5.

3. Want of agreement in number; neuter plurals with singular verb. Probably there is no more striking peculiarity in the whole of Greek syntax than the rule that where the subject is a neuter plural the verb still remains in the singular. This rule, which in Attic is never broken, is however not without exceptions in Homer and in the Hellenistic language, and modern Greek has gone back completely and exclusively to the use of the plural verb in this instance as in others. In the N.T. (as in the LXX.) there is great fluctuation, and very often this fluctuation extends to the readings of the MSS. in individual passages: while in the Shepherd of Hermas the plural is found in the majority of cases. Of neuter words which denote persons: *τέκνα* is used with plural verb in Mt. 10. 21 (sing. BΔ) = Mc. 13. 12 (sing. B), but with sing. verb in 1 Jo. 3. 10, R. 9. 8: *ἔθνη* with plur. verb Mt. 6. 32 (sing. EG al.), 12. 21 O.T., 25. 32 (sing. AE al.), L. 12. 30 (sing. AD al.), Acts 4. 25 O.T., 11. 1 (sing. D\*), 13. 48, R. 2. 14 (sing. D<sup>e</sup>E), 15. 27, 1 C. 10. 20? (om. τὰ *ἔθνη* BDEF al., sing. KL), G. 3. 8 O.T., 2 Tim. 4. 17 (sing. KL), Ap. 11. 18 (sing. Ι\*), 15. 4, 18. 3, 23, 21. 24, Clem. Cor. i. 59. 4 (with sing. verb all MSS. in R. 9. 30, E. 4. 17); but with *δαιμόνια* the sing. verb preponderates, L. 4. 41 (plur. ΙC), 8. 2, 30 (plur. CF, also D with another reading, cp. 31 f.), 35 (plur. Ι<sup>e</sup>), 38 (in verse 33 *εἰσῆγαθον* has overwhelming evidence, -*ει* SU), 10. 17: the plur. is found in Ja. 2. 19; *πνεύματα* uses both constructions, a plur. verb in Mc. 1. 27, 3. 11 (v.l. sing.), 5. 13 (sing. B), A. 8. 7? Ap. 4. 5? 16. 14 (v.l. with sing. partially introduced), a sing. verb in L. 8. 2 *κατοικεῖ*, 10. 20 (v.l. *δαιμόνια*), 1 C. 14. 32 (v.l. *πνεῦμα*). Other neuter words besides these appear with plural verb: Mt. 6. 28 τὰ *κρίνα πῶς αὐξάνουσιν* (but with sing. verb in the corresponding words in L. 12. 37). Jo. 19. 31 has first *ἴva μὴ μείνῃ τὰ σώματα*, followed by *ἴva κατεαγῶσιν αὐτῶν τὰ σκέλη*, Jo. 10. 8 οὐκ ἥκουσαν (-*ει* L) αὐτῶν τὰ *πρόβατα*. In the verses preceding the last passage quoted a sing. verb is used with *πρόβατα*, ibid. 3 ἀκούει, 4 ἀκολούθει, with the additional words ὅτι οὐδεστιν *τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ* (because οὐδεί would have been ambiguous) and further on another plural in verse 5; in the subsequent verses, 10 has *ἔχωσι* where *πρόβατα* must be regarded as the subject, in 12 *ἔστιν* is read by ΙΑΒΛΧ, *εἰσιν* by ΔΓ al., and so on with constant interchange up till 16 (in 27 and the following verse there are conflicting readings). On the whole, the singular verb certainly is more frequently used with words which have not a personal meaning (the singular is not excluded even by the insertion of a numeral, *ἐὰν γένηται* – *ἔκατὸν πρόβατα* Mt. 18. 12), and is uniformly employed with abstract words (exceptions are *τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα* with *ἔφανησαν* L. 24. 11, and perhaps *ἔργα* with *δύνανται* [v.l. -*αται*] 1 Tim. 5. 25) and with pronouns such as *ταῦτα* and *ἄ* (Ap. 1. 19 *ἄ εἰσιν καὶ ἄ μέλλει γενέσθαι*; Clem. Cor. i. 42. 2 *ἔγένοντο ἀμφότερα*, cp. 27. 6 *πάντα*). In 1 C. 10. 11 there are two readings: *ταῦτα δὲ τύπικῶς συνέβαινεν* and – *τύποι συνέβαινον*, cp. verse 6 *ταῦτα δὲ τύποι ἡμῶν*

*έγενήθησαν*, the verb taking its number from the noun which forms the predicate, as it does also in classical Greek as well as in Latin (Kühner, Gr. ii.<sup>2</sup> 67).<sup>1</sup>

4. The so-called **constructio ad sensum** is very widespread in Greek from early times, though without being subject to any rules; the same construction appears in the N.T. It affects both number and gender. The instances mainly consist of the collective words which embrace in a singular noun the idea of a plurality of persons: masculine words like ὄχλος, λαός, feminines like στρατιά, οἰκία, neuters like πλῆθος, σπέρμα (with plur. verb in Herm. Vis. ii. 2. 2). Instances of this construction, where a masculine plural conforming to the sense only appears in a clause appended to the main clause, do not give serious offence even in English: e.g. 1 C. 16. 15 οἴδατε τὴν οἰκίαν Στεφανᾶ, ὅτι—έταξαν ἔαντος (έταξεν ἔαντην is unnatural), Jo. 6. 2 ἥκολούθει ὄχλος πολὺς, ὅτι ἐθεώρουν. The following are rather harsher constructions: L. 2. 13 πλῆθος στρατιᾶς οὐρανίου (=ἀγγέλων), αἰνούντων τὸν θεὸν καὶ λεγόντων, A. 21. 35 ἥκολούθει τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ, κράζοντες Αἴρε αὐτόν (κράζον DHLP) cp. 3. 11. And this want of agreement in number is not excluded even where the singular and plural words are directly connected: A. 6. 11 πολύς τε ὄχλος τῶν ἱερέων ὑπήκουον (-εν AE) τῇ πίστει, 25. 24 ἀπαν τῷ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐνέτυχόν (BH -έν) μοι—, βοῶντες κ.τ.λ., Mt. 21. 8 ὁ πλεῖστος ὄχλος ἐστρωσαν, Jo. 7. 49 ὁ ὄχλος οἵτος ὁ μὴ γυνώσκων τὸν νόμον ἐπάρατοι εἰσιν. The following also are closely allied to ὄχλος etc.: τὰ ἔθνη ‘the heathen,’ E. 4. 17 f. τὰ ἔθνη περιπατεῖ—, ἐσκοτωμένοι κ.τ.λ. (1 C. 12. 2 is not an instance of this), αἱ ἐκκλησίαι G. 1. 22 f. (which is followed by μόνον δὲ ἀκούοντες ἦσαν), and names of places: L. 10. 13 Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι—καθήμενοι, though here the other reading -ναι (DEG al.), since the towns are regarded as wholes (as in Mt. 11. 21 ff.), appears preferable. Cp. § 48, 5 (use of the personal pron. αὐτοῦ and the relative).

5. If the subject consists of several coordinate words connected by καὶ, the common predicate must, according to German feeling, stand in the plural in conformity with the sense, and of course if one of the subject words is ἐγώ, this plural predicate must be the plural of the 1st person: L. 2. 48 ὁ πατέρων σου καὶ γὰρ ὀδυνώμενοι ἐζητοῦμέν σε, Jo. 10. 30, 1 C. 9. 6. An additional modifying word, referring to the subject, as ὀδυνώμενοι in the passage quoted, will, if declinable, likewise fall into the plural, and into the masculine plural in a case where the subject consists of a combination of masc. and fem. words (Joseph and Mary in that passage). This is always the case if the predicate follows the subject; on the other hand, if it precedes the subject, it is rather the custom for the verb to stand in the singular, and to correspond in form to the subject immediately following it: again, if the verb is interposed between the different subjects, it is made to correspond to the subject which has preceded it, and can only take the number of that subject. Instances of the singular

<sup>1</sup> On the stereotyped use of the sing. ιδού, ιδε, ιγε see § 33, 2 note.

verb occupying the first place: A. 11. 24 *σωθήσῃ σὺ καὶ ὁ οἰκός σου*, where the first word is the main subject ‘thou together with thy whole house,’ similarly Jo. 2. 2 ἐκλήθη δὲ καὶ Ἰησοῦς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, and, so far as the participle at the head of the sentence is concerned, A. 5. 29 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Πέτρος καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι εἶπαν (cp. verse 21); but the singular verb is also used where the subjects are placed on an equality: Jo. 18. 25 ἡκολούθει δὲ τῷ Ἰ. Σίμων Πέτρος καὶ ἄλλος μαθητής (cp. 20. 3, A. 26. 30; so without exception where the subject words are not persons, as in Mt. 5. 18 ὁ οὐραῖς καὶ ἡ γῆ); L. 2. 33 ἦν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ θαυμάζοντες, Mt. 17. 3 ὥφθη (NSBD: al. -ησαν) — Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἡλίας συλλαλοῦντες. From the last two instances it follows that where the predicate is divided, that part of it which precedes the subject is in the singular, the part which follows it is in the plural (so in the passage A. 5. 29 quoted above). In the following instances there is a special reason for the plural verb: Mc. 10. 35 προσπορεύονται αὐτῷ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης οἱ γιοι Ζεβδαίον (the pair of brothers who from the first were thought of together), Jo. 21. 2 ἥσαν ὅμοι Σίμων Πέτρος καὶ κ.τ.λ., L. 23. 12 ἐγένοντο φίλοι ὁ τε Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ Πιλάτος, A. 5. 24 ὡς δὲ ἡκουσαν — ὁ τε στρατηγὸς — καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς (the plural has already been used before of the same persons in verse 21; cp. 1. 13, 4. 27). Accordingly in default of any reason of this kind, where the readings differ, the singular appears to deserve the preference, as in L. 8. 19, A. 17. 14; we even have ἀκούσας δὲ Βαρνάβας καὶ Παῦλος the reading of D in Acts 14. 14, cp. 13. 46 D. Instances of interposition of the predicate are L. 8. 22 αὐτὸς ἀνέβη εἰς πλοῖον καὶ οἱ μαθ. αὐτοῦ, Jo. 4. 36 etc.—For adjectives and participles qualifying several words cp. L. 10. 1 εἰς πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ τόπον, 1 Th. 5. 23, on the other hand δῶρα καὶ θυσίαι μὴ δυνάμεναι H. 9. 9 (ibid. 3. 6 βεβαίαν is an interpolation from verse 14).—The singular verb is regularly used, if the two subjects instead of being connected by καὶ are separated by ἢ: Mt. 5. 18 ἰῶτα ἐν ἣ μίᾳ κεράλᾳ οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ, 12. 25, 18. 8, E. 5. 5 (especially if the verb precedes as in 1 C. 14. 24); G. 1. 8 ἐὰν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εναγγελίζηται (it would be impossible to include the two subjects in -ξώμεθα). An exception is Ja. 2. 15 ἐὰν ἀδελφὸς ἢ ἀδελφὴ γυμνοὶ ἵπαρχωσιν (occasioned by the adjective, the singular of which, γυμνός or γυμνή, would have been harsh).

6. **Solecisms (in the Apocalypse).** In distinction from all other New Testament writings, and in particular from those of the Apostle St. John, the Apocalypse exhibits a multitude of the most remarkable solecisms, which depend in the main upon the neglect of the laws of agreement. Thus we have in 1. 5 ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χρ., ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός, ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ὁ ἀρχῶν τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς, τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς κ.τ.λ. (the datives on account of αὐτῷ in verse 6 according to Winer), 11. 4 οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ δύο ἔλαῖαι καὶ οἱ δύο λυχνίαι αἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῆς γῆς ἐστῶτες (NSABC; ἐστῶσαι NSP), 12. 5 καὶ ἐτεκνί τιδεν ἄρσεν (AP; ἄρρεν NSB, ἄρσεν P), ὃς μέλλει κ.τ.λ. (the correction -ενα is no improvement; a better alteration would be to strike out τιδεν), 14. 19 ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν ληνὸν τοῦ θυμοῦ τὸν θεοῦ τὸν μέγαν (τὴν

*μεγάλην* §). Cp. 2. 20 (nom. in apposition with acc.), 3. 12 (nom. for gen.), 6. 1 (the same, as a v.l.), 7. 4 (nom. for acc.), 8. 9 (for gen.), 9. 14 (for dat.), 14. 12 (for gen., which § reads), 20. 2 (for acc.): 7. 9 (*οὐχιος ... ἐστῶτες ... περιβεβλημένους*; the acc. is dependent on *εἶδον* which stands at the beginning of the verse, the nom. on *καὶ ιδού* which follows *εἶδον*, Winer), 5. 11f. (*λέγοντες* following *φωνὴν ἀγγέλων* and *ην ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν μυριάδες κ.τ.λ.*; similar anacolutha with *λέγων* or *-οντες* in 4. 1, 11. 15, 14. 7: and with v.l. 11. 1, 19. 6), 21. 9 with v.l. It has even been fixed as a rule for this writer that an appositional phrase following a noun in any case stands in the nominative, although scribes have shown a strong inclination to correct these solecisms.<sup>1</sup> The isolated cases of anacoluthon of this kind which appear in other writings of the N.T. should be regarded either as excusable or as due to a corrupt text. Jo. 1. 14 ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο — καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ — πλήρης (-ρη D) χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας. In this passage the word in question is one which to a remarkably great extent, both in the N.T. and also in papyrus documents, appears as indeclinable: thus A. 6. 5 ἄνδρα πλήρης (-ρη BC<sup>2</sup>) πίστεως, 3 πλήρεις (-ρη AEHP) πνεύματος, 19. 28 γενόμενοι πλήρεις (-ρη AEL) θυμοῦ, Mc. 8. 19 κοφίνους πλήρεις (-ρη AFGM) κλασμάτων, 2 Jo. 8 μισθὸν πλήρη (-ρη L); the only passages where it is declined in all mss. (no genitive following it) are Mt. 14. 20, 15. 37 (-εις), Mc. 4. 28 a v.l. (-ρη), 6. 43 a v.l. (-ρεις); cp. Papyr. Berol. no. 13. 8 ἀπέρ ἀπέσχαμεν πλήρης, 81. 27 ἀς παραδώσω πλήρης, 270. 9, 373. 13, 21; Grenfell-Hunt, Pap. ii., p. 107 διὰ τὸ πλήρη[ς α]ὐτὸν ἀπεσχηκέναι, 118 (perhaps also 117, where *πλήρη* is given at the end of a line).<sup>2</sup>—In Philipp. 2. 1 *εἰ τις παράκλησις —, εἰ τι παραμύθιον —, εἰ τις κοινωνία —, εἰ τις σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοί, εἰ τι* ('if it avails ought,' cp. § 31, 2) ought to be, as it seems, written throughout.—Ja. 3. 8 τὴν γλῶσσαν οὐδεὶς δύναται δαμάσαι, ἀκατάσχετον κακόν, μεστῇ ἵον (Tisch. puts a colon after δαμ., making the following clause independent, *sc. ἐστίν*).—L. 24. 47 κηρυχθῆναι μετάνοιαν — ἀρξάμενοι (-ένων D correctly, -ενον AC<sup>3</sup>FH al.) and A. 10. 37 οἴδατε τὸ γενόμενον ρῆμα καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλ. (ἀρξ. γὰρ AD, which is no improvement; -ενον correctly LP; but the whole clause ἀρξ. ἀ. τ. Γ. is perhaps taken from L. 23. 5). For other instances cp. § 81.

<sup>1</sup> Nestle, Philol. Sacra 7, Einführung in das Griech. N.T. 90 f. Akin to this is what may be called the indeclinable use of *λέγων* or *λέγοντες* in the LXX. = Τόποι: Gen. 15. 1, 22. 30, 38. 13, 45. 16 etc., Winer. On the practice of many translators of putting words in apposition with any of the oblique cases in the nominative, see Nestle, Philol. Sacra 7. (Nestle also conjectures in Ap. 1. 4 πνευμάτων τὰ ἐρώπιον τοῦ θρόνου in place of the readings *τῶν*, *δ.*, *ἐστιν* or *εἰσιν*, just as in 5. 13 § alone has preserved the true reading *τὸ* instead of *δ* or *δ ἐστιν*. In 2. 13 he reads *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἀντίπα ὁ μάρτυς μου ... δις.*)

<sup>2</sup> "Πλήρης is also used indeclinably in the LXX., e.g. Num. 7. 13 F, 19 §, 20 B§\*, Job 21. 24 all mss., Sir. 19. 23 B\*. Cp. the phrase 'eine Arbeit voller Fehler.'" (E. Nestle.)

## SYNTAX OF THE NOUN.

## § 32. GENDER AND NUMBER.

1. The **neuter** of the adjective or participle is occasionally used with reference to persons, not only in phrases like *τὸ γεννώμενον* L. 1. 35 ‘that which is to be born,’ cp. *τὸ τέκνον*, but also as in Jo. 17. 2 – *πάσης σαρκός*, *ἴνα πᾶν δέδωκας αὐτῷ*, *δώσει αὐτοῖς*, where men are first comprised under the collective name *σάρξ*, then under the neuter *πᾶν*, and finally (in *αὐτοῖς*) the usual mode of designation appears. Cp. Jo. 6. 37 (a similar instance), 1 Jo. 5. 4 (*πᾶν τό*; *πᾶς ὁ* has been previously used in verse 1); further H. 7. 7 *τὸ ἔλαττον ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος εὐλογεῖται*, for *ὁ ἔλαττων* or *οἱ ἔλαττοις*, in order to represent the thought in a more abstract and so in a more general form. A similar collective use of the neut. sing. appears in classical Greek (Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 13). Elsewhere the neut. plur. is used: 1 C. 1. 27 f. *τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου* – *τὰ ἀσθενῆ τ. κ.* – *τὰ ἵσχυρά*, where the sing. would have been wrong because of the idea of unity which it would imply—since the *μωροὶ* etc. do not form a definite section—and moreover with the masculine the emphasis would not have lain so strongly upon the abstract quality of foolishness etc. Cp. further G. 3. 22 *τὰ πάντα*, which is not so strong as *τοὺς πάντας*, which might also have stood, *πάντα* Jo. 12. 32 s\*D. (In classical Greek *τὰ φεύγοντα* Xenoph. Anab. 7. 3. 11 ap. Winer; *πάντα τὰ συμβεβιασμένα* Dem. 8. 41.)

2. The **feminine** appears to stand in place of the neuter, in consequence of a literal rendering from the Hebrew, in the O.T. quotation Mt. 21. 42 = Mc. 12. 11 *παρὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη καὶ ἐστιν θαυμαστή*, from Ps. 118. 22 = Hebr. תְּנִי ‘this’.

3. The so-called **collective** use of the **masc. sing.** (on the neuter sing. vide supra 1) is found in R. 3. 1 *τί τὸ περισσὸν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου*; i.e. ‘What advantage has the Jew as Jew?’ (which every individual Jew has *ipso facto*); cp. 2. 17-29, where the individual has already been selected as the representative of the community. We have just the same use with names of nations and rank, ‘the soldier,’ ‘the Jew’; Latin *miles, Romanus* etc.; in classical Greek it is less common (Thucyd. 6. 78 *τὸν Σιγρακότον*, *τῷ Ἀθηναῖῳ*). Other instances are Mt. 12. 35 ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀνθρώπος, R. 13. 8 *τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον*, 1 P. 4. 18 ὁ δίκαιος – ὁ ἀσεβής, R. 14. 1 *τὸν ἀσθενοῦντα*. But in Ja. 2. 6 *τὸν πτωχόν* refers to the example of verse 2: also in 5. 6 a single instance is thought of in *τὸν δίκαιον*, while 1 C. 6. 5 *διακρίναι ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ* is an incorrect expression, which is easily intelligible (since *ἀνὰ μέσον* of course presupposes more persons than one), for *τοῦ ἀδ. α. καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀδελφοῦ* (on account of verse 1 *τολμᾷ τις ... κρίνεσθαι*, where the language refers primarily to the plaintiff). Cp. LXX. Gen. 23. 15, Winer § 27, 1.

4. Of another character is the use of the sing. of objects, which belong *individually* to several persons, where several persons are spoken of, as we also say ‘they shook their heads’ [die Köpfe] or ‘they shook their head’ [den Kopf], i.e. everyone his own head, where the insertion of ‘everyone’ would be quite superfluous. In Greek, including N.T. Greek, the plural is usual in such cases; but deviations from this are permitted in classical as in N.T. Greek: A. 25. 24 ἵνα ξυρήσωνται τὴν κεφαλήν (Vulg. capita), L. 1. 66 ἔθεντο πάντες ἐν τῷ καρδίᾳ (DL ταῖς καρδίαις) αὐτῶν, Mc. 8. 17 πεπωρωμένην ἔχετε τὴν καρδίαν ἴμων, E. 6. 14 περικωσάμενοι τὴν ὀσφὺν ὑμῶν, Ap. 6. 11 ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς στολὴ λευκή (but ἐσθῆτις in L. 24. 4 is collective ‘raiment,’ as is usual with this word [ἐσθῆτεσιν ACL al.]). The sing. is always used in the Hebraic periphrastic expressions ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν πατέρων A. 7. 45, κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων L. 2. 31, διὰ στόματος πάντων A. 3. 18 (21); also διὰ χειρὸς is used with a plural word as in A. 2. 23, but here we have also the conceivable use of διὰ τῶν χειρῶν with a singular; ἐκ τῆς χ. αὐτῶν Jo. 10. 39.

5. The plural is used with reference to a single person by a generalising mode of expression in Mt. 2. 20 τεθνήκασιν οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου, namely Herod (verse 19); the plural implies the thought, there is nothing more to fear, since with Herod’s death all are dead who etc. More peculiar is the use of the plural in the case of a certain group of substantives. This is partly due to the influence of Hebrew; thus αἰῶνες is used in H. 1. 2, 11. 3, 1 Tim. 1. 17 (?) for ‘the world,’ in L. 1. 33 and often for ‘eternity’ (esp. in the phrase εἰς τὸν αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων G. 1. 5 etc.) = מִימְלָאָה : οὐρανοί = מִימְלָאָה, but in most writers this plural is only used of heaven in the figurative sense as the seat of God (beside the sing. which is used in the same sense), whereas in the literal sense of the word the sing. prevails, except where, in accordance with the Jewish conception, several heavens are distinguished (E. 4. 10 ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρ., ep. 1. 10, Col. 1. 16, 20, H. 1. 10 O.T., 4. 14, 7. 26, 2 P. 3. 5, 7, 10, 12, 13; also probably αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν Mt. 24. 29 = Mc. 13. 25 = Lc. 21. 26). Thus we always have ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν Mt. 3. 2 etc., ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν (τοῖς) οὐρ. 5. 16 etc.; similarly in Luke 10. 20 τὰ ὄνόματα ὑμῶν ἐγγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς οὐρ. (τῷ οὐρανῷ D), 12. 23 θησαυρὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρ., A. 2. 34, 7. 56; in Paul 2 C. 5. 1, E. 3. 15, 6. 9 (as οὐρανῷ), Ph. 3. 20, Col. 1. 5, 4. 1 (οὐρανῷ κ\*ABC), 1 Th. 1. 10; 1 P. 1. 4 (οὐρανῷ κ); (John never has the plural; also in the Apoc. it only occurs in 12. 12); in Mt. the passage 24. 31 ἀπ’ ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἔως ἄκρων αὐτῶν runs counter to the rule given above (Mc. 13. 27 has the sing. here), but not 3. 16 f., cp. Mc. 1. 10 f. εἶδεν σχιζομένους τὸν οὐρανούς —, καὶ φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν (L. 3. 21 f. has the sing., but cp. A. 7. 56). Further οἰκτιρμοί = מִימְלָאָה in Paul, R. 12. 1 etc.; the sing. only occurs in Col. 3. 12 (plur. K); cp. infra 6. The following plurals agree with the classical use: ἀνατολαί, δυσμαί east and west Mt. 2. 1, 8. 11 etc., but only in the formula ἀπὸ (ἔως) ἀνατολῶν, δυσμῶν, on the other

hand we have *ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ* Mt. 2. 2, 9; *ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς* (B.-*ων*) is also found beside *ἀπὸ δυσμῶν* Ap. 21. 13, *ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς* (A.-*ῶν*) *ἡλίου* 7. 2, 16. 12 (*δυσμή* never occurs, as in class. Greek *δυσμαῖ* is practically the only form). Always *ἐκ δεξιῶν*, *ἐξ ἀριστερῶν* or *εὐωνύμων*; *ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς* Mc. 16. 5, *εἰς τὰ δεξιά μέρη* Jo. 21. 6; beside these we have *ἐν δεξιᾷ* R. 8. 34, E. 1. 20 etc., sc. *χειρὶ* (classical use is similar). *ἐν δεξιᾷ* R. 8. 34, E. 1. 20 etc., sc. *χειρὶ* (classical use is similar). Cp. *τὰ μέρη* ‘the region’ Mt. 2. 22 etc., *ἐπέκεινα* beyond A. 7. 43 (*a wrong reading from the LXX.*; it should be *ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη*). *Τὰ ἄγια, τὰ ἄγια τῶν ἄγιων* parts of the temple (or tabernacle) H. 9. 2 f. are used as well as *τὸ ἄγιον* in verse 1 (*τὰ ἄγια τ. ἄγιων* in LXX. 1 Kings 8. 6). *Πύλαι* (class.) is only so used in *πύλαι Αἰδον* Mt. 16. 18 (LXX. Sap. Sal. 16. 23; class.), elsewhere the sing. is used for one gate; similarly *θύρα* for one door (class. often *θύραι*), cp. *αἱ θύραι πάσαι* A. 16. 26, so that Jo. 20. 19 f. *θυρῶν*, and perhaps also A. 5. 19, 23, 21. 30 are to be understood of several doors; the plural is used in the expression *ἐπὶ θύραις* Mt. 24. 33, Mc. 13. 29, cp. Ja. 5. 9 *πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν* figuratively, *πρὸ τῆς θύρας* A. 12. 6 literally (but *ibid.* 5. 23 *πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν* in a similar connection). *Κόλποι* (class.) is used in L. 16. 23 *ἐν τοῖς κόλποις* (*τῷ κόλπῳ* D.) *αὐτοῦ* (*Αβραάμ*), the sing. in verse 22. (*Ιμάτια* means ‘clothes’, including *ἱμάτιον* and *χιτών*; but is used inaccurately = *ἱμάτιον* in Jo. 13. 4, 19. 23, also probably in A. 18. 6). The use of *ἀργύρια* for ‘pieces of money’ Mt. 26. 15 is not usual in classical Greek; *օψώνια* ‘wages’ L. 3. 14 etc. is Hellenistic. *Αἷματα* (in classical poets) Ap. 18. 24 B (but *ACP* read *αἷμα*) is blood shed by several martyrs; Jo. 1. 13 *οὐκ ἐξ αἵμάτων* is used of the substance from which a man is begotten (Eurip. Ion 693, Winer). The names of feasts are as in classical Greek (*Διονύσια, Παναθήναια*) in the plural: *ἔγκαίνια, γενέσια* (*τὰ ἄξυμα* in Mc. 14. 1 *τὸ πάσχα καὶ τὰ ἄξυμα*, but D omits *καὶ τὰ ἄξ.*; strictly *ἡ ἔορτὴ τῶν ἄξυμων* or *αἱ ἡμέραι τ. ἄξ.*); also *γάμοι* ‘a marriage-feast’ Mt. 22. 2, Lc. 12. 36 etc. (classical): but the sing. is used in Mt. 22. 8 etc. *Διαθῆκαι* E. 2. 12, R. 9. 4 *ΝCK* (*ἡ διαθήκη* BDE al., as always elsewhere; cp. the classical *συνθῆκαι*).

6. The plural of abstract expressions is found in Greek in a manner that appears strange to us, not only in poets, but also not infrequently in an elevated prose style, being used to indicate the individual concrete manifestations of the abstract quality. In the N.T. the epistolary style occasionally presents a similar usage: 2 C. 12. 10 *ἔρις* (v.l. *ἔρεις*, cp. § 8, 3), *ἔγλος* (v.l. *ἔγλοι*), *θυμοί, ἐριθεῖαι, καταλαλιά, φιθυρισμοί, φυσιώσεις, ἀκαταστασίαι* cp. G. 5. 20, *τὰς πορνείας* 1 C. 7. 2, *ὑποκρίσεις, φθόνος, καταλαλίας* 1 P. 2. 1 cp. 4. 3, *προσωπολημψίαις* Ja. 2. 1, *αισχύνας* Jd. 13; also *θανάτοις* ‘mortal dangers’ 2 C. 11. 23 (*μνῆμαι* Herm. Sim. vi. 5. 3).

### § 33. THE CASES—NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE.

1. The nominative as the case of the name (*ὄνομαστική* = nominativus) appears to stand occasionally, where a proper name is introduced, without regard to the construction, in place of the case

which is strictly required. Thus Jo. 13. 13 φωνεῖτέ με ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ κύριος, but here the nom. has mainly a vocative character, vide inf. 4: Ap. 9. 11 ὄνομα ἔχει (ὄν. ἔχει is omitted by the Latin Vulgate and may be supplied from the preceding words) Ἀπολλύων. Cp. Xenoph. Oecon. 6. 14 τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸ σεμνὸν ὄνομα τοῦτο τὸ καλός τε κάγαθός (other instances in Lobeck, Phryn. 517. 1). But elsewhere the name is regularly assimilated to the case: Mt. 1. 21, 25 καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν, Mc. 3. 16 ἐπέθηκεν ὄνομα τῷ Σίμωνι Πέτρον (only Δ and the Latin versions have Πέτρος): and without exception in the phrase ὀνόματι ‘by name’ e.g. A. 27. 1 ἐκατοντάρχῃ ὀνόματι Ἰουλίῳ: cp. infra 2. It is accordingly incredible that the Mount of Olives should be translated by ὁ Ἐλαιών and that this word should be used as indeclinable in L. 19. 29, 21. 37 ὅρος (acc.) τὸ καλούμενον ἐλαιών, but we must write ἐλαιῶν (τὸ ὅρος τῶν ἐλ. in L. 19. 37 etc.), and in the single passage where we distinctly have the other form, A. 1. 12 (ὅρος τοῦ καλούμενον) ἐλαιῶνος we must correct the text to ἐλαιῶν (as also in Joseph. Ant. Jud. 7. 9. 2), see § 10, 5.

2. The nominative occasionally stands in a parenthesis interrupting the construction: thus Jo. 1. 6 ἐγένετο ἀνθρωπος –, Ἰωάννης ὄνομα αὐτῷ (ἡν is read before ὄν. by Η\*D\*), cp. 3. 1 (where Η\* has Νικόδημος ὀνόματι; there is a more detailed expression introduced by ἡν δὲ in 18. 10; cp. also Ap. 6. 8, 8. 11, 9. 11; a similar classical use, § 30, 2); for this elsewhere with a more normal adjustment to the construction φ ὄνομα – (often in Lc., but in Acts only at 13. 6; οὐ τὸ ὄν. with v.l. φ ὄν. Mc. 14. 32) or ὀνόματι (Luke, Gospel and Acts) is used. The instances in statements of time are more striking: L. 9. 28 ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους, ώστε ἡμέραι ὥκτω, καὶ παραλαβὼν κ.τ.λ., Mt. 15. 32 ὅτι ἡδη ἡμέραι (ἡμέρας Η) τρεῖς προσμένοντί μοι. So also we may accordingly interpret A. 5. 7 ἐγένετο δέ, ώς ὥρῶν τριῶν διάστημα, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ κ.τ.λ., and perhaps too (as Bengel and Winer) L. 13. 16 ἦν ἔδησεν ὁ Σατανᾶς, ἵδον δέκα καὶ ὥκτω ἔτη.<sup>1</sup>

3. The double nominative (nom. of the subject and nom. of the predicate) is found in the N.T. as in Attic, except that occasionally in place of the second nominative εἰς with the accusative is used after a Hebrew model (as it is also used instead of the second accusative with corresponding active verbs, § 34, 5). This construction appears with εἶναι (more precisely with the fut. ἔσομαι, which has a certain relation to γίνομαι) and γίνεσθαι, but chiefly in quotations: ἔσονται εἰς σάρκα μίαν Mt. 19. 5 O.T. = Hebr. נְאַתֶּן, ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας 21. 42 O.T., ἔσται τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθεῖας L. 3. 5 O.T., 2 C. 6. 18 O.T.; seldom except in quotations, as in L. 13. 19 ἐγένετο εἰς (om. εἰς D) δένδρον, Jo. 16. 20 ἡ λύπη ὑμῶν εἰς χαρὰν

<sup>1</sup> The use of the nom. with ιδού, ιδε (ιδε ὁ ἀμυντὸς τοῦ θεοῦ Jo. 1. 29 etc.) can only appear irregular, if one recalls the original meaning of the words. Already in Attic writers ιδού (with this accent) has become a particle = ecce, and ιδε at any rate has become stereotyped like ἄγε and φέρε, so that it is joined with a plural word (Mt. 26. 65 etc.; ἄγε οἱ λέγοντες Ja. 4. 13, cp. 5. 1).

*γενήσεται* (=μεταυτραφήσεται, with which the use of *eis* is not remarkable), Ap. 8. 11 (with 16. 19 ἐγένετο *eis* τρία μέρη cp. διαιρεῖν *eis*: with 1 Th. 3. 5 *eis* κερδὸν γένεται ὁ κόπος ημῶν cp. the Attic *eis* κέρδος τι δρᾶν). The combination λογίζεσθαι (passive) *eis* is also not Attic, being taken from LXX. Gen. 15. 6 ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ *eis* δικαιούσνην; in addition to its use in that quotation we have *eis* οὐδὲν λογίζηνται A. 19. 27 (the same combination in Is. 40. 17), τὰ τέκνα λογίζεται *eis* σπέρμα R. 9. 8, cp. 2. 26 (for nothing, for a seed; cp. class. οὐδὲν εἶναι, τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι); from this use comes the phrase ἐμοὶ *eis* ἐλάχιστον ἔστι 1 C. 4. 3.

4. The language has created a special case for **address**, namely the **vocative**; this is limited, it is true, to the singular, and even there is not in all cases distinguished in form from the nominative. This case appears also in the N.T. (ἀδελφέ L. 6. 42, πάτερ Mt. 6. 9), but generally without the accompaniment which it usually has in Attic, namely the interjection *ὦ*. In most cases where this *ὦ* is found in the N.T. it expresses emotion: Mt. 15. 28 *ὦ* (om. D) γύναι, μεγάλη σου ἡ πίστις (γύναι in L. 22. 57, Jo. 2. 4, 4. 21 etc.), 17. 17 (=Mc. 9. 19, L. 9. 41) *ὦ* γενεὰ ἀπιστος (on the nom. vide infra), L. 24. 25, A. 13. 10 *ὦ* πλήρης (cp. inf.) κ.τ.λ. (R. 11. 33 ὁ βάθος τπλούτον is not an address, but an exclamation, for which purpose *ὦ* [in this case also written *ὦ*] is likewise used in Attic), G. 3. 1, 1 Tim. 6. 20. With a less degree of emotion: *ὦ* ἄνθρωπε R. 2. 1, 3, 9. 20, Ja. 2. 20 (ἄνθρωπε without *ὦ* in L. 12. 14, 22. 58, 60); it is found without any sense of emotion in the Attic manner only in the Acts: *ὦ* Θεόφιλε 1. 1 (in L. 1. 3 κράτιστε Θεόφιλε, as the author of the work περὶ ὕψους has the address Ποστούμιε φίλτατε; on the other hand Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the work περὶ τῶν ἀρχ. ῥητόρων has *ὦ* κράτιστε Ἀμμαῖε; in any case Θεόφιλε without either *ὦ* or κράτιστε would be much too bald), 18. 14 *ὦ* (ἄνδρες) Ἰουδαῖοι (Gallio is speaking), 27. 21 *ὦ* ἄνδρες (while ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι etc. are used even in this book without *ὦ*, and even the simple ἄνδρες 7. 26, 14. 15 etc., 27. 10, 25), *ὦ* βασιλεῦ according to the witnesses supporting the *β* text in A. 26. 13 (7).—From the earliest times (the practice is as old as Homer) the **nominative** has a tendency to usurp the place of the **vocative**. In the N.T. this occurs in two instances: on the one hand, with adjectives standing without a substantive or with a substantive whose vocative is not distinguishable from the nomin.: Mt. 17. 17, Mc. 9. 19, L. 9. 41 *ὦ* γενεὰ ἀπιστος (but D in Mc. and Lc. has ἀπιστε), A. 13. 10 *ὦ* πλήρης (with which may be compared *ὦ* δυστυχῆς in Menander); ἄφων L. 12. 20 (a variant -ον has little support), 1 C. 15. 36 (ditto);<sup>1</sup>—on the other hand, where the article is introduced, which must naturally be followed by the nominative. The latter use of the nom. for voc. is also found already in Attic, e.g. Aristoph. Acharn. 242 πρόϊθ' *eis* τὸ πρόσθεν ὀλίγον ἡ κανηφόρος, i.e. you (who are) the basket bearer, Ran. 521 ὁ παῖς (you there,

<sup>1</sup> Even πατήρ is read by BD in Jo. 17. 21, and by AB in verses 24, 25, θυγάτηρ AB'D etc. Jo. 12. 15 O.T., L. 8. 48 BKL, Mt. 9. 22 DGL, Mc. 5. 34 BD.

the lad I mean) ἀκολούθει; in prose σὺ ὁ πρεσβύτατος, ὁ ἄνδρες οἱ παρόντες, οἱ οἰκέται, Πρόξενε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες (Xen. Anab. i. 5. 16), and esp. with participles, one half of which do not form a vocative at all.<sup>1</sup> And so in the N.T. we have L. 8. 54 ἡ παῖς ἐγείροι, Mc. 5. 41, 9. 25, L. 12. 32 μὴ φοβοῦ, τὸ μικρὸν ποίμνιον, 11. 39 ὑμεῖς οἱ Φαρισαῖοι,<sup>2</sup> R. 14. 4 σὺ ... ὁ κρίνων, Col. 3. 8 ff. αἱ γυναικεῖς — οἱ ἄνδρες — τὰ τέκνα etc. = ὑμεῖς μὲν αἱ γυν. — ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, Ap. 18. 20 οὐρανὲ καὶ οἱ ἄγιοι κ.τ.λ.<sup>3</sup> In all these instances we have not so much a simple address as a more definite indication of the person addressed. But the N.T. (and the LXX.) have extended this usage still further; in particular (ὁ) θεέ is not common (only in Mt. 27. 46 in a translation; also rare in LXX.), the phrase ὁ θεός being used instead, L. 18. 11, H. 1. 8 O.T., 10. 7 O.T. etc., κύριε ὁ θεός Ap. 15. 3, and so also ὁ πατήρ Mt. 11. 26, R. 8. 15, ὁ δεσπότης Ap. 6. 10, ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου Jo. 20. 28 (ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ ὁ κύριος 13. 13, vide supra 1); further ὁ βασιλεύς Ap. 15. 3, Mt. 27. 29 (BD al. βασιλεῦ), Mc. 15. 18 (here κBD al. βασιλεῦ), Jo. 19. 3 (βασιλεῦ §), since this βασ. τῶν Ἰουδαίων is not a correct title, but a special designation, whereas the mode of addressing king Agrippa in A. 26. 7 etc. is and must be βασιλεῦ.

### § 34. THE ACCUSATIVE.

1. The use of the accusative as the complement of transitive verbs, which is the most ordinary function of this case, in the N.T. gives occasion only for a few special remarks, since in the first place transitives and intransitives are not so sharply distinguished in N.T. Greek as in older Greek, and again other cases besides the accusative offer rival claims to be used as the complement of the verb. The following verbs occasionally appear as transitives. *Μένειν* ‘to await,’ A. 20. 5, 23 (ὑπομένειν 1 C. 13. 7 etc., also in the sense of ‘to await the help of God,’ Clem. Cor. i. 34. 8, a quotation, for which LXX. uses the dat.; *περιμένειν* A. 1. 4, ἀναμένειν 1 Th. 1. 10). *Φεύγειν* ‘to avoid’ (opposed to *διώκειν* ‘to strive after’ anything), 1 C. 6. 18, 1 Tim. 6. 11, 2 Tim. 2. 22 (with Hebraic construction φ. ἀπὸ in the same sense 1 C. 10. 14); ‘to flee before,’ ‘to escape,’ only in H. 11. 34, ἔφυγον στόματα μαχαίρης as in class. Greek, elsewhere φ. ἀπὸ as in Mt. 3. 7 φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς (which in class. Greek is only used of places, φεύγειν ἀπὸ τῆς Σκύλλης Xen. Mem. ii. 6. 31, cp. Herm. Mand. xi. 14 φεύγει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ‘from him’); ἐκφεύγειν trans. in L. 21. 36 etc.; ἀποφ. 2 P. 2. 20 (ibid 1. 4 with genit. ? see § 36, 9). *Φυλάσσεσθαι* ‘to shun,’ trans. as in classical Greek, A. 21. 25 etc., as well as with ἀπὸ L. 12. 15

<sup>1</sup> Krüger, Gramm. § 45, 2. Kühner, Gr. ii.<sup>2</sup> 41 ff.

<sup>2</sup> So also L. 6. 25 οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι, is regular, since οἱ ἐμπ. is equivalent to a vocative.

<sup>3</sup> Without the article we have A. 7. 42 O.T. οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ = (ὑμεῖς) ὁ οἶκ. 'I. (see on the omission of the article § 46, 9).

(Xenoph. Cyr. ii. 3. 9), cp. φυλάττειν ἔαυτὸν ἀπὸ 1 Jo. 5. 21.<sup>1</sup> Φοβᾶσθαι 'to fear,' usually transitive, takes ἀπό after Hebrew usage in Mt. 10. 28. Θαρρεῖν is only intrans. (in classical Greek also trans.). Θαυμάζειν, usually intrans., is trans. in L. 7. 9 ἐθαύμασεν αὐτὸν (om. αὐτ. D), A. 7. 31 τὸ ὄραμα (om. τὸ ὄρ. A). Jd. 16. Αἰσχύνεσθαι is intrans. (with ἀπό in 1 Jo. 2. 28), but ἐπαισχύνειν is transitive, cp. ἐντρέπεσθαι infra 2. Ἐλεεῖν (οἰκτήρειν R. 9. 15 O.T.) trans. Κλαίειν mostly intrans., trans. in Mt. 2. 18 O.T. (LXX. is different), L. 23. 28 according to D (in the other MSS. it takes ἐπί with accus.). Πενθεῖν is trans. only in 2 C. 12. 21 (and in L. 23. 28 according to D). Κόπτεσθαι 'to bewail' is trans. in L. 8. 52 (class.), and takes ἐπί with acc. in Ap. 1. 7, 18. 9. Εὐδοκεῖν 'to take pleasure in' is trans. only in Mt. 12. 18 O.T. in Η\*Β (al. εἰς, ἐν), H. 10. 6, 8 O.T. (the LXX. here has ἡθέλησας, elsewhere however it uses εὐδ.). transitively e.g. Ps. 51. 18). (Απορεῖσθαι τι occurs in A. 25. 20 ΗABHP, CEL insert εἰς; nowhere else in the N.T. is the accus. found after ἀπ. or διαπ. [occasionally in classical Greek after ἀπ.], which take ἐν or περί, both of which constructions occur in Herm. Sim. viii. 3. 1). Καυχᾶσθαι 'to boast,' mainly intrans., is trans. in 2 C. 9. 2, 11. 30 (with acc. of the thing). Βλασφημεῖν is often transitive (a late use, not Attic), εἰς τινα the Attic construction is found in Mc. 3. 29 (om. εἰς D), L. 12. 10.<sup>2</sup> (Υβρίζειν is only used transitively.) Ομνύναι is no longer used with accusative of that by which one swears, except in Ja. 5. 12; elsewhere it takes ἐν (εἰς) = Hebr. בְּ Mt. 5. 34 etc., or (as is found as early as class. Greek) κατά τινος H. 6. 13, 16; but ὅρκίζειν τινά (ἐνορκ.) still keeps this accus. Mc. 5. 7, A. 19. 13, 1 Th. 5. 27 (ἐξορκίζω [D ὄρκ.] σε κατὰ with genit. Mt. 26. 63, Herm. Sim. ix. 10. 5). Θριαμβεῖν 'to triumph' is used transitively = 'to lead in triumph' in Col. 2. 15, and somewhat differently in 2 C. 2. 14 ('to cause to go in triumph as a victor'; the use in the first passage may be paralleled by Plutarch Comp. Thes. et. Rom. 4). Μαθητεῖν (a late word) is intrans., 'to be a disciple,' in Mt. 27. 57 v.l., but the passive ἐμαθητεύθη is read by ΗCD: trans., 'to make a disciple,' in A. 14. 21, Mt. 13. 52 (pass.), 28. 19. Εμπορεύεσθαι, a middle verb, is intrans. in Ja. 4. 13: trans. 'to deceive' in 2 P. 2. 3 (so ἐμπολῶν Soph. Ant. 1050). Τερουργεῖν (a late word) τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (like θυσίαν) occurs in R. 15. 16.<sup>3</sup> Υστερεῖν in the sense of 'to be wanting' (without a case in Jo. 2. 3, cp. Dioscor. 5. 86), is trans. in Mc. 10. 21 ἐν σε ὑστερεῖ ΗBC al. (σοι AD al.), cp. LXX. Ps. 22. 1 (else-

<sup>1</sup> In L. 12. 15 (ὅράτε καὶ φυλάσσεσθε ἀπὸ) the words καὶ φυλ. are wanting in the Syriac version, and this same sense of 'to beware of' already belongs to ὅρᾶν = βλέπειν ἀπὸ, Mc. 8. 15 ὅράτε (om. D, these two verbs cannot stand together) βλέπετε ἀπὸ, 12. 38 (on the other hand βλέπ. is also used transitively 'to look at' Mc. 13. 9, 1 C. 1. 26 etc., and perhaps Ph. 3. 2 unless here it = φυλάσσεσθε). We also have προσέχειν ἀπὸ Mt. 16. 6 (ὅράτε καὶ προσέχετε ἀπὸ, where ὅράτε καὶ is wanting in the Latin witnesses).

<sup>2</sup> 2 P. 2. 12 ἐν οἷς ἀγνοῦσιν βλασφημοῦντες 'railing at those things in which they know nothing' (the idea is expressed more intelligibly in Jd. 10).

<sup>3</sup> Ιλάσκεσθαι ἀμαρτίας H. 2. 17 is noticeable on account of the object, since the classical use is (ἐξ)ιλάσκ. θεόν 'to dispose Him to mercy towards one.' But a similar use (= expiare) is also found in LXX. and Philo.

where the LXX. also has the dat. Buttm. 147; § 37, 3). The following are transitive in virtue of their composition with **κατά** (as in class. Greek): **καταβραβεύειν** Col. 2. 18, **καταγωνίζεσθαι** H. 11. 33, **κατασοφίζεσθαι** A. 7. 19 ('to get the better of' etc.): with **διά** (class.) **διαπορεύεσθαι**, **διέρχεσθαι**, **διαπλεῖν** in Lc., Acts, and Hebr. (in one sentence we have beside this the construction with **διά** and the genit., H. 11. 29 **διέβησαν τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς διὰ ἔηρᾶς γῆς**): with **παρά παρέρχεσθαι** (including Mc. 6. 48): with **περὶ περιέρχεσθαι τὰς οἰκίας** 1 Tim. 5. 13 (class.), **περιστῆναι τινα** A. 25. 7 (class.), **περιάγειν** (also intrans. § 53, 1) Mt. 9. 35, 23. 15, Mc. 6. 6 (with v.l. **ἐν** in Mt. 4. 23): with **πρό προέρχεσθαι** Lc. 22. 47 (D **προήγεν**) = class. **προηγεύεσθαι τινι**; cp. Lat. *praeire aliquem*;<sup>1</sup> with **ὑπέρ ὑπερέχειν** Ph. 4. 7 (cp. § 36, 8).

**2. Verbs with variable construction.** Εὗ (καλῶς) **ποιεῖν** in Attic take the accus. in all cases, similarly **κακῶς** (**πολλὰ κακὰ**) **ποιεῖν τινα** and the like; but in L. 6. 27 we have **καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς -**, Mc. 14. 7 **εὖ ποιεῖν** with dat. (this is wanting in §\*): for the use of these verbs with the accus. cp. infra 4. But **ῳδεῖν** and **βλάπτειν** (a rare word) take **τινα** in the N.T. as in Attic (**λυστελεῖν τινι** as in Att., but only in L. 17. 2 where D has **συμφέρει**); similarly **κακῶς λέγειν τινα**, but only in A. 23. 5 O.T., for which elsewhere **κακολογεῖν τινα** is used in A. 19. 9 etc., like **εὐλογεῖν**, besides which we further have **καλῶς ἐπιποιεῖν** **ἱμᾶς**, but only in L. 6. 26 (D **ἱμῖν**). (The simple **λέγειν** with accus. of the person = 'to allude to anyone in one's speech,' is found in Jo. 1. 15 [a v.l.], 8. 27 [a v.l.], Ph. 3. 18, as in classical Greek.) The following verbs of cognate meaning take the accusative: **ἐπηρέάζειν** (Att. with dat.) **τινα** Mt. 5. 44, L. 6. 28, 1 P. 3. 16: **λυμαίνεσθαι τινα** A. 8. 3 (Att. **τινά** and **τινί**): **λοιδορεῖν τινα** Jo. 9. 28, A. 23. 4 (as in Att.): **ὅνειδίζειν** (Att. **τινί**) **τινά** Mt. 5. 11 etc. (in 27. 44 **αὐτῷ** is a wrong reading for **αὐτὸν**): **μέρφεσθαι αὐτούς** H. 8. 8 §\*AD\*al., **αὐτοῖς** §\*BD\*al. (the latter is the Attic use): **καταράσθαι** (Att. with dat.) with accus. in (Mt. 5. 44 [D\* **ἱμῖν**]), Mc. 11. 21, L. 6. 28 (**ἱμῖν** EHL al. Justin Ap. i. 15), Ja. 3. 9 (cp. supra 1 **βλασφημεῖν**, **ἱβρίζειν**, with which verbs this whole class, with the exception of **εὖ ποιεῖν** etc., appears to have been brought into uniformity). **Ἐντρέπεσθαι τινα** is 'to be afraid of anyone' (Polyb. and Acts; the earlier use with **τινος** = 'to trouble oneself about'), cp. **ἐπαισχύνεσθαι** supra 1; **βασκαλεῖν τινά** 'to envy,' 'bewitch,' G. 3. 1 (in Attic it perhaps also takes **τινί** like **φθονεῖν**?); **προσκυνεῖν τινα** (Att.) occurs in Mt. 4. 10 O.T., L. 4. 8 O.T., 24. 52 (om. D), Jo. 4. 22 bis, 23 (**αὐτῷ** §\*; in the same verse all MSS. have **τῷ πατρὶ**), 9. 38 D: elsewhere with **τινί** (a late use, Lobeck Phryn. 463) or absolute (**πρ. ἐνώπιόν τινος** L. 4. 7); **γονυπτεῖν** (Polyb.) **τινα** Mt. 17. 14 (D omits **αὐτόν**), Mc. 10. 17: without a case in Mc. 1. 40, with **ἔμπροσθεν** Mt. 27. 29 (the dat. **αὐτῷ** in the former passage has very slight support); **εναγγελίζεσθαι** in Attic has accus. of the thing, dat. of the person: so also in L. 1. 19, 2. 10,

<sup>1</sup> Προηγούμενοι διλήλους R. 12. 10 'to prefer' = Ph. 2. 3 διλήλους ἡγούμενοι ὑπερέχοντας ἑαυτῶν (cp. also 1 Th. 5. 13); not elsewhere in this sense, but cp. προκρίνειν. The acc. of course depends on **ἡγ.**, not on **πρό**.

1 C. 15. 1 f. etc.: but it is also found with accus. of the person L. 3. 18 *εὐηγγελίζετο τὸν λαόν* and frequently in Luke and Acts, also G. 1. 9 (*ibid.* 8 with dat.), 1 P. 1. 12;<sup>1</sup> *παρανεῖν* (only in Luke, from the literary language) has accus. instead of the classical dat. A. 27. 22 (construction like that of *παρακαλεῖν*)<sup>2</sup>; *χρῆσθαι* takes acc. in 1 C. 7. 31 *οἱ χρώμενοι τὸν κόσμον* ~~κ~~<sup>\*ABDFG</sup>, dat. according to ~~κ~~<sup>D<sup>corr</sup>EK etc. as in 9. 12, 18 etc. (cp. Buttm. p. 157); *πενῶν* and *διψῶν* take accus. *τὴν δικαιουσύνην* Mt. 5. 6 (class. gen.), elsewhere they are used without a case.</sup>

3. The so-called accusative of the inner object or of content, found with intransitive and passive verbs and generally with any verb, is used in the N.T. practically in the same way as in the classical language (there being a special reason for its being kept, as the Hebrew had a similar usage). This accusative, whether it be that of a substantive which is radically connected with the verb or of one connected only in sense, in most cases requires, in order to have any *raison d'être* at all, to be more nearly defined by means of an adjective or a genitive, whereas the dative of verbal substantives when similarly used does not need this nearer definition, see § 38, 3. This is also occasionally omitted with the accusative, if the substantive has a more concrete meaning, as in Mt. 13. 30 (according to the correct reading of D Origen etc.) *δέσατε* (*αὐτὰ*) *δεσμάς* (~~κ~~BC etc. read *εἰς* δ.) ‘into bundles,’ which is a quite different use from Mt. 12. 29 *δίση* *τὸν ἵσχυρόν* (acc. of the outer object), but at the same time is not entirely similar to the possible phrase *δεῖν δέσιν*, since the acc. *δεσμάς* denotes an external result or product of the action (cp. *οἰκοδομένη οἰκίαν* L. 6. 48, *ποιεῖν ποίημα, γράφειν γράμματα*); an object of this kind may then become the subject to a passive verb (G. 1. 11). A similar instance is L. 2. 8 *φυλάσσοντες φυλακάς* of ‘watch duty,’ ‘sentry duty’ (so in Xenoph. Anab. 2. 6. 10 etc.; also in LXX.), where *φυλακή* expresses a definite objective kind of *φυλάσσειν*, and by no means expresses merely the abstract idea of the verb; so *ἰδεῖν ὅραμα* A. 11. 5, 16. 10 (passively *ὅραμα ὥφθη* 16. 9).<sup>3</sup> But in other cases we have Mt. 2. 10 *ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα*, Mc. 4. 41 *ἔφοβος ἡθησαν φόβον μέγαν*, Ap. 16. 9 *ἐκανυματισθησαν καῦμα μέρα*, 1 P. 3. 14 *τὸν φόβον αὐτῶν* (‘fear of them’) *μὴ φοβηθῆτε*, Col. 2. 19 *αὔξει* (‘grows’) *τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ θεοῦ*. This closer defining of the noun is also not absent where the verb stands in a relative sentence: Jo. 17. 26 *ἡ ἀγάπη ἡνὶ ἡγάπησά με* (*ἡ* according to D), Mc. 10. 38 *τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι*, Herm. Mand. vii. 1 *ὁ φόβος ὃν δεῖ σε φοβηθῆναι*. To the same class of accusative belong the cases where, in place of the substantive with the word which more closely defines it, the latter word occurs alone, either in the gender of the substantive,

<sup>1</sup> But not with a double acc.; in A. 13. 32 *τὴν ... ἐπαγγελίαν* should be taken with the following clause.

<sup>2</sup> *Διδάσκειν* with dat. instead of acc. in Ap. 2. 14 rests on a reading which is quite uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> But *ἀμαρτάνοντα ἀμαρτίαν* 1 Jo. 5. 16 is more closely defined by *μὴ πρὸς θάνατον*: cp. the following words *ἔστιν* (‘there is’) *ἀμαρτία πρὸς θ.*

which must then be supplied, as in L. 12. 47 f. διηρίστεται πολλάς, ὀλίγας sc. πληγάς, or more commonly in the neuter: L. 5. 33 νηρτείουσιν πικνά (=πικνάς νηρτείας), 2 C. 13. ι τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι ('for the third time'), Ph. 1. 6 πεποιθώς αὐτὸν τοῦτο ('having this confidence'), 2. 18, 1 C. 9. 25 πάντα ἐγκρατεῖται (but in Herm. Mand. viii. 2 ἐγκρ. τὸ πονηρόν is an instance of a true objective acc., being opposed to ποιέιν τὸ π.: ibid. 2-12 the verb is also used with ἀπό, genit., and inf.; cp. νηρτείειν τὸν κόσμον in the Λόγια Ἰησοῦ from Oxyrhynchus), 10. 33 πάντα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκω, 11. 2 πάντα μον μέρμησθε which is still more adverbial 'in everything,' 'in every respect'; τὸ δὲ αὐτὸν Ph. 2. 18, Mt. 27. 44 'in like manner' (on which is modelled the concise phrase in 2 C. 6. 13 τὴν αὐτήν ἀντιμισθίαν 'in like manner in return,' Fritzsche); μηδέν διακρινόμενος A. 10. 20, cp. 11. 12; 2 C. 12. 11 οὐδέν ἰστέρησα,<sup>1</sup> cp. 11. 5, Mt. 19. 20 τί ἰστερῶ; ('wherein am I still backward?' whereas τίνος ἴστατο = 'what do I lack?'), 2 C. 12. 13 τί ἔστιν ἡ ἡστάθητε (similar sense); R. 6. 10 ὁ γὰρ ἀπέθανεν, τῷ ἀμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανεν - ὁ δὲ ζῶ, ἢ γὰρ τῷ θεῷ, G. 2. 20 ὁ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκὶ, ἐν πίστει ζῶ (the death that He died, the life that He liveth, or else = in that He died and liveth). Still the use of these neuters in the N.T. is far less extensive than in the classical language.

4. A double accusative is found mainly with a number of verbs which can take both a personal object as well as (in another relation) an object of the thing. Thus διδάσκειν with ἀποστασίαν πάντας τοὺς - A. 21. 21, cp. Mc. 6. 34 αὐτὸνς πολλά (where however πολλά is rather to be regarded as acc. of the inner object), Jo. 14. 26 ὑμᾶς πάντα, also H. 5. 12 τοῦ διδάσκειν ἥμας τινά (not τίνα) τὰ στοιχεῖα κ.τ.λ. (thus the examples with this verb are not many): ἀναμιμήσκειν 1 C. 4. 17, ὑπομην. Jo. 14. 26. But κρύπτειν τινά τι is not represented, the phrase used being τι ἀπό (Hebr. יְהוָה) τίνος, Mt. 11. 25 (ἀπέκριψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν (Herm. Sim. ix. 11. 9) or the still more Hebraistic κρύψατε ἥμας ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ - Ap. 6. 16 (passively κεκρυμένον ἀπὸ αὐτῶν L. 18. 34 [as incidentally also in Homer Odyss. 23. 110 κεκρυμένα ἀπ' ἄλλων], ἐκρύβῃ ἀπὸ ὁφθαλμῶν σου 19. 42). Αἰτεῖν τινά τι Mt. 6. 8 (D is different), Mc. 6. 22 f. etc., besides which παρά may be used of the person (class.) Jo. 4. 9, A. 9. 2 (the middle verb: this never takes double acc.), or ἀπό Mt. 20. 20 BD (v.l. παρ'), 1 Jo. 5. 15 &B (similar v.l.): ἐρωτᾶν (ask a question) τινά τι Mt. 21. 24, Mc. 4. 10. (The following are not found with double acc.: ἀφαιρεῖν, -εισθαι, the person being introduced by ἀπό L. 16. 3, or placed in the gen. [ibid. D; L. 10. 42 etc.], as also in classical Greek: and ἀποστρεῖν [the thing is placed in the gen. in 1 Tim. 6. 5, but there is a v.l.]. Ποιεῖν τινά τι 'to do something with' occurs in Mt. 27. 22 τί (accus. of the predicate) ποιήσω Ἰησοῦν, cp. Herm. Sim. i. 4 τί ποιήσεις τὸν ἀγρόν, A. 12. 18 τί ὁ Πέτρος ἐγένετο what was become of P.: Mc. 15. 12 is similar to the passage of Matthew, but D reads τῷ βασιλεῖ = what shall I do to? cp. supra 2; with the same meaning we have the construction τι τινί

<sup>1</sup> The reading οὐδέν (ΝΒΠ οὐδενὸς) χρεῖται ἔχω Ap. 3. 17 can hardly be right.

Mt. 21. 40, L. 20. 15, A. 9. 13, Herm. Sim. v. 2. 2, ix. 11. 8: also A. 16. 28 μηδὲν πράξης [in place of *ποιήσης*] σεαυτῷ κακόν. In Attic the acc. must be used in all cases in this sense, *supra* 2, whereas *ποιέν τινί τι* ‘to do something for anyone,’ as in Mc. 7. 12, 10. 36, is also correct Attic Greek. Instead of *ποιεῖν τί τινι* we also have *π. τι ἐν τινι* or *εἰς τινα*, Mt. 17. 12 [om. ἐν ΙΔ al.], L. 21. 31, Jo. 15. 21 [ὑμᾶν AD<sup>2</sup> al.]; cp. καλὸν ἔργον ἥργάσατο ἐν ἔμοι Mc. 14. 6, *εἰς ἔρέ* Mt. 26. 10 [Attic has *ἔργη*. with double acc.]; οὕτως γένηται ἐν ἔμοι 1 C. 9. 15, cp. L. 21. 31 [Buttm. p. 130)]. The double acc. is also found after verbs of *putting on* and *putting off*: ἐνδιδύσκειν, ἐκδιδ. *τινά τι* Mt. 27. 31, Mc. 15. 17, 20, L. 15. 22; hence we have also in the N.T. (not class.) *περιβάλλειν τινά τι* L. 23. 11 AD al. (om. αὐτὸν ΙΒ al.), Jo. 19. 2 (but not with *περιτιθέναι* which takes *τινί τι* Mt. 27. 28, nor with *περιβάλλειν* when used in other connections, see L. 19. 43). Also with *χρέων*: H. 1. 9 O.T. *τινα ἔλαιον*, a Hebraic use (but in Ap. 3. 18 the acc. κολλύριον must certainly be taken in connection with ἀγοράσαι, not with ἔγχρισται). With *causative verbs* this use is more developed than in classical Greek: *ποτίζειν τινὰ ποτήριον* Mc. 9. 41, γάλα 1 C. 3. 2, ‘to make to drink,’ cp. Plat. Phaedr. 247 E (so also *ψωμίζω* in the LXX., ‘to make to eat’: in 1 C. 13. 3 with the acc. of the thing only, cp. Winer, § 32, note 4), *φορτίζειν* ‘to make to carry’ L. 11. 46, δρκίζειν and ἐνορκ. (strictly ‘to make to swear by,’ Hdt. *ἐξορκοῦν τινα τὸ Στυγὸς ὄντα* 6. 74) ‘to adjure by’ Mc. 5. 7 etc., vide *supra* 1.—In addition there are the instances, few in number, where the acc. of the inner and of the outer object are found together: Jo. 17. 26 ἡ ἀγάπη ἡν (ἡ according to D) ἡγάπησάς με, E. 2. 4 *τὴν ἀγ. ἡν ἡγάπησεν ἡμᾶς*, L. 4. 35 μηδὲν βλάψας αὐτὸν, G. 5. 2 ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει, 4. 12, A. 25. 10, Mt. 27. 44, Mc. 6. 34 (*supra*).

5. A different class of **double accusative** is that where one acc. is the acc. of the predicate, the construction corresponding to that of intransitive and passive verbs with a double nominative. This class is used after verbs of *making* (*ποιεῖν αὐτὸν βασιλέα* Jo. 6. 15, cp. *supra* 4, ὃν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον H. 1. 2, *τίς με κατέστησεν κριτήν* L. 12. 14): *having* and *taking* (A. 13. 5 *εἶχον Ἰωάννην ὑπῆρχεν*, Ja. 5. 10 *ὑπόδειγμα λάβετε τοὺς προφήτας*): *designating, calling* (Jo. 10. 35 ἐκείνους εἴπε θεούς, 15. 15, Mc. 10. 18 *τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν*; L. 1. 59 ἐκάλοντα αὐτὸν Ζαχαρίαν: in Hebraic style 1. 13, 31 καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννην, *Τησοῦν*, cp. the passive ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄν. a. *Τησοῦς* 2. 21, Buttm. p. 132):<sup>1</sup> *confessing, ὁμολογεῖν αὐτὸν Χριστόν* Jo. 9. 22 (with *εἶναι* D), I Jo. 4. 2 (acc. and inf. B), 2 Jo. 7: *regarding*, (Ph. 3. 7 *ταῦτα ἡγημαὶ ἥρμιαν*, ibid. 8 with *εἶναι* introduced, which is elsewhere always wanting with *ἡγεῖσθαι*, whereas vice versa *νομίζειν* and *ὑπολαμβάνειν* do not appear with a double acc.; A. 20. 24 *ποιοῦμαι τὴν ψυχὴν τιμίαν*, but there is a v.l. in which *ποιοῦμαι* is replaced by *ἔχω*, for which in this sense [=Lat. *habere*] cp. L. 14. 18 *ἔχε με παρηγγέλμενον*, Ph. 2. 29: *ἔχειν* with *ὡς* Mt. 14. 5, 21, 26, like *ἡγεῖσθαι ὡς* 2 Th. 3. 15, Clem.

<sup>1</sup> The dat. is used with *ἐπικαλεῖν ὄνομα* in Mt. 10. 25 B\*, cp. § 37, 7.

Cor. ii. 5, 6, Herm. Vis. i. 1, 7):<sup>1</sup> *proving* (*συνιστάναι* G. 2. 18, but *έαυτοὺς ὡς θεοῦ διάκονοι* 2 C. 6. 4; on 2 C. 7. 11 see § 36, 2 note), (*feigning*, *ὑποκρινομένους* *έαυτοὺς δικαίους* L. 20. 20 D). Beside these double accusatives we occasionally find *εἰς* prefixed to the predicate, showing Hebrew influence (cp. § 33, 3), A. 13. 22 *ἥγετεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Δανιὴλ εἰς βασιλέα*, 47 O.T., 7. 21; Mt. 21. 46 *εἰς προφήτην* (*ὡς πρ.* CD al.) *αὐτὸν εἶχον* (more frequent in LXX.; Clem. Cor. i. 42. 4 *καθίστανον εἰς ἐπισκόπους*); the inserted *ὡς* (other instances given above) may also be a Hebraism, cp. *ἔλογίσθημεν ὡς* R. 8. 36 O.T. (Hebr. Ξ).—One may refer to this class of double acc. L. 9. 14 *κατακλίνατε αὐτοὺς κλισίας ἀνὰ πεντάκοντα*, cp. Mc. 6. 39; again Mt. 13. 30 *δεῖν αὐτὰ δεσμάς*, supra 3; and the classical *διαιρεῖν τι δύο μέρη*, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 278 f.

6. The **passives** of the verbs specified in 4 (with which verbs when used in the passive the person and not the thing usually becomes the subject) occasionally appear with the object of the thing: 2 Th. 2. 15 *τὰς παραδόσεις ἡς ἔδιδάχθητε*, 1 C. 12. 13 *ἐν πνεύμᾳ ἐποίσθημεν* (of course *ἐνδεδιμένος*, *περιβεβλημένος* also take this object, but they are middle and not passive);<sup>2</sup> we further have (formed after the classical *πείθειν τινά τι*) *πεπείσμεθα τὰ κρείσσονα* H. 6. 9, and Ph. 3. 8 *τὰ πάντα ἔξημιώθην*, Mt. 16. 26 *τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἔημιωθῆ* (cp. Mc. 8. 36, L. 9. 25), opposed to *κερδαίνειν*; and formed on the model of *ξημιοῦν τινα ξημίαν*, but with a further derivative sense of the verb = to lose.<sup>3</sup> Since moreover the person who is expressed by the dative after the active verb may become the subject to the passive verb (cp. § 54, 3), such passives may also appear with the acc. of the thing: *πεπίστευμαι τῷ εἴναγγέλιον* G. 2. 7, *οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευμαι* 1 C. 9. 17, R. 3. 2, *τὴν ἄλυσιν περίκειμαι* A. 28. 20 (active *περιτιθέναι τινί τι*), H. 5. 2 (also L. 17. 2 according to δ λίθον μυλικὸν περίκειτο: Herm. Vis. v. 1, Sim. vi. 2. 5). Finally we have (formed after *δεῖν αὐτοῦ πόδας* Mt. 22. 13) *δεδεμένος τοὺς πόδας* Jo. 11. 44, *διεφθαρμένοι τὸν νοῦν* 1 Tim. 6. 5, *ῥεραντισμένοι τὰς καρδίας*, *λελουμένοι τὸ σῶμα* H. 10. 22 f., according to a general usage of the Greek language, which is employed with still greater freedom especially by St. Paul: *κατηχούμενος τὸν λόγον* G. 6. 6 ‘he who is instructed in the gospel,’ cp. A. 18. 25, 21. 24, L. 1. 4?, while with the active verb the person is the object, never the thing; *πεπληρωμένοι καρπὸν δικαιούντης* Ph. 1. 11, cp. Col. 1. 9, ‘with the fruit’ (a Hebraism, Exod. 31. 3 *ἐνέπλησα αὐτὸν πνεῦμα σοφίας*); *τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα* 2 C. 3. 18 ‘into the same image’; (on *τὴν αὐτὴν ἀντιμοσθίαν πλατύνθητε* ibid. 6. 13 cp. supra 4, and for *τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον* infra 7; *ἀναφανέντες τὴν Κύπρον* A. 21. 3 is a wrong reading for *ἀναφάναντες*).

<sup>1</sup> Hermas also has (Sim. viii. 3, 4) *γνώσῃ αὐτοὺς πάντας τοὺς κ.τ.λ.* ‘recognise them to be those who’ etc.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of the acc. with *περιβάλλεσθαι* the Apocalypse has *ἐν* with dat. in 3. 5, 4. 4 (here AP omit *ἐν*); so too Mt. 11. 8, L. 7. 25 *ἡμιεισμένον ἐν μαλακοῖς*.

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. 7. 37 is wrongly adduced as a parallel: *τὴν ψυχὴν τινος* (his son’s) *ἔημισθαι* (to lose as a punishment): the MSS. have *τῇ ψυχῇ*.

7. The accusative of reference with adjectives and the like has a very limited use in the N.T., since this function is mostly taken over by the dative, § 38, 2. Mt. 27. 57 τοῦνομα ‘by name’ (class.; elsewhere διόματι): Jo. 6. 10 τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὡς πεντακισχίλιοι: H. 2. 17 πιστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. But this same phrase τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν R. 15. 17, together with the phrases R. 12. 18 τὸ εἰς ὑμῶν – εὐρηνέοντες, 9. 5 τὸ κατὰ σάρκα and 16. 19 τὸ ἐφ' ὑμῖν as a v.l., τὸ καθ' εἰς 12. 5, has already become an adverbial accusative, similar to ἐνεκπτόμην τὰ πολλά (v.l. πολλάκις) R. 15. 22, τὸ πλεύστον (at most) τρεῖς 1 C. 14. 27, τὸ πρότερον, τὸ πρώτον cp. § 11, 5; in τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ‘daily’ L. 19. 47, 11. 3, A. 17. 11, 28 D. 19. 9 D the article is meaningless, cp. τὸ πρωΐ 5. 21 D, τὸ δειλινόν ‘in the afternoon’ 3. 1 D (infra 8); τὸ λοιπόν and λοιπόν ‘for the rest,’ ‘now,’ ‘already’ Mt. 26. 45 = Mc. 14. 41 (in both passages a v.l. without τὸ), A. 27. 20 (λ.), 2 C. 13. 11 (λ.), E. 6. 10 τὸ λ. (N\*AB τοῦ λοιποῦ ‘henceforth,’ see § 36, 13), and frequently in the Pauline Epp., also H. 10. 13 (also Attic); τὸ νῦν ἔχον A. 24. 25 ‘for the present’ (Lucian and others); τὸ τέλος ‘finally’ 1 P. 3. 8, τὴν ἀρχὴν ‘from the beginning,’ ‘at all’ Jo. 8. 25. Again, the phrases ὃν τρόπον Mt. 23. 37 and *passim*, τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον Jd. 7 come under the head of accusative of the inner object (besides which we have the dat. Ph. 1. 18 παντὶ τρόπῳ, § 38, 3, and καθ' ὃν τρ. A. 15. 11, 27. 25, cp. R. 3. 2, 2 Th. 2. 3).

8. Accusative of extension in space and time: L. 22. 41 ἀπεστάθη ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὥστε λίθον βολήν, 2. 44, Jo. 6. 19, answering the question How far? where the acc. may be regarded as a kind of object of the thing; Jo. 2. 12 ἔμειναν οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, answering the question How long? (to be similarly explained, cp. the dat. § 38, 5); as to Mt. 20. 2 συμφωνεῖν ἐκ δηναρίου (‘at a denarius’) τὴν ἡμέραν, ‘a day,’ ‘per day,’ vide § 36, 8. Further, νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ‘day and night’ Mc. 4. 27, L. 2. 37, A. 26. 7; τὰς ἡμέρας – τὰς νύκτας L. 21. 37 ‘during the days, the nights’; ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας 2 P. 2. 8 is classical. This accusative appears to go beyond its own department in the phrases τὸ δειλινόν, τὸ πρωΐ (see 7), where the question asked is When? (cp. μέσον ἡμέρας LXX. Dan. Sus. 7);<sup>2</sup> as it does moreover in its use with ὥρα (occurring in classical Greek): Jo. 4. 52 ἐχθὲς ὥραν ἐβόδημην, Ap. 3. 3 ποίαν ὥραν, A. 10. 30 (and verse 3 with v.l. περὶ ὥραν ἐνάτην as in verse 9), cp. Aesch. Eum. 159 ὥραν οὐδενὸς κοινῆν, Eurip. Bacch. 722 τὴν τεταγμένην ὥραν, Aristot. Αθ. Πολιτ. cap. 30 ad fin. τὴν ὥραν τὴν προρρηθεῖσαν, Demosth. 54. 4 etc. (=εἰς ὥραν, ‘at the hour,’ ἐπὶ τ. ὥραν A. 3. 1), although the N.T. has also ποίᾳ ὥρᾳ and similar phrases, for which and for the encroachment of the dat. on the functions of the accus. see § 38, 4 and 5. A peculiar idiom is found in A. 27. 33 τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην σήμερον ἡμέραν, i.e. ‘it is to-day the 14th day since’ etc., ‘to-day is the

<sup>1</sup> Οδὸν θαλάσσης Mt. 4. 15 O.T. is a literal rendering of the Hebr. תְּהִלָּה = *versus*, which appears elsewhere in the LXX., e.g. Deut. 11. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. also LXX. τὴν μεσημβρίαν Gen. 43. 16, τὸ πρωΐ Ex. 7. 15. See Sophocles Lexic. p. 44.

14th day in succession that,' cp. Demosth. *τρίτον ἔτος τούτι*, 'it is now the third year that.'—In answer to the question How far distant? beside the accus. (L. 24. 13 ἀπέχουσαν σταδίους ἐξήκοντα ἀπὸ Ἱερουσ., cp. A. 1. 12), we find also ἀπό with the genitive, probably a Latinism (*a millibus passuum duobus*, Caes. B. G. 2. 7): Jo. 11. 18 ἵνε Βηθανίᾳ ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἱερ., ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων δεκαπέντε, cp. 21. 8, Ap. 14. 20, Herm. Vis. iv. 1. 5 (Diod., Plut. etc.).

### § 35. THE GENITIVE.

1. By far the most extensive use of the genitive is that by which it defines a **noun** more closely after the manner of an adjective, and like an adjective either as attribute or predicate; in the latter case the genitive is said to be dependent on *εἶναι* (*γίνεσθαι* etc.). The kind of relation which exists between the genitive and its noun can only be decided by the sense and context: in the N.T. this is often purely a matter of theological interpretation, which cannot form part of the teaching of a grammatical work. The place of the noun, which is defined by the genitive, may also be taken by a pronoun and more especially by the article. We select here only the points that are worthy of note.

2. **Genitive of origin and membership.**—As in the classical language, the genitive is used where a particular person is indicated by the mention of his father, *Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου* Mt. 4. 21 etc., a use in which the introduction of *vīos* is perfectly admissible, *Ιωάνην τὸν Ζαχαρίου νιόν* L. 3. 2; in the case of the sons of Zebedee, if named together, *vīoi* (almost) always appears, Mt. 26. 37, 27. 56, Mc. 10. 35, L. 5. 10, only in Jo. 21. 2 ABL al. read *οἱ τοῦ Ζ.*, while *οἱ vīoi Ζ.* is read by **sDE**; where *vīos* is omitted the introduction of one article, contrary to the usual classical practice, causes the insertion of the article with the other noun as well, thus *Δαυὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί* A. 13. 22 O.T., cp. § 46, 10 (but without an article *Ιούδαν Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτου* Jo. 6. 71 etc., similarly in Greek style *Σώπατρος Πύρρου Βεροιαίος* A. 20. 4). Indication of the mother by her son's name: Mc. 15. 40 (cp. Mt. 27. 56) *Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ Ἰωσῆτος μήτηρ*, whence in verse 47 M. ἡ Ἰωσῆτος, 15. 1 M. ἡ Ἰακώβου as in L. 24. 10 (the article with the gen. is in this case neglected except in Mt. 27. 56 ἡ τοῦ Ἰακ. — *μήτηρ*). Of the wife by her husband's name (this is also classical): Mt. 1. 6 *τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου*, Jo. 19. 25 *Μαριάμ ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ*.<sup>1</sup> Whether in the case of the apostle called *Ιούδας Ἰακώβου* L. 1. 16, A. 1. 13, *vīos* or in accordance with Jd. 1 ἀδελφός is to be supplied (the latter is grammatically admissible: cp. *Τιμοκράτης ὁ Μητροδόρον* sc. ἀδ. Alciphron Ep. ii. 2) is a question which need not be discussed here. Membership in a family (including a family of slaves): *τῶν Χλόης* 1 C. 1. 11, *τοὺς* (sc. brethren, Christians) *ἐκ τῶν* (sc. slaves) *Ἀριστοβούλου, Ναρκίσσου* R. 16. 10 f. *Υἱός* occurs in a metaphorical sense

<sup>1</sup> The v.l. in A. 7. 13 *Ἐμμώρ τοῦ Συχέμ* (DH: al. *ἐν Σ.* or *τοῦ ἐν Σ.*) is explained in accordance with Gen. 33. 19 as *'Ε. πατρός Σ.*, which in any case is wrong.

(a common Hebraism): 1 Th. 5. 5 *vioi φωτός ἔστε καὶ vioi ἡμέρας*; hence with omission of *vioi*, the genitive being also used predicatively, οὐκ ἔσμεν νικτὸς οὐδὲ σκότους 1 Th. 5. 6, *ἡμέρας ὅντες* 8, cp. H. 10. 39 οὐκ ἔσμεν ὑποστολῆς – ἀλλὰ πίστεως. Possession or discipleship: οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ 1 C. 15. 23; as predicate, A. 27. 36 τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ εἴμι, R. 8. 9 οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ (Xρ.), 1 C. 1. 12, 3. 4 ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου etc., 6. 19 οὐκ ἔστε ἑαυτῶν ('do not belong to yourselves,' cp. 20), 3. 21 πάντα ὑμῶν ἔστι (= ὑμέτερα, cp. § 48, 7); L. 20. 14; A. 1. 7 οὐχ ὑμῶν ἔστι γνῶναι 'does not belong to you,' 'is not your concern,' 2 P. 1. 20 προφητεία ἴδιας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται; H. 5. 14 τελείων ἔστιν ἡ στερεὰ τροφή; Herm. Sim. viii. 7. 6 ἡ ζωὴ πάντων ἔστι τῶν –, cp. A. 10. 36 after the removal of the interpolated *κύριος*, A. 20. 3 (Thuc. 1. 113).—The use of *ἐν*, *εἰς* with the genitive of the house of anyone is not found in the New Testament, nor yet the phrases *ἐν*, *εἰς* Αἰδον (as in Clem. Cor. i. 4. 11), instead of which we have *ἐν τῷ ἄδη* L. 16. 22, *εἰς ἄδην* A. 2. 27 O.T. (*ἄδου* EP and some MSS. of the LXX.), 31 (*ἄδον* ACDEP).

**3. Objective genitive.** Noteworthy instances are Mt. 24. 6 ἀκοὰι πολέμων 'rumours of wars': A. 4. 9 εὐεργεσία ἀνθρώπου 'to a man': R. 10. 2 ξῆλος θεοῦ 'concerning God' (Jo. 2. 17 O.T. ὁ ξ. τοῦ οἴκου σου): Jo. 7. 13, 20. 19 διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων 'fear of the Jews.' Further instances: Mt. 13. 18 τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπείροντος (cp. 36) *about, of*: 1 C. 1. 6 τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 1. 18 ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ, Mt. 4. 23 etc. τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας, Mc. 1. 1 τὸ εὐαγγ. Ἰησοῦ Xρ.; phrases similar to the last are frequent in St. Paul (besides this use we have *εὐαγγ.* θεοῦ in R. 1. 1 and elsewhere, denoting the author, the meaning being there explained by *περὶ τοῦ νιοῦ αὐτοῦ* in verse 3; τὸ *εὐαγγ.* μον R. 2. 16, 16. 25, cp. 2 C. 4. 3, 2 Tim. 2. 8, denoting the preacher; and τὸ *εὐαγγ.* τῆς ἀκροβυστίας G. 2. 7 = 'among,' 'to,' similar to the use of *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι τινα*; but *εὐαγγ.* Ματθαίον etc. would be presumptuous and false, as if the individual evangelist had a special gospel proceeding from himself, therefore *κατὰ* M. etc. is used, *i.e.* according to Matthew's presentation of it). Other objective genitives are πίστις Ἰησοῦ Xρ. R. 3. 22 etc., for which we also have π. εἰς τὸν κύριον Ἰ. Xρ. A. 20. 21 etc. and *ἐν* Xρ. Ἰ. 1 Tim. 3. 13 etc.: ὑπακοὴ τοῦ Xρ., τῆς πίστεως, τ. ἀληθείας 2 C. 10. 5, R. 1. 5, 1 P. 1. 22 etc., whereas ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ can be both subjective and objective, but in δικαιοσύνῃ τ. θ. and δικ. τῆς πίστεως the gen. indicates the author and the cause respectively, hence ἡ ἐκ θ. δικ. Ph. 3. 9, ἡ ἐκ πίστεως δ. R. 9. 30, also διὰ πίστεως Ph. 3. 9. In R. 2. 7 ὑπομονὴ ἔργου ἀγαθοῦ 'endurance in' is also a kind of objective genitive; on the other hand 1 Th. 1. 3 τῆς ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος is parallel with the phrases τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πίστεως and τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης, and is rather to be regarded as subjective, expressing patient hope in conjunction with active faith (cp. G. 5. 6) and labouring love.

**4. The genitive of the whole or partitive genitive** has not altogether died out, although its place has been taken to a great extent by the periphrasis with *ἐξ* (ἀπὸ, *ἐν*). Mt. 5. 29 f. *ἐν τῶν μελῶν σου*, 6. 29

ἐν τούτων, 10. 42 ἔνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων etc.; but 10. 29, 18. 12 ἐν ἐξ αὐτῶν, 26. 21 εἰς ἐξ ὑμῶν etc.: in Mt. 6. 27, 7. 9, L. 11. 5, 12. 25 and elsewhere τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν; and, generally speaking, in the case of τίς the gen. appears more frequently with ἐξ than without it (Mt. 22. 28 has τίνος τῶν ἐπτά, but τῶν ἐπτά appears not to be genuine: Mc. 12. 23 τίνος αὐτῶν, here also the gen. is wanting in Δck: L. 7. 42 τίς αὐτῶν, but αὐτ. is omitted by D etc.: 14. 5 τίνος ὑμῶν, D ἐξ ὑμῶν: 20. 33 τίνος αὐτῶν, but αὐτ. om. \*e ff,<sup>2</sup> so that the only certain instances of the simple gen. remaining are A. 7. 52, H. 1. 5, 13). With τίς, however, the reverse is the case, the simple gen. preponderating (except in John); with ἔκαστος it is found exclusively; but πᾶς ἐξ ὑμῶν L. 14. 33. This use of ἐξ can hardly be called classical (although μόνος ἐξ ἀπάντων and similar phrases occur),<sup>1</sup> still it is more classical than that of ἀπό in Mt. 27. 21 τίνα ἀπὸ τῶν δύο; the use of ἐν also has classical precedent, Ja. 5. 13, 14, 19, 1 C. 15. 12 τίς ἐν ὑμῖν, A. 5. 34 τίς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ (D ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου); cp. on the periphrasis for the partitive gen. with verbs, § 36, 1. This gen. is used predicatively in ἐν ἐστιν Υἱόν τοῦ Θεοῦ 1 Tim. 1. 20, A. 23. 6: with ἐκ Jo. 18. 17, L. 22. 58, 1 C. 12. 15 f. (Clem. Cor. ii. 14. 1, 18. 1). The following is noticeable: τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν παθημάτων 1 P. 5. 9 (strictly incorrect).—The employment of the partitive gen. or a periphrasis for it as subject or object of the sentence is peculiar: Jo. 16. 17 εἶπον ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ (some of his disciples) πρὸς ἀλλήλους, 7. 40 ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου ἀκούσαντες – ἔλεγον,<sup>2</sup> παραγενομένων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως L. 8. 35 D (some men of the town), A. 21. 16 συνῆλθον δὲ καὶ (ἐκ add. E) τῶν μαθητῶν ἀπὸ Καισαρείας,<sup>3</sup> 19. 33 ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου (sc. τινές), Ap. 11. 9, L. 21. 16 θανατώσοντιν ἐξ ὑμῶν (sc. τινάς), 11. 49, Mt. 23. 34, Ap. 2. 10, 2 Jo. 4; it even takes the place of a dative in Jo. 3. 25 ἐγένετο ζήτησις ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν Ἰωάννου μετὰ Ιονδαίου (-ων) ‘on the part of some of the disciples,’ cp. A. 15. 2. This form of expression is due to Hebrew influence (גַּדֵּל), although in isolated cases the genitive is also so used in Attic (Xenoph. Anab. 3. 5. 16: Hellen. 4. 2. 20).—To the class of partitive genitives belongs also the gen. of the country, added to define the particular place intended, and always with the article (§ 46, 11): Ναζαρὲθ τῆς Γαλιλαίας Mt. 21. 11, Mc. 1. 9, Κανᾶ τῆς Γαλ. Jo. 2. 1, Ταρσὸς τῆς Κιλικίας A. 22. 3, with πόλις 21. 39, 16. 12 ἡτις (Φίλιπποι) ἐστὶν πρώτης (as should be read) μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις. As a definition of time: ὅψε σαββάτων Mt. 28. 1 ‘late on the Sabbath’ (which in accordance with the next clause and Mc. 16. 1 must be equivalent to ‘after the Sabbath’), δὶς τοῦ σαββάτου ‘twice in the week’ L. 18. 12. A further instance may be noticed: L. 19. 8 τὰ ἡμίσεια (τὰ ἡμισυ AR[D]) τῶν ὑπαρχόντων with classical assimilation to the gen. instead of τὸ ἡμισυ (Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 299, ἡ ἡμίσεια τῆς γῆς);

<sup>1</sup> Μόνος in the N.T. is never more nearly defined by a reference to the whole of which it is a part.

<sup>2</sup> Πολλοί is an interpolation of ΓΔΔ al.

<sup>3</sup> Here however τινες τῶν may have dropped out after μαθητῶν, since a second article is required.

elsewhere we have ἡμισυν καιροῦν Ἀρ. 12. 14 (cp. 11. 9, 11 without a genitive), ἥσως ἡμίσους τῆς βασιλείας Με. 6. 23, like τὸ δέκατον (sc. μέρος) τῆς πόλεως Ἀρ. 11. 13.

5. A nearer definition of any kind by means of **quality**, **direction**, **aim** etc. is expressed by the genitive in a long series of phrases, some of which obviously take their origin from Hebrew (in which language the adjective is but slightly developed): μισθοῦν τῆς ἀδικίας A. 1. 18, μ. ἀδ. 2 Π. 2. 15, ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας L. 16. 8, τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδ. 9, ὁ κριτὴς τ. ἀδ. 18. 6 = ὁ ἀδικος (cp. 16. 11 ἐν τῷ ἀδίκῳ μαμωνῷ): καρδία πονηρὰ ἀπιστίας H. 3. 12, ρήματα βλασφημίας A. 6. 11 κ<sup>\*</sup>D with v.l. βλάσφημα, cp. Ἀρ. 13. 1, 17. 3, χολὴ πικρίας A. 8. 23, βίζα πικρίας H. 12. 15 cp. LXX. Deut. 29. 18,<sup>1</sup> A. 9. 15 σκεύος ἔκλογῆς=ἔκλεκτόν (in R. 9. 22 f. σκεύη ὄργης, σκ. ἐλέονς are different, being equivalent to persons who bear the wrath or the mercy), οἱ λόγοι τῆς χάριτος L. 4. 22, πάθη ἀτιμίας R. 1. 26, ὁ οῖνος τοῦ θυμοῦ Ἀρ. 14. 10 etc. (where there is no equivalent adjective which could replace the gen.), τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἀμαρτίας R. 6. 6, τὸ σ. τοῦ θανάτου 7. 24 (cp. θυητὸν σ. 6. 12, 8. 11), τ. σ. τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν and τ. σ. τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ Ph. 3. 21, τ. σ. τῆς σαρκός Col. 1. 22, 2. 11 etc. The reverse order of words e.g. ἐπὶ πλούτου ἀδηλότητι=ἀδήλω πλούτῳ 1 Tim. 6. 17 (ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς R. 6. 4=ἐν καινῇ ζωῇ, but cp. 7. 6) may be paralleled from the classical language (W. § 34, 3). Further noticeable instances are ἡμέρα ὄργης, σωτηρίας, ἐπισκοπῆς etc. after Hebrew models R. 2. 5, 2 C. 6. 2 O.T., 1 P. 2. 12, also ἀναδείξεως L. 1. 80, in which there is nothing remarkable but the Hebraic substitution of ἡμέρα for χρόνος (οἱ χρόνοι τῆς αἰρέσεως Aeschin. 2. 58): ἀνάστασις ζωῆς and κρίσεως ‘to life’ etc. Jo. 5. 29 (ἀ. εἰς ζωήν LXX. 2 Macc. 7. 14): ὅδος ἐθνῶν Mt. 10. 5, ὅδον (a kind of preposition like בְּנֵי, § 34, 8, note 1) θαλάσσης 4. 15 O.T.: instances with the meaning *to*, as ἡ θύρα τῶν προβάτων Jo. 10. 7, πίστεως A. 14. 27 (but θ. τοῦ λόγου Col. 4. 3=a door by which the word enters), μετοικεσία Βαβυλώνος Mt. 1. 11 f., ἡ διασπορὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Jo. 7. 35: with the meaning *among (from)*, κίνδυνοι ποταμῶν, λγοτῶν 2 C. 11. 26, followed by ἐξ ἐθνῶν, ἐν θαλάσσῃ, etc.—To the gen. of **content** belongs among other instances Jo. 21. 8 τὸ δίκτυον τῶν ἵχθυών (like class. πλοῖα σίτου); to the gen. of **apposition** (Kühner Gr. ii.<sup>2</sup> 226 d), i.e. where the genitive takes the place of a word in apposition with another, 2 C. 5. 5 τὸν ἀρραβώνα τοῦ πνεύματος (‘which consists in’ etc.), R. 4. 11 σημεῖον περιτομῆς (περιτομῆν AC\*), Jo. 2. 2 τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, E. 4. 9 τὰ κατώτερα [μέρη] τῆς γῆς (not partitive, see Win. § 59, 8, but perhaps gen. of the thing compared) etc.; also 2 Π. 2. 6 πόλεις Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρας like Ἰλίου πόλιν Hom. Il. 5, 642 etc. (this construction occurs here only in the N.T., since πόλεως Θυατείρων A. 16. 14 is the gen. of πόλις Θυατείρα, like πόλει Ιόππη 11. 5; cp. also 2 C. 11. 32 τὴν πόλιν Δαμασκηνῶν, Ἀρ. 3. 12, 18. 10, 21. 2, 10).—On the gen.

<sup>1</sup> Μή τις ἔστω ἐν ὑμῶν βίζα ἀνω φύουσα ἐν χολῇ καὶ πικρᾳ; but βίζα πικρας is read by cod. AF, and ἐνοχλῆ for ἐν χ. by B\*AF\*, and this was the reading followed by the author of the Ep. to the Hebrews.

with adjectives and participles used substantively see § 47, 1.—The gen. is used predicatively (*supra* 2 and 4), denoting **quality**, in *Mc.* 5. 42 ἦν ἐτῶν δώδεκα, *L.* 2. 42 ὅτε ἐγένετο ἐτῶν δώδεκα (*D* is different),<sup>1</sup> *H.* 12. 11 πᾶσα παιδεία οὐ δοκεῖ χαρᾶς εἶναι, ἀλλὰ λύπης.

6. As in classical Greek, there is nothing to prevent **two genitives** of different meaning from being connected with a single substantive: 2 C. 5. 1 ἡ ἐπίγειος ἥμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους, possessive gen. and gen. of apposition, *Ph.* 2. 30 τὸ ὑμῶν (subjective) ὑστέρημα τῆς πρός με λειτουργίας (objective), *Ap.* 7. 17, 2 *P.* 3. 2 τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῶν ('apostles sent to you') ἐντολῆς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος (closely with ἀποστ. 'sent from etc. to').<sup>2</sup> In most cases, however, if several genitives stand together, one of them is dependent on the other, a practice through which writers, especially St. Paul, are occasionally brought to a really burdensome accumulation of words: 2 C. 4. 5 τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ('which proceeds from the gospel') τῆς δόξης (content) τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *E.* 1. 6 εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης (a single idea, cp. *Ph.* 1. 17 εἰς δόξαν καὶ ἔπαινον) τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ,<sup>3</sup> 4. 13 εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 1. 18, 19, *Col.* 2. 12, 1 *Th.* 1. 3 τῆς ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος (*supra* 3) τοῦ κυρίου ἥμῶν;<sup>4</sup> *Ap.* 14. 8 ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ (*supra* 5) τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς, unless τοῦ θυμοῦ should be removed from this passage and from 18. 3 (with Griesbach) as an interpolation from 14. 10, 16. 19 τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὄργης αὐτοῦ (αὐτοῦ om. *N.*), 19. 15 τὴν ληρὸν τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὄργης τοῦ θεοῦ. The last genitive of the series is usually a possessive (*Buttm.* 136). In order that some clue may be left for the understanding of the construction, it is necessary (and also in conformity with Hebrew precedent) that the governing genitive should always stand before the dependent genitive, while in the case where two genitives are dependent on a *single* noun, one is placed before and the other after the noun, see the instances given above (*Buttm.* 135 f.). It has further been maintained (*ibid.* p. 294 f.), that in a case where a genitive without the article dependent on a preposition governs another genitive, the former must always occupy the first place: in the same way that a word in *any* case without an article usually, though not always (*Mt.* 13. 33 εἰς ἀλεύρῳ σάτα τρία) precedes the genitive which it governs. Exceptions however must be admitted in the former case as well; *Mt.* 24. 31

<sup>1</sup> Here also belongs *Ap.* 21. 17 ἐμέτρησεν τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῆς ἑκατὸν – πηχῶν, = 'amounting to 100 cubits,' cp. *ibid.* 16.

<sup>2</sup> However, there is so much obscurity and harshness in this passage that one is justified in supposing some corruption of the text (τῆς <διὰ> τῶν ἀποστ. ? cp. the Syriac).

<sup>3</sup> DE read τῆς δόξης, which would necessitate the rendering 'the praise of the glory of His grace'; cp. 1. 12 εἰς ἔπ. (τῆς add. A) δόξης αὐτοῦ, 14 εἰς ἔπ., τῆς (τῆς om. *N.*) δόξης αὐτοῦ.

<sup>4</sup> Here further, the possessive ὑμῶν is dependent on the first of the two genitives in each case ἔργου, κέπου, ὑπομονῆς, according to the prescribed rule (see below in the text); but the Western and Syriac mss. put this ὑμῶν after πιστεύως, and some of these also make the sentence much smoother by reading the acc. τὸ ἔργον – τὸν κέπον – τὴν ὑπομονὴν.

*μετὰ σάλπιγγος φωνῆς μεγάλης*, if the reading is correct,<sup>1</sup> means ‘with a loud trumpet-sound’ (cp. H. 12. 19, Ap. 1. 10, 4. 1, 8. 13), and 2 C. 3. 18 ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος ‘from the spirit of the Lord,’ cp. verse 17.<sup>2</sup> Also *βαπτισμῶν διδαχῆς* H. 6. 2 (unless B is right in reading *διδαχῆν*) can only mean ‘teaching of baptisms.’

### § 36. CONTINUATION: GENITIVE WITH VERBS, ETC.

1. The genitive is used in Greek in connection with verbs in a series of instances where the **partitive** meaning is obvious. In the N.T. this partitive genitive with verbs is replaced, even more frequently than in the other cases mentioned (§ 35, 4), by a periphrasis with a preposition (or the use of another case). It is true that *μεταλαμβάνειν* ‘to partake of’ always has the gen. (A. 2. 46, 27. 33 f., 2 Tim. 2. 6, H. 6. 7, 12. 10; the verb has a different meaning in the combination *καιρὸν μεταλαβόν* A. 24. 25 = Polyb. 2, 16. 25 = ‘to get [an opportunity] later’); so also *μετέχειν* in 1 C. 9. 12, 10. 21, H. 2. 14, 5. 13, 7. 13, though *μετ.* ἐκ is found as well in 1 C. 10. 17, and just as these constructions with the gen. are limited to Luke, Paul, and Hebrews, so *κοινωνεῖν τινος* only appears in H. 2. 14, while Paul, Peter, and John say *κοινωνεῖν τινι* (using the dat. not only of the person as in classical Greek, but also of the thing as in R. 15. 27 *τοῖς πνευματικοῖς αὐτῶν ἔκοινώησαν τὰ ἔθνη*, cp. 1 Tim. 5. 22, 1 P. 4. 13, 2 Jo. 11; R. 12. 13 holds an intermediate position), or else *κοινωνεῖν τινι* (person) ἐν *τινι* G. 6. 6, or εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως Ph. 4. 15. *Μεταδιδόναι* never has the genitive, but the accusative, if it is the whole which is imparted R. 1. 11, 1 Th. 2. 8 (the classical usage is analogous), elsewhere only the dat. of the person; *μετέναι* is unrepresented; ὁ ἔχων μέρος ἐν—(of the thing) occurs in Ap. 20. 6. But the greater number of the constructions which come under this head—to take of, to bring, eat, drink of etc.—have been lost to the genitive, and are expressed by ἐκ or ἀπό: L. 20. 10 ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ δώσοντιν,<sup>3</sup> Mc. 12. 2 ἵνα λάβῃ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν (only in A. 27. 36 do we have *προσελάβοντο τροφῆς* [with many var. lect.], like γενέσθαι, vide infra.; beside which ibid. 33 *μηδὲν προσλαβόμενοι* is correctly used to indicate not the whole but the part), Jo. 21. 10 ἐνέγκατε ἀπὸ τῶν ὄψαριν, 1 C. 11. 28 ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου ἐσθίετω, Jo. 4. 14 ὅς ἂν πίῃ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος (as well as ἐσθίειν τι, where the object consists of the whole, Mc. 1. 6 ἐσθίων ἀκρίδας καὶ μέλι ἄγριον, like Aristoph. Eq. 604 *ἥσθιον δὲ τοὺς παγούρους*; 1 C. 8. 10 τὰ εἰδωλόθυτα ἐσθίειν, cp. 7, Ap. 2. 14, 20, i.e.

<sup>1</sup> *Φωνῆς* is wanting in N.L etc., D al. have σ. καὶ φων. μεγ.

<sup>2</sup> The Vulgate has *a domino spiritu* (Tertullian indeed reads *a domino spirituum*). There might also appear to be an irregular order of words in the reading given by Origen (in Matt. tom. xiv. 14) in 1 C. 2. 4: οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖ σοφλα λόγων, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος δυνάμεως. But cp. with the last words πνεῦμα τῆς πτωτεως 2 C. 4. 13, πν. σοφλα καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως E. 1. 17 etc.

<sup>3</sup> The use with the simple gen. in Ap. 2. 17 τῷ νικοῦντι δώσω αὐτῷ τοῦ (so AC; τὸ B, ἐκ τοῦ N) μάννα τοῦ κεκρυμμένου is not authentic.

meat which comes from sacrifices; 1 C. 10. 18 *οἱ ἐσθίοντες τὰς θυσίας*, which they consume in common).<sup>1</sup> Of verbs of cognate meaning to these, *χορτάζειν* ‘to satisfy’ (vulgar word for *κορεννύναι*, see Athenaeus iii. 99 E) has the genitive Mc. 8. 4, the passive *-άξεσθαι* only has *ἀπό*, *ἐκ* L. 15. 16,<sup>2</sup> 16. 21, Ap. 19. 21, *κορέννυσθαι* (literary language) has the gen. A. 27. 38; *γεύεσθαι* has the gen. in *γεύεσθαι θαυμάτου* Mt. 16. 28 etc., H. 2. 9, *τοῦ δείπνου* L. 14. 24, *μηδενὸς* A. 23. 14, *τῆς δωρεᾶς* H. 6. 4: on the other hand the acc. in Jo. 2. 9 *τὸν ὕδωρ*, H. 6. 5 *θεοῦ ρῆμα*, not a classical but most probably a popular usage. The phrase *ἔγώ σου ὀναίμην* Philem. 20 (the word only occurs here)<sup>3</sup> is derived from the literary language; *ἀπολαύειν* is unrepresented; *φεύδομαι* always has the gen., but is limited to Luke (A. 20. 29), Paul (R. 8. 32 and *passim*) and 2 Peter (2. 4 f.).

2. Closely related to a partitive genitive is the gen. with verbs of **touching** and **seizing**. Of this we have the following N.T. instances: *ἀπτεσθαι* Mt. 8. 4 and frequently in the Gospels (in John only in 20. 17 besides 1 Jo. 5. 18; in the Epistles besides the last passage quoted only in 1 C. 7. 4, 2 C. 6. 17 O.T.; never in Acts), *καθάπτειν* A. 28. 3, *θιγγάνειν* (literary language) H. 11. 28, 12. 20; *ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι* Mt. 14. 31, Mc. 8. 23, Luke *passim*, 1 Tim. 6. 12, 19, H. 2. 16, 8. 9 O.T., ‘to lay hold on any one (anything)’: also with the *part* expressed in the gen., Mc. 8. 23 *ἐπιλαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ τυφλοῦ*,<sup>4</sup> so that the correct construction is in all cases the gen.;<sup>5</sup> on the other hand, *κρατεῖν* ‘to seize,’ ‘to hold’ (Hellenistic) has the whole in the accus. as in Mt. 14. 3 *κρατήσας τὸν Ἰωάννην*, and the gen. is confined to the part which one seizes on, Mt. 9. 25 *ἐκράτησε τῆς χειρὸς (τὴν χείρα D) αὐτῆς*, Mc. 1. 31 (not D), 5. 41 (*τὴν χείρα D*), L. 8. 54 (*κρατεῖν τινὰ τινός* is not found except in Mc. 9. 27 according to A al., where ~~N~~BD read as in the other passages): in metaphorical sense, ‘to hold fast to,’ ‘lay hold on,’ with gen. (probably due to the use of *κρατεῖν* ‘to get the mastery of’ with gen. in the literary language) H. 4. 14, 6. 18. Luke also says *πιάσας* (vulgar word = *λαβών*) *αὐτὸν τῆς χειρός* A. 3. 7, like *λαβών Πολυξένην χερός* Eurip. Hec. 523. In addition to these we have

<sup>1</sup> Still in many places a classical writer would have employed the gen. where the acc. occurs in the N.T., as in Jo. 6. 53 *ἔνν μὴ φάγητε τὴν σάρκα τοῦ ιεοῦ τοῦ ἀνθ. καὶ πίητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα*, cp. the use of the acc. in 54, 56, 57 with *τρώγειν*, a verb which in the N.T., as in classical Greek, never takes the gen., but which a classical writer would not have used in this connection.

<sup>2</sup> There is a v.l. in APQ al. *γεμίσαι τὴν κοιλαν αὐτοῦ ἀπό*, cp. infra 4.

<sup>3</sup> Οὕτως ὀναίμην τῶν τέκνων Aristoph. Thesm. 469; on the other hand, apart from these combinations with the gen. of the person, the use of *ἀπό* with this verb is found as early as Plato, Charmid. 175 ε ἀπὸ τῆς σωφροσύνης.

<sup>4</sup> The reading of D *λαβόμενος τὴν χείρα τοῦ τ.* is neither in the style of classical (Plato Parmen. ad init. *τῆς χειρός*) nor N.T. Greek (which never has the middle *λαμβάνεσθαι*).

<sup>5</sup> It is only in appearance that *ἐπιλαμβ.* seems to be used with accus. as well: in A. 9. 27 (cp. 16. 19, 18. 17) *ἐπιλαβόμενος αὐτὸν ἥγαγεν*, the *αὐτὸν* is dependent on *ἥγαγεν*, and *αὐτοῦ* must be supplied with *ἐπιλαβ.* (L. 23. 26 *ἐπιλαβόμενοι Σίμωνά τινα* ~~N~~BCDLX must be a wrong reading instead of *Σίμωντος τινος* AP al.).

with the gen.: ἔχεσθαι (met.) H. 6. 9 τὰ κρείσσονα καὶ ἔχόμενα σωτηρίας ('connected with,' 'leading to salvation') and ἀντέχεσθαι (met.) Mt. 6. 24, L. 16. 13 τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνθέξεται 'to attach oneself to,' 'hold to,' Tit. 1. 9 (similar meaning), 1 Th. 5. 14 ἀντέχεσθε τῶν ἀσθενῶν ('to assist'), like ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι (met.) L. 1. 54, A. 20. 35 ('to assist,' as in LXX. and Hellenist. Greek; but in *οἱ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι* 1 Tim. 6. 2 'to attain,' 'to partake of').

3. The gen. with verbs of **attaining** (cp. ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι supra 2 ad fin.) only remains in some isolated instances in the more cultured writers. Τυγχάνειν τινός L. 20. 35 (*τυχεῖν* is absent in Latin MSS.), A. 24. 3, 26. 22, 27. 3, 2 Tim. 2. 10, H. 8. 6, 11. 35, ἐπιτυγχάνειν τινός H. 6. 15, 11. 33, but in R. 11. 7 τούτῳ οὐκ ἐπέτυχεν is read by all the standard MSS. (so οὐδέν Herm. Mand. ix. 5, but *τῆς πρόξεως* x. 2. 4, cp. on the classical use of the neut. pron. or adj. Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 301, note 9). Διαγχάνειν takes the gen. only in appearance in L. 1. 9 (*τοῦ θυμιᾶσαι = θυμ.*, § 71, 3), the acc. in A. 1. 17, 2 P. 1. 1 (which is also more frequent in classical Greek than the gen.); κληρονομεῖν only the acc. Mt. 5. 5 etc. (Hellenistic, Phrynic. p. 129; Attic has the gen.); ἐφικνέσθαι is followed by a preposition 2 C. 10. 13 f.—Verbs of **desiring** and **striving after**: ἐπιθυμεῖν takes the gen. in A. 20. 33, 1 Tim. 3. 1, but the acc. in Mt. 5. 28 in BDE etc.<sup>1</sup> (*αὐτῆς* is hardly attested, *the case is wanting in Ν\** and *some fathers*), elsewhere it takes the inf. or is used absolutely; δρέπεσθαι with gen. 1 Tim. 3. 1, 6. 10, H. 11. 16, as also ὀμέρεσθαι (= *ἱμείρ.*) 1 Th. 2. 8; ἐπιποθεῖν is transitive as in classical Greek, so also contrary to classical usage are πεινᾶν, διψᾶν, § 34, 2.

4. The genitive after 'to be full,' 'to fill' has been better preserved. Πιπτλάναι, ἐμπιπλάναι (the former only in Gospels and Acts, the latter also in R. 15. 24) always take the gen., Mt. 22. 10, L. 1. 53 etc.; πληροῦν takes a gen., L. 2. 40 πληρούμενον σοφίας (-ίᾳ καὶ BL, vide inf.), A. 2. 28 O.T. (with acc. for v.l. as also in the LXX.), 5. 28, 13. 52, R. 15. 13 (BFG πληροφορήσαι ἐν [ἐν om. FG] πάσῃ χαρᾷ, vide inf.), 15. 14, 2 Tim. 1. 4: and also ἐκ (partitive, supra 1) Jo. 12. 3 (B. ἐπλήσθη): the pass. takes the dat. R. 1. 29, 2 C. 7. 4, cp. § 38, 1, or ἐν E. 5. 18, but Col. 2. 10 ἐν αὐτῷ (Χριστῷ) πεπληρωμένου<sup>2</sup> is different: cp. also for the active R. 15. 13 supra: with the acc. (supra § 34, 6) Ph. 1. 11, cp. Col. 1. 9: γέμειν with gen. Mt. 23. 27 and passim, also Ap. 4. 6, 8 etc. (ibid. 17. 3 γέμοντα [γέμον] ὄνόματα βλασφημίας is a solecism); so γεμίζειν Mc. 15. 36 (πλήσας D), Jo. 2. 7, 6. 13 ?,<sup>3</sup> Ap. 15. 8, with ἐκ L. 15. 16 v.l. (ep. supra 1), Ap. 8. 5, cp. πληροῦν supra. Under this head may also be brought βάπτειν τὸ

<sup>1</sup> So frequently in LXX.: Exod. 20. 17 οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα κ.τ.λ., Deut. 5. 21 etc. (Winer), Herm. Vis. i. 1. 4, Sim. ix. 9. 7 (with gen. Sim. ix. 13. 8).

<sup>2</sup> Probably 'fulfilled' = 'perfect,' cp. 4. 12 τέλειοι καὶ πεπληροφορημένοι (DōE al. πεπληρωμένοι) ἐν παντὶ θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>3</sup> Εγέμισαν δώδεκα κοφίνους κλασμάτων ἐκ τῶν πέντε ἀρτων κ.τ.λ.; we might correct κοφ. κλασμάτων as in L. 9. 17, cp. also κόφινον κοπτών L. 13. 8 D.

ἀκρον τοῦ δακτύλου ὕδατος (ὕδατις) L. 16. 24,<sup>1</sup> and perhaps περιστεύειν ἄρτων L. 15. 17 (Lucian, not class.), cp. λείπεσθαι τινος infra 9.

5. Of verbs denoting perception, *αἰσθάνεσθαι* only appears once (L. 9. 45) and there with the acc. of the thing (*αὐτό*, 'to understand' = *συνιέναι*; on the classical use of *αἰσθ. τι* see Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 309); with *πινθάνεσθαι* Mt. 2. 4 [not D], Jo. 4. 52 [not B] the person is expressed by *παρά*, with *συνιέναι* it is nowhere expressed. Thus the only remaining verb which takes the gen. is *ἀκούειν* (*ἐπακούειν* 2 C. 6. 2 O.T. takes the gen.: also *ἐπακροῦσθαι* A. 16. 25; *ὑπακούειν* takes the dative). With this verb the person, whose speech one hears, regularly stands in the gen. (as in classical Greek), while the thing, concerning which one hears tell, stands in the acc. (as does also the person in a similar case, as in E. 4. 21 *ἡκούσατε αὐτόν*). It is not an essential difference that the person may also be introduced by *παρά* Jo. 1. 41 and *passim* (classical), and occasionally by *ἀπό* (unclassical, A. 9. 13, 1 Jo. 1. 5) or, with Hebrew phraseology, *ἀπὸ* (*διά*, *ἐκ*) *τοῦ στόματός τινος* L. 22. 71, A. 1. 4 D, 22. 14. But there remains some common ground for the use of genitive and accusative. 'To hear a sound' in classical Greek is *ἀκούειν φωνῆς*, *βοῆς* etc.; but in the N.T. we have both *ἀκ.* *φωνῆς* and *φωνήν*, the former being used in St. John's Gospel in the sense of 'to obey' (5. 25, 28, 10. 3, 16 etc.), the latter in the sense of mere perception (3. 8, 5. 37), while in the Acts and the Apocalypse both constructions occur indiscriminately with the latter meaning: acc. A. 9. 4, 22. 9, 14, 26. 14 (gen. E), Ap. 1. 10, 4. 1 etc. (also 2 P. 1. 18); gen. A. 9. 7, 11. 7 (acc. D), 22. 7, Ap. 14. 13, 16. 1, 21. 3 (3. 20 'to obey'), as also H. 3. 7, 15 O.T., 12. 19. 'To hear words' admits of both constructions in classical Greek also; the N.T. generally uses the acc., but the gen. in Jo. 7. 40, 12. 47, 19. 13 (with v.l., cp. 8). The following are used correctly, *στεναγμοῦ* A. 7. 34, *συμφωνίας καὶ χορῶν* L. 15. 25; the following are doubtful, *τὴν σοφίαν Σαλομῶνος* Mt. 12. 42, L. 11. 31, *τὴν βλασφημίαν* Mt. 26. 65, *τῆς βλασφημίας* Mc. 14. 64 (acc. ADG), *τὸν ἀσπασμόν* L. 1. 41; *λέγοντα(s)* Ap. 5. 13 is wrong (*λαλοῦντα* A. 2. 6 D).—It is probably only in appearance that the verb takes a double gen. in passages like A. 22. 1 *ἀκούσατέ μου τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπολογίας* (Jo. 12. 47 al.; Herm. Mand. xii. 5, cp. *μου τὰς ἐντολὰς* Sim. ix. 23. 2), since *μου* belongs to *ἀπολογίας*, the pronoun being similarly placed in Jo. 9. 6 *ἐπέχρυσεν αὐτὸν τὸν πηλὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄφθαλμούς*.—*Οσφραίνεσθαι* appears nowhere, and *ὄξειν* is not found with a case that more nearly defines it (the gen. with the latter verb is of course of a different character to the gen. with the former); but on the analogy of *ὄξειν*, *πνεῖν*, *ἐμπνεῖν τινος* 'to smell of something' we have in A. 9. 1 *ἐμπνέων ἀπειλῆς καὶ φόνου* (LXX. Jos. 10. 40 *πᾶν ἐμπνέον ζωῆς*).

6. To remember, to forget. *Μιμησκεσθαι* H. 2. 6 O.T., 13. 3 together with its aorist and perfect always takes the gen. (on

<sup>1</sup> The LXX. uses *ἀπό* Levit. 14. 16 (Buttm. 148); the classical instances of *βάπτεσθαι τινος* (Arat. 650 etc., Buttm. ibid.) are formed on the analogy of *λούεσθαι τινος* in Homer.

1 C. 11. 2 f. see § 34, 3); also *μνημονεύειν* for the most part, but the acc. in Mt. 16. 9 (D is different), Jo. 15. 20 & (*τὸν λόγον*), D (*τὸν λόγον*) instead of *τοῦ λόγου* (gen. in 16. 4 [om. &<sup>a</sup>D], 21), 1 Th. 2. 9, 2 Tim. 2. 8, Ap. 18. 5 (Herm. Vis. i. 3. 3, ii. 1. 3): with *περὶ* ('to make mention') H. 11. 22 (15 gen.): classical usage corresponds to this, both cases being used; *ἀναμνήσκειν* and *-εσθαι* take acc., Mc. 14. 72, 1 C. 4. 17, 2 C. 7. 15, H. 10. 32 (class. acc. and more often gen.); *ὑπομνήσκειν* and *-εσθαι* take acc. in Jo. 14. 26, 3 Jo. 10 (2 Tim. 2. 14 *ταῦτα ὑπομνῆσκε* is different, the acc. being that of the inner object), gen. in L. 22. 61, and *περὶ* 2 P. 1. 12. *'Ἐπλανθάνεσθαι* with gen. only occurs in H. 6. 10, 13. 2 (acc. &<sup>a</sup>\*, 16); similarly *ἐκλανθ.* ibid. 12. 5; *ἐπιλανθ.* takes acc. in Ph. 3. 14 (as occasionally in classical Greek).

7. There are but few remaining instances of the genitive with verbs expressing **emotion**. The cause of the emotion (after *οργίζεσθαι*, *θαυμάζειν*, *ἔλεεῖν* etc.) never stands in the gen.; the Hebraic verb *σπλαγχνίζεσθαι*=*ἔλεεῖν* (from *σπλάγχνα*=*בְּחִזֵּקָה*) probably only appears to be followed by the gen. of the person pitied in Mt. 18. 27<sup>1</sup> (elsewhere it takes *ἐπί τινα* or *ἐπί τινι*, *περί τινος*). *'Ανέχεσθαι* 'to bear with,' however, takes the gen. throughout in the N.T. as elsewhere, *ὑμῶν* Mt. 17. 17 etc. *Μέλει* takes the gen. in 1 C. 9. 9, but DEFG read *περὶ τῶν βοῶν*, which is also the construction in Mt. 22. 16=Mc. 12. 4, Jo. 10. 13, 12. 6, 1 P. 5. 7 (not unclassical); in A. 18. 17 *οὐδὲν τούτων τῷ Γαλλίωνι ἔμελεν* the construction is probably personal as often in classical Greek (*οὐδέν* being nominative and *τούτων* partitive). Still we have *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τίνος* L. 10. 34 f., 1 Tim. 3. 5; *ἀμελεῖν τίνος* 1 Tim. 4. 14, H. 2. 3, 8. 9 O.T.; *προνοεῖσθαι* 1 Tim. 5. 8; *μεριμnān* Mt. 6. 34 with *ἴαντῆς* &B etc., *τὰ ίαντῆς* EK, perhaps *ἴαντῆ* should be read from the Lat. *sibi* (*τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν* Ph. 2. 20, *ὑπέρ τίνος* 1 C. 12. 25).

8. The following verbs of **ruling (excelling)** take the genitive: *ἄρχειν* Mc. 10. 42, R. 15. 12 O.T., *κυριεύειν* L. 22. 25, R. 6. 9 etc., *κατακυριεύειν* Mt. 20. 25, Mc. 10. 42 etc. (for *κατεξουσιάζειν* ibid. vide inf. 10), *αἰθεντεῖν* 1 Tim. 2. 12, *ἡγεμονεύειν*, *τετραρχεῖν*, *ἀνθυπατεύειν* L. 2. 2, 3. 1, A. 18. 12 (v.l.), *καταδυναστεύειν* Ja. 2. 6 &<sup>c</sup>BC al., but *ὑμᾶς* is read by &<sup>a</sup>A like *καταβραβεύειν τινά* etc., § 34, 1; on *κρατεῖν* vide supra 2. But *βασιλεύειν* no longer governs the genitive, except in Mt. 2. 22 *τῆς Ιουδαίας* &B (the rest read *ἐπὶ τῆς Ι.* as often in the LXX.), elsewhere (*ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* Ap. 5. 10='on earth') it takes *ἐπί τινα* L. 1. 33, 19. 14, 27, R. 5. 14, after Hebrew precedent (*לְעַד־כָּלֶב*). On *ἡττᾶσθαι* see § 37, 4. Verbs denoting excellence: *ὑπερβάλλειν τινός* E. 3. 19 (so Plat. Gorg. 475 B, the usual classical construction is the acc. or absolute, as in N.T. 2 C. 3. 10, 9. 19), *ὑπερέχειν τινός* Ph. 2. 3, but *τινά* (also classical) 4. 7. Here also, therefore, we only find remnants of the old usage; especially is this the case with the gen. of the thing after verbs of **accusing** etc., of which the only

<sup>1</sup> Σπλαγχνισθεῖς δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου 'the lord of that slave.'

instance which can be adduced is ἐγκαλεῖσθαι στάσεως A. 19. 40, and this is contrary to Attic usage (ἐγκαλεῖν τινί τι, but τινί τινος in Plutarch Aristid. 10), elsewhere ἔγκ. and κρίνεσθαι (pass.) take περί τινος A. 23. 29, 6 etc. (Attic); for the dat. instead of gen. of the punishment see § 37, 2.—The gen. of **price** is still used with verbs of buying and selling, thus Mt. 10. 29 ἀσταρίου πωλεῖται 26. 9, A. 5. 8 etc.; also συμφωνεῖν (to agree) δημαρίου Mt. 20. 13, but ἐκ δημ. τὴν ἡμέραν ibid. 2,<sup>1</sup> cp. for the same periphrasis for this gen. ἀγοράζειν ἐκ Mt. 27. 7, κτᾶσθαι ἐκ A. 1. 18; see further L. 16. 9 (on the use of ἐν see § 41, 1); a kindred use is ἀξιοῦν (καταξιοῦν) τινος 2 Th. 1. 5, 11, 1 Tim. 5. 17, H. 3. 3, 10. 29; but ‘to exchange for’ is expressed by ἀλλάξαι τι ἐν R. 1. 23 (after the LXX. Ps. 105. 20), cp. 25 μεταλλάσσειν ἐν, 26 μεταλλ. εἰς (unclassical, although the gen. with μετ. is also absent from classical Greek; in Plat. Tim. 19 A μετ. εἰς means ‘to bring over to another place’).

9. Of verbs which contain the idea of **separation**, the following are found with the gen.: ἀπαλλοτριοῦν E. 2. 12, 4. 18, ἀποστερεῖσθαι 1 Tim. 6. 5, with v.l. ἀπεστραμμένων ἀπὸ (D\*), cp. 2 Tim. 4. 4, ἀστοχεῖν 1 Tim. 1. 6 (with περὶ τι 6. 21, 2 Tim. 2. 18), διαφέρειν ‘to differ’ Mt. 6. 26 etc., κωλύειν τινά τινος ‘to hinder from’ (Xenoph. Polyb.) A. 27. 43 (elsewhere κ. τινα, κ. τι, also after Hebrew example κωλύειν τι ἀπό τινος L. 6. 29, ‘to refuse,’ as in LXX. Gen. 23. 6), λείπεσθαι ‘to lack’ Ja. 1. 5, 2. 15 (ἐν μηδενὶ 1. 4 ‘in no respect’), cp. περισσεύειν τινός, supra 4, παίεσθαι 1 P. 4. 1 πέπανται ἀμαρτίας (ibid. 3. 10 O.T. παίειν τινὰ ἀπό; ἀναπαίεσθαι ἐκ as in class. Greek Ap. 14. 13, κατέπαιστεν [intrans.] ἀπὸ H. 4. 4 O.T., 10) ἄρχεσθαι τινος does not occur. ὑστερεῖν ‘to be inferior to’ (cp. ὑστερός) 2 C. 11. 5, 12. 11: ‘to lack’ L. 22. 35: in the same sense ὑστερεῖσθαι R. 3. 23 (with ἐν 1 C. 1. 7, cp. supra λείπεσθαι: ὑστερεῖν ἀπὸ ‘to remain alienated from’ = ‘to lose’ H. 12. 15 [LXX. Eccl. 6. 2], cp. ἀνιστέρητος ἀπὸ Herm. Mand. ix. 4); ἀπέχεσθαι ‘to abstain’ A. 15. 29, 1 Tim. 4. 3, 1 P. 2. 11 (in A. 15. 20 the reading varies between the simple gen. and ἀπό; with ἀπὸ 1 Th. 4. 3, 5. 22): ἀπέχειν ‘to be distant’ L. 7. 6 κ\*D (v.l. with ἀπὸ, as in 24. 13 etc.); χρῆσεν Mt. 6. 32, L. 11. 8 (ὅσων, ὅσον κ\*DE al.), 12. 30, R. 16. 2, 2 C. 3. 1. To these may be added δεῖσθαι τινος ‘to ask’ Mt. 9. 38, Luke passim (for which πρός τινα is used in A. 8. 24, cp. εὐχομαι πρὸς 2 C. 13. 7, λέγω πρὸς), 2 C. 8. 4, G. 4. 12; προσδεῖσθαι ‘to need’ only in A. 17. 25. Quite peculiar is the use of the gen. in οὐ βραδύνει κύριος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας 2 P. 3. 9, ‘hesitates and refrains from accomplishing it.’ But in other cases separation is expressed by ἀπό or ἐξ (classical Greek uses the simple gen. as well): with χωρίζειν, λύειν, λυτροῦν, ἐλευθεροῦν, ῥύεσθαι, σώζειν, καθαρίζειν, λούειν; with μεθιστάναι L. 16. 4 there are

<sup>1</sup> Unless this ἐκ has a distributive meaning, as in Attic inscriptions (Meisterhans' Grammar of Attic Inscriptions, p. 173. 2); κριθῶν ... πραθεῖσῶν ἐκ τριῶν δραχμῶν τὸν μέδιμνον ἔκαστον, where an apparently irregular acc. is added in the same way as in Mt. τὴν ἡμέραν. The same inscr. has elsewhere: πραθέντων ἐξ δραχμῶν τοῦ μεδίμνου ἔκάστον; of course ἐξ ἐξ could not well be said. In another instance: ἐξ ὀκτὼ ὀβολῶν τὸν στατῆρα, the acc. likewise has no governing verb (‘eight oboli being reckoned for each stater’).

variant readings (*ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας* &BD, LX with *ἀπό*, APR al. with the simple gen.).<sup>1</sup>

10. The following **compound verbs** take the gen. on the strength of the preposition : *ἐκπίπτειν* in metaphorical sense (not in the literal) G. 5. 4, 2 P. 3. 17 ; the remaining instances are all compounds of *κατά* (with the meaning ‘against’ or ‘down over’ ; on the other hand, with the meaning ‘down,’ they take the acc., § 34, 1) : *καταγελᾶν* Mt. 9. 24 (D\* *αὐτόν*), Mc. 5. 40, L. 8. 53 ; *καταγινώσκειν* 1 Jo. 3. 20 f. (*καταδικάζειν τινός* is classical, in the N.T. it only takes the acc., Mt. 12. 7, also Ja. 5. 6) ; *κατακαυχᾶσθαι* ‘to boast oneself against’ R. 11. 18, Ja. 2. 13 (*κατακρίνειν* always takes the acc.; in Attic *τινός*) ; *καταλαλέῖν* Ja. 4. 11, 1 P. 2. 12 (Clem. Hom. xvi. 8, xix. 7 also has *καταλέγειν τινός* ‘to revile’); *καταμαρτυρεῖν* Mt. 26. 62 etc.; *καταναρκᾶν*, a Pauline word, ‘to be burdensome to’ 2 C. 11. 8, 12. 13; *καταστρητᾶν* ‘to wax wanton against’ 1 Tim. 5. 11; *καταφρονεῖν* Mt. 6. 24 etc.; *καταχεῖν* ‘to pour over’ takes the gen. in Mc. 14. 3 according to &BC al., other MSS. have *κατά* or *ἐπί* with gen.: in Mt. 26. 7 it takes *ἐπί τινος* or *ἐπί τι*; *κατεξουσιάζειν* (cp. supra 8) Mt. 20. 25 = Mc. 10. 42 ; *κατηγορεῖν* passim.

11. The use of the gen. as the **complement of adjectives and adverbs** is also, as contrasted with classical usage, very limited. The following instances occur: *κοινωνός, συγκοιν. τινός* (gen. of the thing) 2 C. 1. 7, 1 P. 5. 1, R. 11. 17 (also with the gen. of the person, ‘the companion of someone,’ H. 10. 33, also 1 C. 10. 18, 20 ; beside which we have *κοινωνὸν τῷ Σίμωνι* L. 5. 10 [gen. D], cp. § 37, 3 and *κοινωνεῖν*, supra 1); [not *κοινός τινος*, nor *ἴδιος*; Clem. Cor. i. 7. 7 has *ἀλλότριοι τοῦ θεοῦ*]; *μέτοχος* H. 3. 1, 14, 6. 4, 12. 8 (= ‘a companion of someone’ 1. 9 O.T.; cp. E. 5. 7 ?); *σύμμορφος τῆς εἰκόνος* R. 8. 29, i.e. ‘a bearer of the image,’ cp. § 37, 6 for the dat. (in *συνεργός τινος* and similar cases with a personal gen. the adjective has become a substantive, cp. ibid.); *ξένος τινός* ‘estranged from a thing,’ E. 2. 12 (Plat. Apol. 17 D; with dat. Clem. Cor. i. 1. 1); *ἀπέραστος κακῶν* ‘untempted by,’ Ja. 1. 13 (so in classical Greek *ἀπέρατός τινος*, *ἄγεντος κακῶν* etc., Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> p. 344 f.) ; in *ἄνομος θεοῦ* – *ἐννομος Χριστοῦ* 1 C. 9. 21 the gen. is dependent on *νόμος* (a peculiar and bold use, cp. § 28, 6) ; but *ἄσπιλος* is followed by *ἀπό* (ἐκ CP) Ja. 1. 27, as also *ἀθώος* Mt. 27. 24, *καθαρός* A. 20. 26 (Demosth. 59. 78), cp. *καθαρίζειν ἀπό* supra 9 ; *μεστός τινος* Mt. 23. 28 etc., *πλήρης* L. 4. 1 etc. (*κενός* and *ἐνδεής* are never found with gen., κ. ἀπό Herm. Mand. v. 7, xi. 4), cp. ‘to fill’ supra 4 ; *ἄξιος, ἀνάξιος* Mt. 3. 8, 1 C. 6. 2, etc., cp. gen. of price supra 8 ; *ἔνοχος θανάτου* Mt. 26. 66, Mc. 14. 64, *αιώνιον ἀμαρτήματος* (*ἀμαρτίας, κρίσεως*) Mc. 3. 29, etc. (as well as the use with the dat., modelled on *ἐνέχεσθαι τινι*, Mt. 5. 21 f., which is the commoner classical construction ; ibid. 22 we also have *ἔνοχος εἰς τὴν γέενναν*) ; *δημοτος* with gen. only in Jo. 8. 55 &CLX *ὑμῶν*, but *ὑμῖν* is read by ABD etc., cp. 9. 9, 1 Jo. 3. 2 and elsewhere in N.T. (the gen. is also classical but rare); *ἀκόλουθα τούτων* Herm. Mand. viii. 4. 10

<sup>1</sup> The reading in A. 19. 27 *καθαιρεῖσθαι τῆς μεγαλειότητος* (ΝΑΒΕ), instead of *ἡ μεγαλειότης αὐτῆς* or *αὐτῆς ἡ μεγ.*, seems to be impossible.

(classical). Adverbs: ἔγγύς with gen. Jo. 11. 18, R. 10. 8 O.T., H. 6. 8, 8. 13 etc., with dat. (rarely in classical, more often in late Greek) only A. 9. 38 ἔγγὺς οὐσῆς τῆς Λιβδᾶς τῇ Ἰόππῃ (therefore with good reason), 27. 8 (the text of the passage is not quite certain); πλησίον Jo. 4. 5, cp. L. 10. 29, 36 and ὁ πλησίον σου Mt. 5. 43 etc.; ἐντός L. 17. 21,<sup>1</sup> ἐκτός 1 C. 6. 18 etc.; ἔξω Mt. 21. 39 etc. (not ἔσω, ἔσωθεν, since 2 C. 4. 16 ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν sc. ἀνθρωπος should be taken like the preceding ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ᾧ in the sense of 'our' etc.); ἐπάνω Mt. 5. 14 etc., ἵπεράνω E. 4. 10, ἵποκάτω Mc. 6. 11 etc. (not ἄνω, κάτω); ἐμπροσθεν Mt. 5. 16 etc., ὅπισθεν Mt. 15. 23, L. 23. 26, ὅπιστος Mt. 3. 11 etc.; πέραν Mt. 4. 25 etc.; [ἐπέκεινα A. 7. 43 is a wrong reading]; in addition to these χωρὶς μέχρι ἔως etc., see § 40, 6 ff. Prepositions.—The class of adjectives in -ικός, formed from verbs and taking the gen., which is so large in Attic Greek (*παρασκευαστικός τινος* and the like, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup>, p. 315) is entirely absent (*διδακτικός* 1 Tim. 3. 2, 2 Tim. 2. 24, but without case). We occasionally find verbal adjectives in -τός (in the sense of a perf. part. pass.) taking the gen., as also indeed the perf. part. pass. in its ordinary form, still this is due to the participle becoming a sort of substantive. Like ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ (= ὁ ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦς) one may also say ἐκλεκτοὶ θεοῦ R. 8. 33, Mt. 24. 31 etc.; ἀγαπητοὶ θεοῦ R. 1. 7; cp. ὁ ἀγαπητός μου 16. 5 etc., οἱ ἀγαπητοὶ ἡμῶν A. 15. 25 (cp. Attic ὁ ἐρώμενός τινος); διδακτοὶ θεοῦ Jo. 6. 45 O.T., cp. 1 C. 2. 13 οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις, δλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος (classical parallels in Kühner, p. 322, e.g. Soph. El. 343), where, if λόγοις be not spurious, διδακτός has kept its adjectival character; εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρός Mt. 25. 34; γεννητοὶ γυναικῶν Mt. 11. 11, L. 7. 28 (LXX. Job 14. 1); in κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ, however, in R. 1. 6 the gen. is rather a gen. of the possessor, since the Person who gives the call is God rather than Jesus (Winer, § 30, 4).<sup>2</sup> A peculiar use is τὸ εἰθισμένον (D ἔθος) τοῦ νόμου L. 2. 27.

12. The genitive of comparison with the comparative (and with what remains of the superlative, cp. § 11, 3 ff.) is found as in the classical language; and along with it (though this is much the rarer construction of the two, as it is in the earlier language)<sup>3</sup> is used the analytical expression with ὃ, particularly when the gen. could not well be employed or would not be sufficiently explicit (e.g. with an adj., φιλήδονοι μᾶλλον ὃ φιλόθεοι 2 Tim. 3. 4, with a statement of time R. 13. 11, with an infinitive Mt. 19. 24, A. 20. 35 etc., with a gen. ἡμῶν μᾶλλον ὃ τοῦ θεοῦ A. 4. 19, also with a dat. as in Mt. 10. 15,

<sup>1</sup> But in Mt. 23. 25 τὸ ἔσωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου, 26 τὸ ἐντὸς τ. π. — τὸ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ the genitive denotes the whole, as in L. 11. 39.

<sup>2</sup> The gen. in δέσμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ E. 3. 1 (Paul has similar phrases elsewhere) is also equivalent to a gen. with a substantive, see on this phrase Winer § 30, 2, Buttm. p. 147 (E. 4. 1 has ὁ δέσμος ἐν κυρλῷ).

<sup>3</sup> O. Schwab, Hist. Syntax d. Gr. Comparation (Würzburg, 1894), ii. 92, reckons that the use of the gen. or ὃ after the comparative is in poetry in the proportion of 18 : 1, in Attic prose writers in the proportion of 5.5 : 1; in any later period the use of the former construction is more than three times greater than that of the latter.

A. 5. 29); it is seldom found without some such occasion for it (Jo. 3. 19 ἡγάπησαν μᾶλλον τὸ σκότος ἢ τὸ φῶς, 4. 1 πλείους μαθητὰς ποιεῖ ἢ Ἰωάνης 1 Jo. 4. 4, 1 C. 14. 5).<sup>1</sup> In addition to this periphrasis there is the periphrasis by means of a preposition: **παρά τινα** (cp. classical passages like Thuc. i. 23. 3, which however are not entirely similar, so that the prep. could not be replaced by *ἢ*;<sup>2</sup> but in modern Greek **παρά** or **ἀπό** is the regular means of expressing comparison) L. 3. 13 πλέον παρά τὸ διατεταγμένον (18. 14 μᾶλλον **παρ'** ἔκεινον D, without **μ.** & BL, other MSS. have the corrupt reading *ἢ γὰρ ἔκεινος*), Hebr. passim, 1. 4 διαφορώτερον **παρ'** αὐτούς, 3. 3, 9. 23, 11. 4, 12. 24, Herm. Vis. iii. 12. 1, Sim. ix. 18. 2 (=more than, without a comparative, § 43, 4); and **ὑπέρ τινα** (as in the case of **παρά**, classical Greek only shows the beginnings of this use), L. 16. 8 φρονιμώτεροι **ὑπέρ**, Jo. 12. 43 μᾶλλον **ὑπέρ** (*ἴπερ* ABD al. is corrupt) H. 4. 12, A. 20. 35 v.l. (Herm. Mand. v. 6 has **ὑπέρ** with the elative; with comparative in elative sense **ὑπέρ** πᾶσαν ἀμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους Barn. 5. 9; also LXX. e.g. Judges 11. 25, see Winer). The word 'than' is omitted after **πλείων** and **ἐλάσσων** before numerical statements (in Attic **πλείν** ἔξακοσίους Aristoph. Av. 1251; Lobeck Phryn. 410 f.);<sup>3</sup> Lat. *plus quingentos*: A. 4. 22 ἐπῶν πλειόνων τεσσεράκοντα, 23. 13, 21, 24. 11, 25. 6, 1 Tim. 5. 9 χήρα μὴ ἔλαττον ἐπῶν ἔξηκοντα;<sup>4</sup> also L. 9. 13 according to **οὐκ εἰσὶν ἥμιν πλείους** (other readings are **πλείον** *ἢ*, **πλέον** *ἢ*, with stereotyped **πλέον**, cp. Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 847 f.) ἄρτοι **πέντε**, Mt. 26. 53 πλείους (**ἢ** AC al.; **πλείω** **ἢ** BD) δώδεκα (**ἢ** BDL; *ἢ* δ. AC al.) λεγιώνας (**ἢ** BD al.; -ων **ἢ** AC al.) ἀγγέλων; instead of **πλείων** we also have **ἐπάνω** (vulgar) Mc. 14. 5 **πραθῆναι** **ἐπάνω** δηγαρίων τριακοσίων, 1 C. 15. 6 **ἐπάνω** πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς.—Instances of looser employment of the genitive: Mt. 5. 20 ἐὰν μὴ περιστεύῃς *ἢ* δικαιοσύνη ὑμῶν **πλείον** τῶν ... Φαρισαίων (=than that of the Ph., yours is more in comparison with the Ph.); Jo. 5. 36 ἐγὼ ἔχω τὴν μαρτυρίαν μείζω τοῦ Ἰωάνου, where it is ambiguous whether the meaning is 'than John had,' or 'than that given by John': in the latter sense, however, **μείζω** *ἢ* (B al. read **μείζων**) **τοῦ** 'I. would be better. As **περισσός** and **-ότερος** have come to be used for **πλείων** (§ 11, 4), **περισσός** also takes the gen.: Mt. 5. 37 τὸ περισσὸν τούτων, E. 3. 20 **ὑπερεκπερισσὸν** ὅν κ.τ.λ.—A stereotyped use of the neut. **πάντων** to intensify the superlative appears in Mc. 12. 28 **ποίᾳ ἐστὶν** ἐντολὴ πρώτη **πάντων** (**πασῶν** is only read by M\*al., but D it. omit **πάντων**), cp. Thuc. iv. 52. 3, Win. § 27, 6.

**13. Local and temporal genitive.** There are a few remains of a local gen.: L. 5. 19 **ποίας** (sc. ὁδοῦ, 'by which way') **εἰσενέγκωσιν**,

<sup>1</sup> In 1 Tim. 1. 4 ἐκζητήσεις παρέχουσιν μᾶλλον *ἢ* οἰκοδομίαν θεοῦ the gen. would not have been in place, especially as **μᾶλλον** *ἢ* virtually has in this passage the force of a negative.

<sup>2</sup> For precise details on **παρά** see Schwab ii. 108 f., 152 f., on **ὑπέρ** 109 f., on prepositions generally 149 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For details see Schwab 84 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The next word is **γεγονῦا**, which some commentators attach to the following **ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς γυνῆ**; still even if it is connected with the preceding words, the usage remains the same, in spite of the Attic **εἰκοσιν** **ἔτη γεγονώς**, cp. § 34, 8.

19. 4 ἐκείνης (D ἐκείνη) ἥμελλεν διέρχεσθαι, which are incorrect, since the gen. in classical Greek denotes the whole area within which something goes on, just as the corresponding temporal gen. denotes the whole period of time within which something happens.<sup>1</sup> Of this temporal use the N.T. has the following examples: χειμῶνος Mt. 24. 20 = Mc. 13. 18 ‘during the winter’: ἡμέρας Ap. 21. 25 ‘during the day,’ ‘in the day,’ with v.l. ἥμ. καὶ νυκτός, cp. Mc. 5. 5, L. 18. 7, A. 9. 24 etc. ‘in the day as well as by night,’ beside which we have νίκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ‘all day and night long,’ § 34, 8 (but Jo. 11. 9 ἐάν τις περιπατῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ‘by day,’ cp. § 38. 4; διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ‘in the course of this day,’ L. 9. 37 D): νυκτός Mt. 2. 14 etc., τῆς ν. L. 2. 8 (‘in this night’), for which we have διὰ νυκτός A. 5. 19 (v.l. διὰ τ. ν.), 16. 9, 17. 10, 23. 31, like *per noctem*; τεσσεράκοντα ἡμερῶν D\* A. 1. 3 for δὲ ἥμ. τεσσ. of ΚΒ etc. and with equivalent sense (‘during’ i.e. ‘at intervals in that time,’ see § 42, 1); ἡμέρας μέσης A. 26. 13, μέσης νυκτός Mt. 25. 6, μεσονυκτίου, ἀλεκτοροφωνίας Mc. 13. 35 (μεσονύκτιον ΚΒ al, cp. § 34, 8), ὅρθρου βαθέως L. 24. 1 (all these denoting a space of time, ‘the middle part of the day’ etc., not ‘a moment of time’), τοῦ λοιποῦ (sc. χρόνου) G. 6. 17, E. 6. 10 Κ\*ΑΒ ‘henceforth’ (classical; a stereotyped phrase). With an adverb: δὶς τοῦ σαββάτου L. 18. 12 (‘twice in the week’), ἀπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ H. 9. 7, as in classical Greek.

## § 37. DATIVE.

1. In the use of the Greek dative a distinction must be made between the pure dative, which expresses the person more remotely concerned, the instrumental dative (and dative of accompaniment), and, thirdly, the local dative. Still this triple division cannot be applied with absolute clearness and certainty to all the existing usages. The functions of this case were in large measure, more so than those of the accusative and genitive, usurped by different prepositions, particularly *ἐν* and *εἰς*; connected with this and with the disappearance of the use of the dative after prepositions, is the subsequent loss of the dative in modern Greek and the substitution for it of *εἰς* with the accusative. In the N.T., however, the case is still very largely employed.

On the use of the dative as the *necessary* complement of the verb the following points may be noted. **To give, to promise** etc.: there is hardly any tendency to supplant the dat. (δεδομένον ἐν..., § 41, 2; Herm. Vis. i. 4. 8 εἰς τὸ θηρίον ἐμαυτὸν ἔδωκα; iii. 11. 3 παρεδώκατε ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰς ἀκηδίας is different, where *εἰς* expresses the result, as in the N.T., R. I. 24 etc. [although the dat. is found beside *εἰς* in E. 4. 19]; παραδ. *εἰς* συνέδρια Mt. 10. 17 etc. is also justifiable). **To do good** etc., **to be profitable, to injure**: dat. and acc. see § 34, 1 and 4;

<sup>1</sup> In classical Greek these must have been expressed by *πόλις*, *ἐκείνη*, cp. Xenoph. Anab. iii. 4. 37 χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον, ἢ ἔμελλον οἱ Ἑλλῆνες παριέναι (therefore D is right in 19. 4, but in the other passage the whole of the evidence supports the gen.).

*ἐν* is also used in place of the dat., *ibid.* 4 : συμφέρειν always takes the dat., Mt. 5. 29 etc. **To serve** (δουλεύειν λατρεύειν διακονεῖν ὑπηρετεῖν) always takes the dat.; also δουλοῦν ‘to make a servant’ 1 C. 9. 19; on δουλοῦσθαι pass. vide infra 4 ; προσκυνεῖν etc. take dat. and acc. § 34, 1 ; προσκ. ἐνώπιον τίνος L. 4. 7, Ap. 15. 4 is Hebraic, § 40, 7 ; so also ἀρέσκειν (elsewhere with τινί, like ἀρκεῖν and the adjectives ἀρεστός, ἀρκετός, ἵκανός etc.) ἐνώπιον τίνος A. 6. 5, ἀρεστὸς ἐνώπ. τίνος 1 Jo. 3. 22. **To show, to reveal** take dat. always (φαίνειν ‘to give light’ Ap. 21. 23 [with ἐν Η<sup>c</sup>], ἐπιφαίνειν L. 1. 79), as also ‘to seem’ (δοκεῖν, φαίνεσθαι); on φανεροῦν ἐν and the like see § 41, 2. **To say to** is expressed, as in classical Greek, by τινί or πρός τινα ; εἴχεσθαι takes dat. A. 26. 29, and πρός τινα 2 C. 13. 7, προσένχεσθαι dat. only, Mt. 6. 6, 1 C. 11. 13. **To write, to announce** take dat.; more striking and isolated cases of the dat. with verbs of speaking are : ἀπολογεῖσθαι τῷ δῆμῳ A. 19. 33, so 2 C. 12. 19 (Lucian, Plut.) ‘before or in the presence of anyone,’ ἀποτάσσεσθαι ‘to say farewell’ Mc. 6. 46 etc. (Hellenistic, Phryn. Lob. 23 f.); καυχᾶσθαι ‘to boast of before’ 2 C. 7. 14, 9. 2 ; δομολογεῖν τινι H. 13. 15, τῷ ὄνόματι αὐτοῦ ‘to praise,’ like ἔξομολογεῖσθαι, ἀνθομολ., R. 14. 11 O.T., Mt. 11. 25, L. 2. 38, 10. 21 (so also αἰνέετε τῷ θεῷ Ap. 19. 5, like LXX. Jerem. 20. 13 etc., Buttm. 153 note); ‘to confess before anyone,’ ‘to anyone’ A. 24. 14, Mt. 7. 23 (=‘to promise’ A. 7. 17, with v.l. ὥμοσεν and ἐπηγγέλατο D ; Mt. 14. 7; on ὥμολ. ἐν see § 41, 2); ψεύδεσθαι τινι A. 5. 4 (LXX.; *ibid.* 3 τινα ‘to deceive,’ as in classical Greek). **To blame** etc.: ἐπιτιμᾶν, ἐγκαλεῖν take dat. (ἐγκ. κατά τίνος R. 8. 33), καταράσθαι and μέριφεσθαι take the dat. as a doubtful v.l., § 34, 2 ; *ibid.* on παρατινεῖν εὐαγγελίζεσθαι ; ἐπιτάσσειν προστάσσειν διαστέλλεσθαι etc. take dat.; also κελεύειν Ev. Petr. 47. 49, Herm. Sim. viii. 2. 8.—Πείθεσθαι, ὑπακούειν, ἀπιστεῖν, ἀπειθεῖν take the usual dat.; but πεποιθέναι ‘to trust in’ besides the dat. (as in Ph. 1. 14) more often takes ἐν τινι, ἐπί τινι or τινα, εἰς τινα, and so πιστεύειν: with τινι passim, even in the sense ‘to believe in,’ as in A. 5. 14, 18. 8 τῷ κυρίῳ ; with prep. ‘to believe in’: ἐν τινι only in Mc. 1. 15 πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ,<sup>1</sup> ἐπί τινι 1 Tim. 1. 16, L. 24. 25 (*πιστ.* om. D), Mt. 27. 42 EF al. (NBL ἐπ’ αὐτόν, AD αὐτῷ), R. 9. 33 al. O.T., ἐπί τινα A. 9. 42 etc., εἰς τινα, εἰς τὸ ὄνομά τίνος etc., which is the commonest construction. Cp. Buttmann, p. 150 f.<sup>2</sup>—**To be angry** (also ἐμβριμᾶσθαι Mt. 9. 30 etc.; μετριοπαθῶν τινι H. 5. 2 ; on μέμφεσθαι, § 34. 2), **to envy** take the usual dat.; also to **thank, to owe** etc.—The adjectives belonging to these verbs are subjoined: ὠφέλιμος Tit. 3. 8 (σύμφορον or συμφέρον is used substantively with a gen., 1 C. 7. 35, 10. 33; σωτήριος τινι Tit. 2. 11), ἀρεστός ἀρκετός ἵκανός vide supra ; φανερός A. 7. 13, 1 Tim. 4. 15 (v.l. with ἐν), ἐμφανῆς A. 10. 40, R. 10. 20 O.T., ὑπήκοος A. 7. 39, πιστὸς τῷ κυρίῳ A. 16. 15, ep. H. 3. 2

<sup>1</sup> Jo. 3. 15 is different, where if ἐν αὐτῷ (B) is correct it must be taken in connection with ἔχη ἤων.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐλπίζειν τινι ‘to hope in anyone’ (instead of ἐπὶ τινα or τινι or εἰς τινα ; τὴν ἀλπίσας Thuc. 3. 97) occurs only in Mt. 12. 21 in a quotation from Is. 42. 4, where LXX. has ἐπὶ τῷ ; ἐν τῷ is read by D al. ; ep. § 5, 2, note 3.

(1 P. 1. 21 *εἰς θεόν* AB, but **κ** al. read *πιστεύοντας*; generally absolute), ἀπειθήσ A. 26. 19 etc. (*ἀπιστος* absolute), ἐναντίος Mc. 6. 48 etc. (with *πρός τι* A. 26. 9); to these may be added the substantive ὁφειλέτης *εἴμι τινὶ* R. 1. 14, 8. 12 (with gen. 15. 27 etc.).

2. The dative is used in a *looser manner* (as in classical Greek) with various verbs to denote the person whose **interest** is affected (dativus commodi et incommodi). *Μαρτυρεῖν τινὶ* ‘for anyone’ L. 4. 22 etc., also ‘against anyone’ Mt. 23. 31 *μαρτυρεῖτε ἑαυτοῖς*. *Ἀναπληρῶνται αὐτοῖς* (D al. *ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς*) *ἡ προφητεία* L. 18. 31 (D has *περὶ* with gen.). *Ἐκρινά ἔμαυτῷ τοῦτῳ* 2 C. 2. 1 ‘for myself,’ cp. Herm. Mand. xii. 4. 6 *σεαυτῷ κέκρικας τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας φυλαχθῆναι*. Also *μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ἴμων – τῷ σώματι ἴμων* Mt. 6. 25 (L. 12. 22), ‘for the life—for the body’ (other constructions in § 36, 7); and most probably Ap. 8. 4 *ταῖς προσευχαῖς*, cp. 3 (Winer, § 31, 6). The peculiar Pauline employment of the dat. in the following passages is not quite the same as in the last instances: R. 6. 10 ὁ ἀπέθανεν, *τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανεν*, ὁ δὲ *ξῆ, ξῆ τῷ θεῷ*, then in verse 11 *νεκρὸς μὲν τῇ ἀμ., ζῶντας δὲ τῷ θεῷ*, 14. 7 f. *οὐδεὶς ἔαντῷ ξῆ,* καὶ *οὐδεὶς ἔαντῷ ἀποθνήσκει· ἔάν τε γὰρ ξῶμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ ξῶμεν, ἔάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, τῷ κ. ἀποθνήσκομεν*, from which the conclusion is drawn that in every case *τοῦ κυρίου ἐσμέν*; cp. further 6. 2, 7. 4 *ἡθανατώθητε τῷ νόμῳ – εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ἐτέρῳ κ.τ.λ.* — 2 C. 5. 15, G. 2. 19, 1 P. 2. 24; the dative therefore expresses the possessor, cp. the dat. with *γίνεσθαι* infra 3. Further instances: 2 C. 5. 13 *εἴτε γὰρ ἔξεστημεν, θεῷ* (‘it concerns God alone’), *εἴτε σωφρονοῦμεν, ὑμῖν* (‘in your interest’): R. 14. 4 *τῷ ιδίῳ κυρίῳ στήκει ἡ πίπτει*, 6 ὁ φρονῶν *τὴν ἡμέραν κυρίῳ φρονεῖ· καὶ ὁ ἐσθίων κυρίῳ ἐσθίει· εὐχαριστεῖ γὰρ τῷ θεῷ κ.τ.λ.* i.e. eating etc. is a matter in which God is concerned, which takes place for Him (for His honour). Cp. also the O.T. quotation ibid. 11 *ἔμοι κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ*, with which may be connected the use of *προσκυνέιν τινὶ* (§ 34, 1). A peculiar use is that in Mc. 10. 33 *κατακρινούσιν αὐτὸν θανάτῳ* (-*ον* D\*) = Mt. 20. 18 (here read by CD al., *εἰς θάνατον* **κ**, B omits the noun), according to Winer, § 31, 1 = ‘to sentence to death,’ cp. instances from late writers like Diod. Sic. in Lob. Phryn. 475, 2 P. 2. 6 (*σταυρῷ* Clem. Hom. Epit. i. 145); it may be influenced by the analogy of *θανάτῳ ξημιοῦν* and the Latin *capite dammare*.

3. The dat. with *εἶναι, γίνεσθαι* (*ὑπάρχειν* in Acts and 2 P. 1. 8) denotes the possessor, so that it corresponds to ‘to have’ or ‘get’ with an altered construction: *οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τόπος* ‘they had no room’ L. 2. 7, *ἐγίνετο πάσῃ ψυχῇ φόβος* ‘all experienced and continued to feel a fright’ A. 2. 43, a common construction, as also in classical Greek, used where the possessor is previously known and the emphasis is laid not on him but on the thing which falls to his lot (on the other hand with a gen. *αὐτῇ ἡ οἰκία Σωκράτος ἐστίν* ‘the house [which is previously known] belongs to Socrates,’ cp. R. 14. 8 etc.); but we also have R. 7. 3 *ἔὰν γένηται ἀνδρὶ ἐτέρῳ*, 4 *εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ἐτέρῳ* (a Hebraism, modelled on **שׂאַלְתָּהּ**,

LXX. Lev. 22. 12 etc.), A. 2. 39 ὑμῖν ἔστιν ἡ ἐπαγγελία, due no doubt to ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι τινι, L. 12. 10 ἀ ἡτοίμασας, τίνι ἔσται (sc. ἡτοίμασμένα ?, but D has τίνος). Correctly in A. 21. 23 εἰσὶν ὑμῖν δώδεκα ἄνδρες ‘we have here’; Mt. 19. 27 τί ἔσται ὑμῖν. On the model of ἔστιν συνήθεια ὑμῖν Jo. 18. 39 we have also κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός αὐτῷ L. 4. 16 (αὐτῷ om. D), A. 17. 2 (δ Παῦλος D)?<sup>1</sup> Of time: A. 24. 11 οἱ πλείους εἰσὶ μοι ἡμέραι δώδεκα ἀρ' ἥσ. Also with the meaning ‘to happen’ Mt. 16. 22 οὐ μὴ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο, L. 1. 45, cp. the dat. with συμβάνει Mc. 10. 32 etc., and with ellipse of the verb L. 1. 43 πόθεν μοι τοῦτο. The opposite meaning appears in ἐν σοι λείπει L. 18. 22, Tit. 3. 12 (Polyb. 10, 18, 8), cp. the use with ἴστερεῖν, a v.l. in Mc. 10. 21, § 34, 1.—The relation expressed is different, if ἔστι with the dat. only forms a part of the predicate: the idea of possession is then at any rate not in all cases apparent. A. 9. 15 σκεύος ἐκλογῆς ἔστι μοι οὗτος means ‘I have in him’ etc.; but 1 C. 1. 18 ὁ λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρίᾳ ἔστιν = ‘is folly to them,’ ‘passes for folly with them,’ cp. 2. 14 f., Mt. 18. 17; also with the meaning ‘it redounds to his’ etc., 1 C. 11. 14 f. ἀτιμίᾳ αὐτῷ ἔστι (=‘he gets dishonour therefrom’), whereas 14. 22 εἰς σημεῖον εἰσὶν τοῖς κ.τ.λ. means ‘are there for,’ ‘serve for’ (cp. Ja. 5. 3).—With adjectives: καλόν σοι ἔστιν ‘is good for thee’ Mt. 18. 8 etc. (=‘thou derivest profit therefrom’), A. 19. 31 ὅντες αὐτῷ φίλοι ‘who had Paul for a friend’ (φίλος in itself as a substantive regularly takes the gen.: οὐκ εἰ φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος Jo. 19. 12; similarly ἔχθρός), ἥσαν κοινωνοὶ τῷ Σίμωνι L. 5. 10, ‘S. had them for partners’ (D ἥσαν δὲ κ. αὐτοῦ, cp. H. 10. 33). With an adverb: ὅτικα ... ὑμῖν ἐγενήθημεν 1 Th. 2. 10 (§ 76, 1); οὐαί μοι ἔστιν 1. C. 9. 16, elsewhere frequently οὐαί τινι without a verb, Mt. 11. 21 etc.: in the Apocalypse it takes an acc. in 8. 13 κΒ, 12. 12 κACP, cp. Latin *vae me* and *mihi*; Buttm. p. 134.—The following are equivalent to datives with εἶναι: 1 C. 7. 28 θλίψιν τῇ σαρκὶ (‘for the flesh’; with ἐν D\*FG) ἔξονσιν; 2. C. 2. 13 οὐκ ἔσχηκα ἀνεστιν τῷ πνεύματι μον (with ellipse of the verb G. 5. 13); in conjunction with another dat. 2 C. 12. 7 ἐδόθη μοι σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκὶ; further instances occur with εὑρίσκειν, Mt. 11. 29 εὑρίσκετε ἀνάπτανσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν, R. 7. 10, 21, 2 C. 12. 20, Ap. 20. 11; with κινέειν στάσεις A. 24. 5; with ἀγοράζειν ἀγρὸν εἰς ταφήν Mt. 27. 7 (as one might say ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα ταφῇ τοῖς ξένοις); with an adjective, μονογενῆς τῇ μητρὶ L. 7. 12 (cp. LXX. Win. § 31, 3).

4. Not far removed from the use of the dat. with εἶναι is its use with the perfect **passive** = ὑπό with a gen.: πέπρακτά μοι τοῦτο ‘I have done this’; so in N.T. L. 23. 15.<sup>2</sup> The other N.T. instances, however, of the dat. with passive verbs are connected with the particular sense in which the verb is used. In classical Greek we have φαίνεσθαι τινι ‘to appear’ corresponding to φαίνειν τινί ‘to shine,’ ‘give light’ (supra 1), and so in the N.T. in addition to

<sup>1</sup> Has this strange usage of Luke arisen from Plat. Rep. ii. 359 ε συλλόγου γενομένου τοῖς ποιμέσιν (with γενομ.) εἰωθότος? Cp. § 2, 4.

<sup>2</sup> D has οὐδὲν δξιον θανάτον πεπραγμένον ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ, c invenimus in illo. Perhaps the right reading is ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ without πεπρ., cp. A. 25. 5.

φαίνεσθαι, φανεροῦσθαι we have also ὁπτάνεσθαι τινι (aor. ὁφθῆναι) 'to appear' with the same construction (ὅφθητι μοι is found already in Eurip. Bacch. 914; Hebr. תְּאַרֵּן with נָא or נָא, Syr. נִתְּהַנָּה with נָא), A. 1. 3 and *passim*, not to be explained as equivalent to ὁφθῆναι ἵπο τινος (in A. 7. 26 ὥφθη αὐτοῖς is rather *supervenit* than *apparuit*). Cp. § 54, 4. So too θεαθῆναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις Mt. 6. 1, 23. 5, and more frequently γνωσθῆναι 'to become known,' A. 9. 24 etc., § 54, 4<sup>1</sup> (but ἔγνωσται ἵπ' αὐτοῦ 1 C. 8. 3, 'has been recognised by God,' cp. G. 4. 9), εὑρεθῆναι only in R. 10. 20 O.T. (there is a v.l. with ἐν, but the Hebrew in Isaiah 65. 1 has נָא).<sup>2</sup> We have further γαμεῖσθαι τινι of the woman (as in Att.) 1 C. 7. 39 (but cp. § 24 γαμεῖν), μηνστεύεσθαι τινι Mt. 1. 18, and πείθεσθαι as in Attic; Ja. 3. 7 δαμάζεται καὶ δεδάμασται τῇ φύσει τῇ ἀνθρωπίῃ is ambiguous (δαμῆναι τινι is Homeric, but here the dat. is rather instrumental), in 2 P. 2. 19 ὃ τις ἤττηται, τοίτῳ καὶ δεδούλωται (δουλοῦν τινι) the relative most probably means 'whereby,' since ἤτταν in Hellenistic Greek is an active verb and may form an ordinary passive.<sup>3</sup> On συνεφωνήθη A. 5. 9 vide infra 6, page 114, note 1.

5. To the dative expressing the weakest connection, the so-called *ethic* dative, may be referred Ap. 2. 5 (cp. 16) ἔρχομαι σοι, unless rather the dative, as in Mt. 21. 5 O.T. ἔρχεται σοι, is an incorrect rendering of the Hebrew נָא. Cp. Buttm. 155 f. Another Hebraism is ἀστέιος τῷ θεῷ A. 7. 20, like LXX. Jonah 3. 3 πόλις μεγάλη τῷ θεῷ (כְּלֹבֶן), i.e. 'very great,' whereas 2 P. 3. 14 ἀσπιλοι καὶ ἀμώμητοι αὐτῷ (God) εὑρεθῆναι probably rather contains the dat. denoting possession, cp. supra 3;<sup>4</sup> Barn. 8. 4 μεγάλοι τῷ θεῷ 'for God,' 'in God's sight.' Another case of assimilation to Hebrew is seen in the fact that the classical use of dat. *μοι* in addresses (ὦ τέκνον μοι, ὦ Πρώταρχέ μοι) has disappeared and its place been taken by the gen.: τέκνον μον 2 Tim. 2. 1, τέκνα μον G. 4. 19, τεκνία μον 1 Jo. 2. 1 (in 3. 18 as a v.l., κΑΒ al. read without μον, which is the ordinary usage; with παιδία the pronoun never occurs), πάτερ ἡμῶν Mt. 6. 9 (elsewhere πάτερ without pron., as the LXX. also translates the Hebr. בָּבָן, Gen. 22. 7 etc.).

6. **Dative of community.**—This dative, which is related to the instrumental dat. (=dat. of accompaniment or association), is

<sup>1</sup> With A. 7. 13 ἀνεγνωρίσθη Ἰωσὴφ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ, cp. γνωρίζειν τι τινι 2. 28.

<sup>2</sup> The dat. with εὐρίσκεσθαι in R. 7. 10 etc. is of another character, cp. supra 3 ad fin.; on 2 P. 3. 14 vide infra 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ja. 3. 18 καρπὸς ... σπείρεται τοῖς ποιῶσιν εἰρήνην is an instance of dat. com-modi; cp. 1 P. 5. 9, L. 18. 31 (supra 2).—There are clear instances of the dat. governed by the passive as such in the Clementine Homilies, e.g. iii. 68 θεῷ ἐστύγηται, ix. 21 δαίμονι ἀδύοται, xix. 23 ἡτύχηται τοῖς ταπεινοῖς.

<sup>4</sup> A comparison, however, of E. 1. 4 εἶναι ἡμᾶς ... ἀμώμους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ, Col. 1. 22 παραστῆσαι ὑμᾶς ... ἀμώμους καὶ ἀνεγκλήτους κατ. αὐτ., makes it possible to interpret the dat. as equivalent to this periphrasis, which frequently takes the place of the correct dative, 1 Jo. 3. 22 τὰ ἀρεστὰ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ.

frequently found with ἀκολουθεῖν (*συνακ.*; with *συνέπεσθαι* only in A. 20. 4, with ἔπεσθαι nowhere), beside the Hebraic ἀκ. ὅπιστω τινός Mt. 10. 38, Mc. 8. 34 v.l. (μετά τινος, also classical, occurs in Ap. 6. 8, 14. 13; but in L. 9. 49 μεθ' ἡμῶν is not 'us' but 'with us'); with διαλέγεσθαι (also πρός τινα as in class. Greek); διμιλεῖν A. 24. 26 'to converse' (πρός τινα L. 24. 14); κρίνεσθαι 'to dispute' Mt. 5. 40 (μετά τινος 1 C. 6. 6, cp. 7, like πολεμεῖν, πόλεμον ποιεῖν μετά τινος Ap. 11. 7, 12. 7 al., Hebr. ΜΨ, cp. § 42, 3; φίλοι μετ' ἀλλήλων L. 23. 12); διακρίνεσθαι (same meaning) Jd. 9 (πρὸς τινα A. 11. 2, classical; cp. μάχεσθαι πρὸς Jo. 6. 52); διακατέλεγχεσθαι A. 18. 28; διαλλάγεσθαι Mt. 5. 24, and more frequently καταλλάσσειν τινά τινι and καταλλάσσεσθαι τινι; διαβάλλεσθαι (pass.) τινι 'to be calumniated to someone' L. 16. 1, μεγνύναι Ap. 15. 2 (with ἐν 8. 7, with μετά Mt. 27. 34, L. 13. 1); κολλᾶσθαι (*προσκολλ.*) τινι L. 15. 15 etc.; χρῆσθαι A. 27. 3, 17, 1 C. (a v.l. in 7. 31, see § 34, 2), 9. 12, 15, 2 C. 1. 17, 3. 12, 1 Tim. 1. 8, 5. 23, καταχρῆσθαι 1 C. 9. 18 (*συγχρ.* Jo. 4. 9 in an interpolated clause); κοινωνεῖν R. 12. 13 al.; ἑτεροῦγεν ἀπίστοις (from ἑτερόγενος Levit. 19. 19, used of beasts of different kinds in a team) 2 C. 6. 14 'to be in unequal fellowship' (like συζυγ. τινί, Win. § 31, 10 Rem. 4); δόμοιον δόμοιοσθαι Mt. 6. 8 etc.; δόμοιάειν 23. 27 (intrans., v.l. παρομ.), like δόμοιος vide infra; ἔγγίζειν L. 7. 12 etc. (also with εἰς 18. 35 [*τῇ Ιερ.* some cursives and Epiphanius], on account of the indeclinable Ιεριχώ? as in 19. 29, Mt. 21. 1, Mc. 11. 1, though we also have εἰς τὴν κώμην L. 24, 28; with ἐπὶ 10. 9). The verbs compounded with σύν which govern a dative are very numerous, such as συγκαθῆσθαι A. 26. 30 (with μετὰ in Mc. 14. 54, but D has καθήμενος), συγκακοπαθεῖν 2 Tim. 1. 8, συγκακούχεῖσθαι H. 11. 25, συγκατατίθεσθαι L. 23. 51, ὁ λόγος οὐκ ὠφέλησεν ἔκεινος μὴ συγκεκερασμένος (-ous is a wrong reading)\* *τῇ πίστει* (instrum.) τοῖς ἀκούσασιν H. 4. 2, etc. (some few also take μετά as συλλαλεῖν in Mt. 17. 3, A. 25. 12, but dat. in Mc. 9. 4 etc., πρὸς ἀλλήλους L. 4. 36; συμφωνεῖν μετά Mt. 20. 2, but dat. in 13 and elsewhere);<sup>1</sup> a peculiar and unclassical instance is συνέρχεσθαι τινι A. 1. 21 etc., 'to go with someone.'—Of adjectives the following deserve special mention: δρούος (with gen.? § 36, 11),<sup>2</sup> ὁ αὐτός (ἐν καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ) only in 1 C. 11. 5; ἵτος Mt. 20. 12 etc. (for *whiēt* we have a periphrasis with ὡς καὶ in A. 11. 17; ὁ αὐτός with καθὼς καὶ 1 Th. 2. 14, or with οὗτος Ph. 1. 30);<sup>3</sup> of compounds with σύν we have σύμμορφός τινι Ph. 3. 21 (gen. of the thing possessed in R. 8. 29 τῆς εἰκόνος, see § 36, 11; for classical parallels Matthiae Gr. 864), σύμφυτος τῷ δόμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ R. 6. 5; but the remaining compounds of σύν are made into substantives (like φίλος etc.) and take a gen.,

<sup>1</sup> There is a peculiar use in A. 5. 9 συνεφωνήθη ὑμῖν convenit inter vos; cp. a late author quoted by Stobaeus, Flor. 39, 32 συνεφώνησε τοῖς δήμοις, 'the communities agreed.'

<sup>2</sup> Besides expressing the similar person or thing, the dat. may also express the possessor of the similar thing (Homer κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν δόμοιαι): Ap. 9. 10 ἔχοντιν οὐρᾶς δόμοις σκορπίους, 13. 11; similarly τοῖς ισότιμον ἡμῖν πίστιν λαχοῦσιν 2 P. 1. 1, Buttm. p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> In a quotation in R. 9. 29 we have ὡς Γέμορρα ἀν ώμοιώθημεν.

συγγενής συγκληρονόμος σύμβοντος συμμέτοχος (E. 5. 7) συναιχμάλωτος συνεργός σύντροφος. Substantives take no share in these constructions with the dat. (as they occasionally do in classical Greek, Kühner Gr. II.<sup>2</sup> 372 f.), e.g. R. 15. 26 κοινωνίαν ποιήσασθαι εἰς τοὺς πτωχούς, 2 C. 9. 13, τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ (has the light; φωτὸς D\*) πρὸς σκότος 2 C. 6. 14, κοινωνίαν ἔχητε μεθ' ὑμῶν 1 Jo. 1. 3, 6, 7. The adverb ἀμά takes the dat. only in Mt. 13. 29 ἀμά αὐτοῖς τὸν σῖτον (but D ἀμά καὶ τ. σ. σὺν αὐτοῖς, cp. ἀμά σὺν 1 Th. 4. 17, 5. 10); on ἐγγύς see § 36, 11.

7. A great number of verbs (and adjectives) compounded with other **prepositions** besides *σὺν* govern the dative, while the sentence may also be completed by the use of a preposition; in general there is this distinction made (as occasionally in classical Greek and in Latin), that the preposition is used where the verb has its literal meaning, and the dative where it has a figurative sense. Thus the following compounds of *ἐν* regularly take a preposition: ἐμβαίνειν, ἐμβιβάζειν, ἐμβάλλειν, ἐμβάπτειν, ἐμπίπτειν; the following regularly take the dative: ἐγκαλεῖν (supra 1), ἐμμαίνεσθαι (A. 26. 11), ἐμπαίξειν, ἐντυγχάνειν ('to entreat'; with *πρὸς* in Herm. Sim. ii. 8), but we also have ἐμβλέπειν τινί (person)=βλ. εἰς τινα; the following take sometimes the dat., sometimes a preposition: ἐγκεντρίζειν R. 11. 24 εἰς καλλιέλαιον, τῇ ἴδιᾳ ἐλαίᾳ, ἐμρένειν with dat. in A. 14. 22, G. 3. 10 O.T. η\*Β (with ἐν al. and LXX.), with ἐν H. 8. 9 O.T., ἐμπτύειν. Compounds of *εἰς* take a preposition only (*εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς* etc.); with *ἐπὶ* cp. the following exx.: ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ ἵματιῳ (-ιον) Mt. 9. 16, L. 5. 36; similarly ἐπιβάλλειν τὰς χεῖρας takes ἐπί, except in A. 4. 3 where it has the dat. (D is different); ἐπιτιθέναι τὴν χεῖρα τινὶ and ἐπί τινα occur: elsewhere the prep. preponderates where this verb is used in the literal sense, as in ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄμοις Mt. 23. 4 (Jo. 19. 2 τῷ κεφαλῇ, but A has ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλήν; L. 23. 26 αὐτῷ τὸν σταυρόν), and the dat. with the figurative sense, ὄνομα Mc. 3. 16 f., cp. ἐπικαλεῖν τινὶ ὄνομα (the classical ἐπονομάζειν is similarly used) Mt. 10. 25 B\* and Buttm. p. 132, βάρος A. 15. 28, πλῆγας 16. 23; ἐπιτίθεσθαι 'to lay hands on' 18. 10, with the idea of presenting 28. 10<sup>1</sup> (the prep. only occurs in Ap. 22. 18 ἐάν τις ἐπιθῇ ἐπ' αὐτά ['adds to'], ἐπιθήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς πλῆγας); ἐφίστασθαι takes dat. and ἐπί, etc. Compounds of *παρά*: παρατιθέναι τινί is used (not so much 'beside anyone' as 'for anyone'), and παρατίθεσθαι 'to commend' takes the same construction; παρεδρένειν (v.l. προσ.) τῷ θισιαστηρίῳ (fig.) 1 C. 9. 13, and from this is derived the use with the adj. τὸ εὐπάρεδρον (v.l. εὐπρόσ.) τῷ κυρίῳ 7. 35, which is more striking because this adj. takes the place of a substantive (Kühner II.<sup>2</sup> 372 f.); also with dat. παρέχειν, παριστάναι, παρίστασθαι (even in the literal sense e.g. A. 1. 10, 9. 39); παρεῖναι usually takes a prep. (πρὸς ὑμᾶς 2 C. 11. 8), but the dat. where the verb is used metaphorically 2 P. 1. 9 (and 8 according to A); παραμένειν τινὶ (D<sup>al.</sup> συμπ.) Ph. 1. 25 (also the adj. παράμονός τινὶ [dat. of thing] Herm. Sim. ix. 23. 3). With περὶ we have: περιτιθέναι with dat., περιβάλλειν L. 19. 43 (on περιβ. τινά τι

<sup>1</sup> The Syriac inserts *in navi* (apparently an addition of the β text).

see § 34, 4), *περικείμενον* ἡμῖν νέφος μαρτύρων H. 12. 1, but with the literal sense of the verb *περὶ τὸν τράχηλον* Mc. 9. 42, L. 17. 2, *περιπίπτειν εἰς τόπον* A. 27. 41, but *λησταῖς, πειρασμοῖς* L. 10. 30, Ja. 1. 2, *περιπέρειν ἔαντὸν ὁδόνταις* 1 Tim. 6. 10. With *πρός*: *προστιθέναι ἐπὶ τῷ τινι* to add to something L. 3. 20,<sup>1</sup> but the person for whom the addition is made stands in the dat. Mt. 6. 33 etc., H. 12. 19; *προσέρχεσθαι* regularly takes the dat. of the person, also *θρόνῳ, ὅρῃ* H. 4. 16, 12. 18, 22; the following also take the dat. *προσέχειν* (e.g. *ἔαντῷ*), *προσκαρτερεῖν, προσκλίνεσθαι* (fig.); and with the literal sense *προσπίπτειν* (Mt. 7. 25 etc.; only in Mc. 7. 25 *πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ*), *προσφέρειν* (*πρὸς τὸν*—H. 5. 7, here plainly in figurative sense); *προσκυλίειν λίθον τῇ θύρᾳ* Mt. 27. 60 (A has *ἐπὶ*, so *ἐπὶ τὴν θ.* Mc. 15. 46); *προσφωνεῖν τινι* Mt. 11. 16, A. 22. 2 (D omits *αὐτοῖς*) etc., or transitively with *τινά* ‘to summon’ L. 6. 13 (D *ἐφώνησεν*), A. 11. 2 D (L. 23. 20 D *αὐτούς*, κB *αὐτοῖς*, absolute verb A al.).—With compounds of *ἀντί* the dat. is the prevailing construction (*ἀντίστασθαι, ἀντιλέγειν, ἀντικείσθαι, ἀντιπίπτειν* etc.; rarely *πρὸς τινα*, as *ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς* H. 12. 4), and the same holds good of compounds of *ὑπό*, with which prep. as with *ἀντί* the literal meaning becomes obliterated (*ὑποτάσσειν τινί*, only in quotations do we have *ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας* or *ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν* 1 C. 15. 27, H. 2. 8; *ὑποτίθεσθαι* 1 Tim. 4. 6 ‘to advise’; *ὑπάρχειν, ὑπακούειν*); with *ἄνα* we have *ἄνατιθεσθαι* (*προσανατ.*) *τινί* ‘to lay a case before someone’ A. 25. 14 etc.—A substantive is also found with a dat. (cp. supra 6) in 2 C. 11. 28 *ἡ ἐπίστασίς μοι ἡ καθ' ἡμέραν κ\*ΒFG*, but the text can hardly be correct (κD al. *μου*, Latt. *in me*).

### § 38. CONTINUATION: INSTRUMENTAL AND TEMPORAL DATIVE.

1. The dative as the **instrumental** case is found in the N.T. as in classical Greek, but this use is considerably limited by the employment of the periphrasis with *ἐν*. The latter usage is by no means foreign to the Greek language (Kühner Gr. ii.<sup>2</sup>, 403 f.); for the N.T. writers, however, it is the Hebrew *בְּ* which has set the example of this construction,<sup>2</sup> and for this reason the frequency with which it occurs differs with the individual writers: in the second half of the Acts (13-28) the usage is rare and never a prominent feature,<sup>3</sup> while

<sup>1</sup> ‘To add to the community’ is expressed in A. 2. 47 by *τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ* EP (D *ἐν τῇ ἐν*), the other MSS. make the verb absolute as it is in 41 and in 5. 14; with the same meaning in 11. 24 we have *τῷ κυρίῳ*, which however B\*, no doubt rightly, omits; ‘to be gathered to his fathers’ is expressed by *πρὸς* in 13. 36.

<sup>2</sup> In modern Greek, in which the dative is wanting, the instrumental case is expressed by *μετά* (*με*), this use of *ἐν* having disappeared.

<sup>3</sup> A. 13. 29 *δικαιοῦσθαι ἐν*, for which see below in the text; 26. 29 *καὶ ἐν δλίγῳ καὶ ἐν μεγάλῳ*, which in the mouth of Paul (the *ἐν δλίγῳ* of Agrippa in 28 is different) apparently should be taken to mean ‘by little, by much,’ i.e. ‘easily, with difficulty.’ Moreover the instances in the first half of the Acts are not numerous.

the reverse is the case in the Apocalypse.—Examples: with the sword, by the sword (to strike, to perish etc.) ἐν μαχαίρῃ or ῥομφαλῇ Mt. 26. 52, L. 22. 49, Ap. 2. 16, 6. 8, 13. 10, 19. 21, ἐν φόνῳ μαχαίρῃς H. 11. 37, μαχαίρῃ without ἐν A. 12. 2, στόματι μαχαίρῃς L. 21. 24. To season with salt: ἀλατὶ Col. 4. 6, ἀλίξειν πυρί (ἀλὶ) Mc. 9. 50 modelled on O.T., but ἐν τίνι ἀλισθήσεται τὸ ἄλας Mt. 5. 13, Mc. 9. 50, L. 14. 34. To consume with fire etc. is ἐν πυρὶ<sup>1</sup> in Ap. 14. 10, 16. 8, 17. 16 (without ἐν ΚΒΠ), 18. 8 (for merely ‘to burn with fire’ even the Apocalypse uses πυρὶ καίεσθαι, 8. 8, 21. 8), πυρὶ in Mt. 3. 12, L. 3. 17. ‘To baptize with’ is usually expressed by ἐν ὑδατὶ or ἐν πνεύματι; Luke however has ὑδατὶ in 3. 16 (with ἐν in D, in the same passage all MSS. have ἐν πνεύματι in the opposing clause), A. 1. 5 (but ἐν πνεύματι ibid.), 11. 16 (with ἐν πν.; but χρίειν πνεύματι 10. 38). With δικαιοῦν δικαιοῦσθαι the dat. is found as in R. 3. 28 πίστει, but also ἐν, ἐν νόμῳ G. 5. 4, A. 13. 39, ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ χρ. R. 5. 9 (ἐκ πίστεως 5. 1 etc.). On the use of ἐν to denote the personal agent, which cannot be expressed by the dat., see § 41, 1; on the Hebraic periphrases for the person with χείρ and στόμα § 40, 9. Μετρεῖν ἐν τίνι and τίνι are used for ‘to measure by’ Mt. 7. 2, Mc. 4. 24, 2 C. 10. 12<sup>2</sup> (ἐν), L. 6. 38 (dat.); also ‘to measure with,’ Ap. 11. 1, 21. 16 (ἐν) καλάμῳ. The N.T. also has μεθύσκεσθαι οἴνῳ (E. 5. 18, like LXX. Prov. 4. 17), not οἴνον the Attic construction;<sup>3</sup> similarly πληροῦν τίνι or ἐν τίνι, with anything (the dat. is occasionally used in classical Greek, in Eurip. Bacch. 18 with πλήρης, in Herc. Fur. 372 and Aesch. Sept. 464 with πληροῦν), besides the gen. for which see § 36, 4; cp. also ὑπερπερισσεύομαι τῷ χαρᾶ (ἐν τ. χ. B) 2 C. 7. 4.

2. The instrumental dative is moreover used to denote the cause or occasion: R. 11. 20 τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ ἐξεκλάσθησαν, ‘on account of their unbelief,’ 30 ἡλεγήθητε τῇ τούτων ἀπειθείᾳ, 31 ἡπειθῆσαν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἐλέει, ‘because God wished to have mercy on you,’<sup>4</sup> 4. 20 οὐ διεκρίθη τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ, ἀλλὰ ἐνεδυναμώθη τῇ πίστει, 1 C. 8. 7 etc.; see also A. 15. 1 περιτέμνεσθαι τῷ ἔθει τῷ Μωϋσέως, ‘after,’ ‘in accordance with’ (the β text has a different and more ordinary expression); it also denotes the part, attribute etc., in respect of which anything takes place, 1 C. 14. 20 μὴ παιδία γίνεσθε ταῖς φρεσίν, ἀλλὰ τῇ κακίᾳ νηπιάζετε, ταῖς δὲ φρεσὶν τέλειοι γίνεσθε, Ph. 2. 7 σχήματι εἰρεθεὶς ὡς ἀνθρωπός, 3. 5 περιτομῇ ὀκταήμερος, ‘eight days old at circumcision,’ ‘circumcised on the eighth day’, so φύσει ‘by nature,’ G. 2. 15 etc., τῷ γένει ‘by extraction,’ A. 4. 36 etc.; ἀπερίτμητοι τῷ καρδίᾳ A. 7. 51, ἀδύνατος τοῖς ποσίν 14. 8, ἐστερεοῦντο τῷ πίστει καὶ ἐπερίσσειν τῷ ἀριθμῷ 16. 5,

<sup>1</sup> An accidental coincidence with the Homeric ἐν πυρὶ καλεῖν Il. xxiv. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Here the phrase is ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ‘by themselves,’ where it is true that in classical Greek the dative could not stand: still no more could ἐν, the phrase would be πρὸς ἑαυτούς.

<sup>3</sup> Yet even classical Greek has μεθύειν ἔρωτι; and Lucian de dea Syr. 22 μεθύσασα ἑαυτὴν οἴνῳ. The Apocalypse has ἐκ: 17. 2, 6.

<sup>4</sup> [The words τῷ ὑμ. ἐλ. may also be taken with the following clause; see Sanday-Headlam and Gifford ad loc. Tr.]

ονόματι ‘by name’ (§ 33, 2), τῷ μήκει ποδῶν ἑκατόν Herm. Vis. iv. 1. 6,<sup>1</sup> etc. etc. The usage of the N.T. language in this respect may be said to be constant, since the alternative use of the accusative which in the classical language is widely prevalent<sup>2</sup> is almost entirely unrepresented (cp. § 34, 7). The cause may, of course, be also expressed by means of a preposition (*e.g.* by ἐν in ἐν τούτῳ A. 24. 16, Jo. 16. 30 ‘on this account,’ § 41, 1); this is especially the case with verbs expressing emotion (classical Greek uses the simple dat. and acc. as well): χαίρειν ἐπὶ τινὶ Mt. 18. 3 etc., ἐν τούτῳ L. 10. 20 (R. 12. 12 τῇ ἐλπίδι is different, not ‘rejoicing over the hope,’ but ‘in virtue of hope,’ ‘in hope,’) and so ἀγαλλᾶσθαι, εὐφραίνεσθαι are used with ἐν or ἐπὶ; εὐδοκεῖν ἐν (εἰς 2 P. 1. 17, Mt. 12. 18 O.T. [ἐν D; acc. η\*Β], cp. H. 10. 6, 8 O.T., § 34, 1), which in cultured style is expressed by εὐαρεστεῖται τοιάνται θυσίαις H. 13. 16 (Diodor. 3, 55. 9 etc.); θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τινὶ L. 4. 22 etc., περὶ τίνος 2. 18<sup>3</sup> (on θ. τινά, τι see § 34, 1), so ἐκπλήσσεσθαι ἐπὶ τινὶ, but 1 P. 4. 12 μὴ ἔνείξεσθε τῇ κ.τ.λ. (*ibid.* 4 with ἐν), καυχᾶσθαι ἐν or ἐπὶ (for the acc. § 34, 1), συλλυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ Mc. 3. 5 (but after ὄργίξεσθαι Ap. 12. 17, μακροθυμεῖν Mt. 28. 26 etc., ἐπὶ [εἰς, πρός] is used with the person with whom one is angry or long-suffering).

3. This dative further expresses the accompanying circumstances, the manner and style of an action: 1 C. 10. 30 χάριτι μετέχω, ‘with thanks,’ 11. 5 προσευχομένη ἀκατακαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ (Herm. Sim. ix. 20. 3 γυμνοῖς ποστίν, Vis. v. 1 εἰσῆλθεν ἀνήρ ... σχήματι ποιμενικῷ), H. 6. 17 ἐμεστίνευεν ὄρκῳ. An alternative for the dat. is μετὰ τίνος: Mt. 26. 72 ἥρνήσατο μεθ' ὄρκου (Xenoph. Cyr. ii. 3. 12 σὺν θεῶν ὄρκῳ λέγω), cp. H. 7. 20 f. οὐ χωρὶς ὄρκωμοσίας – μεθ' ὄρκ.; μετὰ βίας A. 5. 26, 24. 7 (class. βίᾳ, πρὸς βίᾳν), μετὰ φωνῆς μεγάλης L. 17. 15 (μετὰ σπονδῆς καὶ κραυγῆς πολλῆς Aeschin. 2. 10), etc. In Mc. 14. 65 ῥαπίσμασιν αὐτὸν ἔλαβον is quite a vulgarism, which at present can only be paralleled from a papyrus of the first century A.D. (an argument to Demosth. Midias), where we find (αὐτὸν) κονδύλους ἔλαβεν.<sup>4</sup> Accompanying (military) forces in classical Greek are expressed by the dat., in the N.T. by ἐν, ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν ἀπαντάν L. 14. 31, cp. Jd. 14, A. 7. 14 (also (εἰσ)έρχεσθαι ἐν αἴματι ‘with’ H. 9. 25, 1 Jo. 5. 6; ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω 1 C. 4. 21, 2 C. 10. 14 etc.); ἐν also denotes manner in ἐν τάχει, ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ etc., see § 41, 1. We have παντὶ τρόπῳ, εἴτε προφάσει εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ Ph. 1. 18 (ποίοις τρόποις Herm. Mand. xii. 3. 1), but elsewhere ὁν τρόπον etc., § 34, 7 (ἐν παντὶ τρ.,

<sup>1</sup> 2 C. 7. 11 συνεστήσατε ἑαυτοῖς ἀγροῦς εἶναι (ἐν add. D<sup>b</sup>EKLP, cp. ἀγ. ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ Clem. Cor. i. 38, 2) τῷ πράγματι is very harsh; perhaps εἶναι is a corruption of ἐν, cp. § 34, 5.

<sup>2</sup> The dative is employed in classical Greek if a contrast is made or is present to the mind of the writer, φόσει – νόμῳ, λόγῳ – ἔργῳ; Xen. Mem. ii. 1. 31 τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδύνατοι – ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνέητοι; on the other hand in Anab. i. 4. 11 for πόλις Θάφακος ὄνδματι, δύομα is correctly restored from the mss. (cp. §§ 33, 2; 34, 7).

<sup>3</sup> Ap. 13. 3 ἔθαύμασεν ὅπισω τοῦ θηρίου is very strange, a pregnant construction for ἐθ. ἐπὶ τῷ θ. καὶ ἐπορεύθη ὅπ. αὐτοῦ, see W.-Gr.

<sup>4</sup> See Fleckeis. Jahrb. f. class. Philol. 1892, p. 29, 33.

with a v.l. [male] τόπῳ 2 Th. 3. 16). A usage almost peculiar to the N.T. (and the LXX.) is the dat. ὁδῷ etc. with πορεύεσθαι, περιπατεῖν, στοιχεῖν, in the N.T. always in metaphorical sense (L. 10. 31 κατέβαινεν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἔκεινη, B without ἐν), in the LXX. also in the literal, cp. Ja. 2. 25 (class. ἄδικον ὁδὸν ιόντων Thuc. iii. 64. 4; but Hebr. בְּדַרְכֵי קָדְשָׁךְ Gen. 19. 2, and so Thuc. ii. 96. 1 ἐπορεύετο τῇ ὁδῷ ἦν αὐτὸς ἐποιήσατο 'by means of the way'; literal sense): A. 14. 16 πορεύεσθαι τοῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν, Jd. 11, R. 4. 12 στοιχεῖν τοῖς ἵχνεσιν (Clem. Hom. x. 15 τῷ ὑμῶν στοιχεῖτε παραδείγματι); further developments are τοῖς ἔθεσιν περιπατεῖν A. 21. 21, κώμοις καὶ μέθαις R. 13. 13, πνεύματι G. 5. 16, πορεύεσθαι τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ κυρίου A. 9. 31 (the acc. is found with the literal sense of the word in τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ A. 8. 39; with the metaphorical sense we have πορ. ἐν 1 P. 4. 3, περιπατεῖν ἐν 2 C. 4. 2 etc., κατὰ σάρκα R. 8. 4), Buttm. p. 160. Further (ibid. 159 f.) verbal substantives used with their cognate verbs or with verbs of similar meaning stand in the dative—the usage is an imitation of the Hebrew infinitive absolute like בִּזְמִיתָה and is consequently found already in the LXX.—whereas the analogous classical phrases such as γάμῳ γαμεῖν ('in true wedlock'), φυγῇ φεύγειν ('to flee with all speed') are only accidentally similar to these. The N.T. instances are: (ἀκογ ἀκούειν Mt. 13. 14 etc. O.T.), ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα L. 22. 15, χαρᾷ χαίρει Jo. 3. 29,<sup>1</sup> ἐνπνίοις ἐνπνιάζεσθαι A. 2. 17 O.T., ἀπειλῇ (om. ΚΑΒΔ al.) ἀπειλησθεῖα 4. 17, παραγγελιᾳ παρηγγειλαμεν 5. 28, ἀναθέματι ἀνεθεματίσαμεν 23. 12, προσευχῇ προσηγέσατο Ja. 5. 17; with which belong ὅρκῳ ὅμοσεν A. 2. 30, θανάτῳ τελευτάτῳ Mc. 7. 10 O.T., cp. Herm. Sim. viii. 7. 3 (ἀποκτείναι ἐν θανάτῳ Ap. 2. 23; 6. 8 is a different use). Cp. on the similar constructions with the acc. § 34, 3; this dative of manner intensifies the verb in so far as it indicates that the action is to be understood as taking place in the fullest sense.

4. While there is no trace of a local dative in the N.T.<sup>2</sup> (as is also the case on the whole in Attic prose), the analogous temporal dative, answering the question When?, is still fairly frequent: it may of course be further elucidated by the insertion, common also in Attic, of the preposition ἐν. Since the dat. denotes the point of time, not the period of time, while ἐν can have both these meanings, it is quite possible to express 'in the day,' 'in the night' by ἐν (τῇ) ἡμέρᾳ, νυκτί, Jo. 11. 9, A. 18. 9, 1 Th. 5. 2, but the genitive must be used instead of the simple dat., § 36, 13 (τῷ θέρει in Herm. Sim. iv. 3 for 'in summer' is incorrect, ibid. 5 we have ἐν τ. θ. ἔκεινῳ); on the other

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand we have Mt. 2. 10 ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην σφέδρα, with a closer defining of the noun, which also may be said to be the *raison d'être* of the added verbal substantive; such closer definition is, speaking generally, never found with the dat. in the N.T., though Hermas has Sim. ix. 18. 3 πονηρούμένους ποικίλας πονηρίας, 1. 2 ἶσχυρας τῇ ισχύν σου. With Jo. 18. 32 σημαίνων ποιγί θανάτῳ ἡμέλλεν ἀποθηῆσκεν should be compared 21. 19 σημαίνων ποιῷ θανάτῳ δοξάσει τὸν θεόν: it is evident that in the first passage the cognate verb is by no means obligatory, but might be replaced by another verb.

<sup>2</sup> But in Herm. Vis. iv. 3. 7 we have ποιῶ τέπω ἀπῆλθεν, probably through the dat. and εἰς having become interchangeable, § 37, 1 and 2.

hand in a statement about a definite day or a definite night, the simple dative is no less correct than the dat. with *ἐν*. In the N.T. we always have *τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ* Mt. 16. 21 (D reads otherwise), 17. 23 (ditto), L. 9. 22 (ditto), 24. 7, 46; *τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμ.* *τῶν ἀξύμων* Mc. 14. 12, *τῇ ἡμ.* *τῇ ὁγδόῃ* A. 7. 8 (with *ἐν* L. 1. 59, but DL omit *ἐν*), *τακτῇ ἡμ.* 12. 21, *ποίᾳ ἡμ.* (v.l. *ῷρᾳ*) Mt. 24. 42, *ῃ ἡμ.* L. 17. 29 f. (30 D is different), *τῇ ἡμ.* *τῶν σαββάτων* L. 13. 14, 16, A. 13. 14, 16. 13, cp. inf. *τοῖς σαββασιν*, but with *ἐν* L. 4. 13, the readings vary in 14. 5; *τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμ.* Jo. 12. 48, with *ἐν* 7. 37, 11. 24, with var. lect. 6. 39 f., 44, 54; so *τῇ μιᾷ σαββάτων* (cp. for this Mc. 16. 2<sup>1</sup>, 9, Jo. 20. 1; with *ἐν* A. 20. 7); with *ἐκείνῃ* and *ταύτῃ* *ἐν* is usually inserted, but Jo. 20. 19 has *τῇ ἡμ. ἐκ.*; and the pronouns are used with *νυκτὶ* without *ἐν* in L. 12. 20, 17. 34, A. 12. 6, 27. 23; always *τῇ ἐπιούσῃ* or *ἐχομένῃ ἡμ.* (*νυκτὶ*), but confined to Acts, e.g. 7. 26, 21. 26; also *τῇ ἔξῆς* 21. 1 etc. (but with *ἐν* L. 7. 11, where D omits *ἐν* and there is a strongly supported reading *ἐν τῷ ἔξης*; the readings vary in 9. 37), *τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ κ.τ.λ.* Mt. 28. 1 (*ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ* ‘every day’ 2 C. 4. 16 after the Hebrew *מִיּוֹן מִיּוֹן*, = *καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμ.* H. 3. 13). Further instances are: *τετάρτῃ φυλακῇ τῆς νυκτός* Mt. 14. 25, *τῇ ἑσπερινῇ φ. τ. ν.* D in L. 12. 38, elsewhere in the same verse this word takes *ἐν* even in D; *ποίᾳ φ.* Mt. 24. 43; *ῃ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὥρᾳ* 44, *ποίᾳ ὥρᾳ* L. 12. 39, *τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ θυμάτων* 1. 10, *τῇ ἐνάτῃ ᾧ* Mc. 15. 34, *αὐτῇ τῇ ᾧ* L. 2. 38 etc. (*αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτὶ* Herm. Vis. iii. 1. 2, 10. 7), as well as *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ᾧ* L. 12. 12 etc. (*ἐν* also occurs with *ἐκείνῃ* Mt. 26. 55 etc., and as a v.l. in Jo. 4. 53); *μιᾷ ᾧ* Ap. 8. 10, 16, 19, cp. on the alternative use of the acc. § 34, 8. The simple dat. is not used in the case of *ἔτος*, but *ἐν* (L. 3. 1); *ἔτεσιν τεσσαράκοντα – ώκοδομήθη* Jo. 2. 20 is a different use of the dative, for which we have also *ἐν* (om. *τῷ*) *τρισὶν ἡμέραις* in the same verse and in 19 (*ἐν* om. B), answering the question In how long a time?, where in classical Greek *ἐν* is the ordinary construction.<sup>2</sup> With names of feasts we have Mc. 6. 21 *τοῖς γενεσίοις αὐτῶν*, Mt. 14. 6<sup>3</sup>; frequently *τοῖς σαββασιν*, ‘on the Sabbath,’ Mt. 12. 1 etc., as well as *ἐν τοῖς σ.* L. 4. 31 al., also *τῷ σαββάτῳ* L. 6. 9, *σαββάτῳ* Mt. 24. 20 (*ἐν σ.* EF al., D *σαββάτου* § 36, 13), Jo. 5. 16 D, 7. 22 B (al. *ἐν σ.*, as all MSS. read in 23 bis), *τῷ ἔχομένῳ σ.* A. 13. 44 (*ἐν σ. δευτεροπρώτῳ* L. 6. 1, *ἐν ἕτερῳ σ. 6. 6*); *κατὰ πᾶν σαββατὸν* A. 13. 27 and elsewhere. *Τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ πάσχα* L. 2. 41 (with *ἐν* D); elsewhere *ἐν τῇ ἑ.* (*κατὰ ἑορτήν* ‘every feast’ Mt. 27. 15 etc.). *Ἐτέραις γενεαῖς* E. 3. 5, *ἰδίᾳ γενεᾷ* A. 13. 36; with *ἐν* 14. 16. *Καιροῖς ἰδίοις* 1 Tim. 6. 15. *Τῇ θλιψὶ οὐ πομένοντες* R. 12. 12, ‘in tribulation,’ is probably only due to assimilation with the neighbouring datives in the same passage.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἄλλων πρωὶ τῇ μιᾷ τ. σ.*, but ACE al. read *τῆς μιᾶς* and D *μιᾶς*, which could be explained as partitive.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἐν τρισὶν ἡμ.* occurs also in Mt. 27. 40, *διὰ τριῶν ἡμ.* in 26. 61, Mc. 14. 58.

<sup>3</sup> In Mt. the MSS. are divided between *γενεσίοις δὲ γενομένοις* BDL al., and *γενεσίων δὲ γενομένων* CK (cp. Mc. 6. 2) or *ἀγομένων* EG al.; the dative would represent an unusual combination of the absolute use of the participle and the temporal dative, and is best attributed to scribes who interpolated it from Mc.

5. An unclassical use is that of the dative to denote **duration of time**, instead of the accusative. But this use is only guaranteed for transitive verbs, and, in a few instances, for passives: whereas, in the case of intransitive verbs (also with a passive in Ap. 20. 3; and a transitive verb in Mc. 2. 19 ὅστον χρόνον, L. 13. 8 τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος, A. 13. 18 ὡς τεσσερακονταετὴ χρόνον, ibid. 21), the accusative still remains: A. 8. 11 ἵκανῷ χρόνῳ ἐξεστακέναι αὐτοῖς ‘a long time,’ L. 8. 29 πολλοῖς χρόνοις συνηρπάκει αὐτόν, R. 16. 25 χρ. αἰώνιοις στειγημένοι (but ἀπεδήμησεν χρόνους ἵκανούς L. 20. 9, and corresponding phrases occur elsewhere with intrans. verbs); in L. 8. 27 the readings are divided between χρόνῳ ἵκ. and ἐκ (ἀπὸ) χρόνων ἵκ. (οὐκ ἐνεδίστατο ἴματιον), in Jo. 14. 9 between τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ (μεθ' ἴμῶν εἴμι) ΚDLQ and τοσούτον χρ. AB al., as in A. 28. 12 between ἡμέραις τρισὶν and ἡμέρας τρεῖς (ἐπεμείναμεν). A further instance is ὡς ἔτεσιν τετρακοσίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔδωκεν κριτάς A. 13. 20,<sup>1</sup> ‘throughout 450 years’ (ibid. 18, 21 the accusative, vide supra). The reason for the employment of the dative appears to be that the accusative was regarded as the direct object, and therefore the writer did not like to place another object beside it.<sup>2</sup>

### § 39. THE CASES WITH PREPOSITIONS. PREPOSITIONS WITH THE ACCUSATIVE.

1. The remaining ideas which complete the meaning of verbs and nouns are expressed not by a case alone, but with the help of a preposition: a practice which in the course of the history of the language became more and more adopted in opposition to the employment of the simple case. The N.T. still preserves the whole collection of the old prepositions proper of the Greek language, with the exception of ἀμφί, but along with these the employment of prepositions not strictly so called was further developed. **Prepositions proper** may be divided into: I. Those that take **one** case: 1. with acc. ἀνά, εἰς: 2. with gen. ἀντί, ἀπό, ἐξ ἐκ, πρό: 3. with dat. ἐν, σύν. II. With **two** cases, i.e. with acc. and gen.: διά, κατά, μετά, περί, ὑπέρ, ὑπό. III. With **three** cases: ἐπί, παρά, πρός. A simplification is seen in the fact that μετά, περί, ὑπό are relegated from Class III. to Class II., while ἀνά (as already happens in classical prose) is relegated from II. (dat. and accus.) to I. (the loss being on the side of the dative); moreover πρός is now not far from being confined to the construction of I. 1. **Quasi-Prepositions** all take the genitive, and are strictly adverbs or cases of a noun which received the character of prepositions only at a later period, but in N.T. times resemble the regular prepositions in that they

<sup>1</sup> The passage is seriously corrupted in most of the mss., as the statement of time has become attached to the preceding clause (19), where also there is a transitive verb.

<sup>2</sup> In Josephus, however, there is no perceptible difference between the dative and accusative denoting duration of time, W. Schmidt de Jos. elocut. 382 f. (except that διατρίβειν and μένειν always take the accusative).

never or hardly ever stand without their case: ἐνεκεν, χάριν ‘on account of,’ χωρίς, ἄνευ, ἀτερ, πλήν ‘except,’ μέχρι, ἄχρι, ἕως ‘unto’ (these last are also conjunctions), ἔμπροσθεν, ἐνώπιον, ἐναντίον etc. ‘before,’ ὅπίσω ‘behind,’ ἐπάνω, ‘upon,’ ὑποκάτω ‘beneath,’ μεταξύ ‘between.’ Naturally no hard and fast line can be drawn between preposition and adverb in these cases.

2. Of prepositions with the accusative, ἀνά, which has already become rare in Attic prose, has well-nigh disappeared in the N.T. Ἀνὰ μέσον (with gen.) ‘between’ Mt. 13. 25 etc. (Polyb. etc., LXX.: modern Gr. ἀνάμεσα) = ἐν μέσῳ (L. 8. 7 al.), cp. § 40, 8; ἀνὰ μέρος ‘in turn’ 1 C. 14. 27 (Polyb.); elsewhere it is distributive ‘apiece,’ ἔλαβον ἀνὰ δημάριον Mt. 20. 9 etc., ἀνὰ πτέρυγας ἐξ Ap. 4. 8, or ‘at the rate of,’ Mc. 6. 40 κλισίαι ἀνὰ ἑκατόν A al. (as in L. 9. 14), but with κατὰ ΙBD (κατὰ being an equivalent for ἀνὰ in all the above-mentioned uses); stereotyped as an adverb (like κατά, § 51, 5) Ap. 21. 21 ἀνὰ εἰς ἔκαστος τῶν πυλώνων = καθ' εἰς (Herm. Sim. ix. 2. 3, see § 45, 3).

3. Εἰς not only maintained its own place in the language, but also absorbed the kindred preposition ἐν; many instances of this absorption appear already in the N.T., although, if we take the practice of the N.T. as a whole, ἐν is considerably more than a match for εἰς. The classical position, namely that ἐν with the dative answers the question ‘where ?’, εἰς with accusative the question ‘whither ?’, had from early times been simplified in some dialects by ἐν taking to itself (like the Latin *in*) both cases and both functions; but the popular Hellenistic language went in the other direction and reduced everything to εἰς with accusative, representing ‘where ?’ and ‘whither ?’. From this intermixture, which meets us also in the LXX. and in Egyptian private records,<sup>1</sup> no writer of narrative in the N.T. is free, with the exception of Matthew: not even Luke in the Acts, where on the contrary most of the examples are found; John has less of it than the others. Passages: Mc. 1. 9 ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην (ἐν 1. 5, Mt. 3. 6), 1. 39 κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγάς (ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς EF al.), 2. 1 εἰς οὐκόν ἐστιν AC al. (ἐν οὐκῳ ΙBDL), 10. 10 (ἐν AC al. εἰσελθόντος εἰς Syr. Sin.), 13. 3 καθημένου εἰς τὸ ὄπος (καθίζειν εἰς 2 Th. 2. 4 is correct classical Greek), 13. 9, 16 ὁ εἰς τὸν ἄγρον (ἐν Mt. 24. 18), L. 4. 23 γενόμενα (‘done’) εἰς τὴν (ΙBD, εἰς DL, ἐν τῇ al.) Καφαρναούμ (1. 44 is also unclassical, ἐγένετο ἡ φωνὴ εἰς τὰ ὅτα μοι, cp. γενέσθαι εἰς Ιερ. A. 20. 16, 21. 17, 25. 15; correctly ἐν 13. 5), 9. 61, 11. 7 εἰς τὴν κοίτην εἰσύν (ἐν D), 21. 37 (?), A. 2. 5 εἰς Ιερ. κατοικοῦντες (ἐν ΙBDCE; correctly H. 11. 9 παρώκησεν εἰς γῆν, Mt. 2. 23, 4. 13, cp. Thuc. ii. 102. 6 κατοικισθεὶς εἰς τόπους). 2. 17 O.T. cp. 31 ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μοι εἰς ἄδην, 39 τοῖς εἰς μακράν (class. τοῖς μακρὰν [sc. ὅδον] ἀποκοῦσιν), 7. 4. 12, 8. 20, 23 (v.l.), 40 εὑρέθη εἰς Ἀξωτον, 9. 21 (ἐν all MSS. except ΙΑ), 11. 25 D, 14. 25 (ἐν BCD), 17. 13 D, 18. 21 D, 19. 22 (ἐν D), 21. 13,

<sup>1</sup> So in the Egyptian records of the Berlin Museum, vol. ii. 385 εἰς Ἀλεξανδρειάν ἐστι, 423 κυνουνέσαντος εἰς θάλασσαν; Kaibel Epigr. 134 (written at Athens in imperial times) εἰς τύνθον κεῖμαι.

23. 11 bis, 25. 4, 26. 20, Jo. 1. 18 ὁ ὥν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρός, 17. 23 ἵνα δῶσιν τετελειωμένοι εἰς (τὸ) ἐν, cp. 1 Jo. 5. 8 οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἐν εἰσιν. But ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον Jo. 20. 19, 26 is classical (Xenophon Cyr. iv. 1. 1), cp. 21. 4 (v.l. ἐπὶ).<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the Epistles and—what is still more striking—the Apocalypse—show at least in the local signification a correct discrimination between εἰς and ἐν, except in (1 Jo. 5. 8, see above, and) 1 P. 5. 12 (a postscript to the letter written in the apostle's own hand) τὴν χάριν—εἰς ἦν στῆτε (ἔστικατε KLP), which certainly cannot mean 'put yourself into it,' but 'stand fast therein.'<sup>2</sup> Εἰς for ἐν is frequent in Hermas, Vis. i. 2. 2 ἔχοντα βιβλίον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, ii. 4. 3, Sim. i. 2 etc.; see also Clem. Cor. ii. 8. 2 (19. 4?), Clem. Hom. xii. 10. It thus appears that at that time this use of εἰς was still a provincialism, although even so the fact that several authors do not share in it is remarkable. On the reverse interchange, ἐν for εἰς, see § 41, 1.

4. Under the head of **intermixture of εἰς and ἐν** may be also reckoned L. 1. 20 πληρωθήσονται εἰς τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῶν (correctly with ἐν Mt. 21. 41, 2 Th. 2. 6), whereas L. 13. 9 καν ποιήσῃ καρπὸν εἰς τὸ μέλλον has classical parallels (so ἐς ὑστερὸν Hdt. 5. 74); correct are also A. 13. 42 εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον, 2 C. 13. 2 εἰς τὸ πάλιν (cp. classical εἰσανθῆσθαι); the remaining temporal uses of εἰς are still more completely in agreement with classical Greek.—A. 7. 53 ἐλάβετε τὸν νόμον εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων=ἐν διαταγαῖς (cp. Mt. 9. 34 and other passages).—After the Hebrew בְּלֹא כָּל, Mc. 5. 34 and Lc. 7. 50, 8. 48 say ὑπαγε εἰς εἰρήνην (so also LXX. 1 Sam. 1. 17 etc.); but the sense seems to be better given by Ja. 2. 16 ὑπάγετε ἐν εἰρήνῃ (so D in both passages of Luke). In other instances the caprice of the writer in his choice of εἰς or ἐν is not surprising, since Hebrew had only the one preposition בְּ, and classical Greek had in most of these cases none at all. Thus πιστεύειν εἰς alternates with πιστ. ἐν (Mc. 1. 15) and πιστ. ἐπὶ, in addition to which the correct classical π. τινί appears, § 37, 1; there is a corresponding interchange of prepositions with the subst. πιστίς (ἥ ἐν Χρ.,ἥ εἰς Χρ., beside the objective genitive), and with πεποιθέναι,<sup>3</sup> which also has the simple dative: see for this verb and for ἐλπίζειν § 37, 2; further, with ὅμνύναι (which in classical Greek takes accus., § 34, 1) in Mt. 5. 35, ἐν and εἰς are found side by side; with εὐδοκεῖν 'to have pleasure,' ἐν is frequent, εἰς occurs in Mt. 12. 18 O.T. (ὸν simply ή\*B, ἐν ή D) and 2 P. 1. 17. The rendering of the Hebrew בְּלֹא is especially variable: τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι (instrumental dative)<sup>4</sup> Mt. 7. 22, εἰς ὄνομα

<sup>1</sup> Τπαγε νίψαι εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν 9. 7 is supported by parallels from profane writers; νίψαι however appears not to be genuine (Lachm.; om. A al., cp. 11).

<sup>2</sup> 1 P. 3. 20 εἰς ἦν (κιβωτὸν) ὀλίγοι διεσώθησαν is 'into which few escaped,' cp. 2 Tim. 4. 18 (LXX. Gen. 19. 19).

<sup>3</sup> Similarly θαρρῶ ἐν 'confide in' 2 C. 7. 16: but εἰς 10. 1 = θρασύς εἰμι 'toward you.'

<sup>4</sup> The simple dative is further found in (Mt. 12. 21, see § 37, 1, note 2), Mc. 9. 38 AX al. (rell. ἐν), Ja. 5. 10 AKL (rell. ἐν).

προφίγτου 10. 41, εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα 18. 20 (28. 19), ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου 18. 5, ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου 21. 9. Again ‘to do to anyone’ is ποιέν (εργάζεσθαι) τι ἐν τινι, εἰς τινα, τινί (Att. τινά), see § 34, 4 (beside ποιέν ἐλεημοσύνας εἰς A. 24. 17 there is an alternative ποιέν ἐλεος μετά [Hebr. בְּ] τινος L. 10. 37). With the verb ‘to announce,’ if the communication is made to several persons, either εἰς or ἐν is admissible in Attic Greek (εἰπέν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ); so also in N.T. κηρύσσειν εἰς Mc. 13. 10 (ἐν D), 14. 9,<sup>1</sup> L. 24. 47, 1 Th. 2. 9 (ὑμῖν η\*), ἐν 2 C. 1. 19, G. 2. 2, εὐαγγελίζεσθαι εἰς 1 P. 1. 25, ἐν G. 1. 16.

5. In place of a nominative (or accusative in the respective passages) εἰς is found with the accusative, after a Hebrew pattern, with εἶναι, γίνεσθαι, λογίζεσθαι, § 33, 3: for the sense ‘to represent as,’ ‘reckon as’ see § 34, 5. But in G. 3. 14 ὥντα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γένεται the simple case would be the dative, cp. § 37, 3, or in classical Greek the genitive; cp. ἐγγίζειν εἰς for τινί, § 37, 6 (in modern Greek εἰς is the usual circumlocution for the lost dative, cp. ibid. 1).—Εἰς for ἐπὶ or πρός: Jo. 4. 5 ἔρχεται εἰς πόλιν κ.τ.λ. ‘comes to’ not ‘into,’ 11. 31, 38 ὑπάγει (ἔρχεται) εἰς (D 11. 38 ἐπὶ) τὸ μνημεῖον, 20. 3 (in 8 εἰς is correct); in accordance with which some would support the reading of DHP in Mc. 3. 7 ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς (instead of πρός) τὴν θάλασσαν (similarly in 2. 13 Tisch. reads ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὴν θάλ. with η\*, for παρά, and in 7. 31 with ηBD al.).<sup>2</sup> Even Matthew in 12. 41 μετενόησαν εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰωνᾶ has an instance of εἰς for πρός, cp. Hdt. 3. 52 πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα οὕτις οἱ διαλέγεσθαι ηθελε (‘in consequence of’).

#### § 40. PREPOSITIONS WITH THE GENITIVE.

1. Ἀντὶ is one of the prepositions that are dying out, being represented by some twenty instances in the whole N.T. Ἀνθ' ἀν ‘for the reason that’ = ‘because’ L. 1. 20, 19. 44, A. 12. 23, 2 Th. 2. 10, classical, also in LXX. 2 Kings 22. 17 = רֹשֶׁת תִּפְאֵר; ‘for this’ = ‘therefore’ L. 12. 3, ἀντὶ τούτου E. 5. 31 O.T. (ἐνεκεν τούτου LXX. and Mt. 19. 6, Mc. 10. 7, נְשָׁלֵע).—Equivalent to a genitive of price (similarly classical Greek) H. 12. 16 ἀντὶ βρώσεως μιᾶς ἀπέδοτο τὰ πρωτόκοια.—In a peculiar sense, Jo. 1. 16, χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος ἐλάθομεν, cp. class. γῆν πρὸς γῆς ἐλαύνεσθαι ‘from one land to another,’ and frequently ἐλπίσιν ἐξ ἐλπίδων and the like.

2. Ἀπό has still maintained its place in modern Greek, while it has taken over the uses of ἐξ, which disappears; in the N.T. this mixture has already begun, although (with regard to the frequency with which either is employed) ἐξ still holds its own fairly easily

<sup>1</sup> This passage might indeed be a case of εἰς for ἐν: ὅπου ἐὰν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, λαληθήσεται κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> Another incorrect use is δότε δακτύλιον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα L. 15. 22, class. περί, see Plato Rep. ii. 359 E; also in the same passage ἵποδήματα εἰς τοὺς πόδας (class. dat., Odyss. 15. 368).

against ἀπό (as ἐν does against εἰς, § 39, 3). Instances of mixture : ἀπελθεῖν (ἐξ- EHLP) ἀπὸ (om. HLP) τῆς πόλεως A. 16. 39, which means not ‘to depart from the neighbourhood of the city’ (where ἀπό is right), but ‘to go out of the city,’ 13. 50, ‘Mc.’ 16. 9 ἀφ’ (παρ’ C\*DL) ἡς ἔξεβεβλήκει ἐπτὰ δαιμόνια, H. 11. 15 ἀφ’ ἡς (πατρίδος) ἔξεβησαν. However in most cases in a connection of this kind ἐξ and ἀπό are still correctly distinguished.—Also the **partitive** ἐξ, which itself is scarcely classical (§ 35, 4), is occasionally represented by the still more unclassical ἀπό, Mt. 27. 21 τίνα ἀπὸ τῶν δύο (= class. πότερον τούτου), and both are used promiscuously in place of the classical genitive in phrases like ‘to eat of,’ ‘to take of,’ etc., § 36, 1. Contrary to Attic usage is τινὰς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας A. 12. 1 ‘those belonging to the community’ (not those who came from the community), cp. 6. 9, 15. 5, whereas in A. 10. 45, 11. 2, Tit. 1. 10 we have οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς correctly (οἱ ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς ταύτης Aeschin. 1. 54); still Hellenistic writers like Plutarch have similar phrases.<sup>1</sup> Again, ἐξ would be the correct preposition to express **extraction** from a place; but N.T. has ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἀπὸ Βηθσαϊδά, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀνδρέου Jo. 1. 44, cp. 45,<sup>2</sup> Mt. 21. 11, A. 10. 38, and so always, unless as in L. 2. 4 (ἐκ πόλεως Ναζ.), πόλις is added as well; ἀπό is also regularly used of a person’s country except in John, A. 6. 9, 21. 27, 23. 34, 24. 18 (but in classical Greek, Isocr. 4. 82 etc. τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας).<sup>3</sup> See also Acts 2. 5. **Material**: ἔνδυμα ἀπὸ τριχῶν Mt. 3. 4. ‘After,’ ‘out of’: ἔδυναμώθησαν ἀπὸ ἀσθενείας H. 11. 34 (classical Greek has λευκὸν ἥμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χείματος).

3. **Από** has supplanted ὑπό in the sense of ‘on account of,’ ‘for’ (of things which occasion or hinder some result by their magnitude): ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης κοιμωμένους L. 22. 45, Mt. 13. 44, 14. 26, A. 20. 9, 12. 14 ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς οὐκ ἤνοιξεν, 22. 11, L. 19. 3, (24. 41), Jo. 21. 6, Herm. Vis. iii. 11. 2; cp. ἐξ infra 4. Also ὑπό with a **passive** verb or a verb of **passive** meaning is often replaced by ἀπό, although in this instance the MSS. commonly exhibit much diversity in their readings. A. 2. 22 ἀποδειγμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, 4. 36 ἐπικληθεὶς Βαρναβᾶς ἀπὸ (D ὑπὸ) τῶν ἀποστόλων, Mt. 16. 21 πολλὰ παθεῖν ἀπὸ (D ὑπὸ) τῶν κ.τ.λ. (in the parallel passage Mc. 8. 31 ἀπὸ is only read by AX al., the rest have ὑπὸ : in L. 17. 25 ἀπὸ is read by all).—‘Από further encroaches upon the province of **παρά** with the genitive: ἀκούειν ἀπό A. 9. 13, 1 Jo. 1. 5; μανθάνειν ἀπό G. 3. 2, Col. 1. 7; παραλαμβάνειν ἀπό 1 C. 11. 23 (παρὰ DE, ἀπολαμβ. ἀπό followed by the same verb with παρά Herm. Vis. v. 7) etc.; also in the phrase ‘to come from a person’: ἀπὸ Ιακώβου G. 2. 12, ἀπὸ θεοῦ Jo. 13. 3, 16. 30 (ἐκ 8. 42, παρά 16. 27, cp. § 43, 5).—The use of the old **genitive of separation** (§ 36, 9) is far more restricted in the N.T. than in

<sup>1</sup> So Plut. Caes. 35 οἱ ἀπὸ βουλῆς, members of the senate.

<sup>2</sup> But in 1. 47 ἐκ Ναζ. δύναται τι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι; cp. 4. 22 ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ιονδαίων ἔστιν.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Από is found already in Homer and poetry: ἀπὸ Σπάρτης Hdt. 8. 114, Soph. El. 691.

the classical language through the employment of ἀπὸ (ἐξ): so regularly with ἐλευθεροῖν, λύειν, χωρίζειν etc., also with ὑστερεῖν (*ibid.*). Much more remarkable, however, is the ἀπό, which in imitation of the Hebrew נִזְבָּח = 'for,' is employed with verbs meaning 'to hide,' 'to be on one's guard,' 'to fear' (similarly in the LXX., *Buttm.* p. 278). See on κρύπτειν τι ἀπό τινος § 34, 4; φεύγειν, φυλάσσειν and -εσθαι, φοβεῖσθαι, αἴσχύνεσθαι ἀπό τινος § 34, 1; to which must be added προσέχειν ἔαντφ or still more abbreviated προσέχειν (sc. τὸν νοῦν 'to have a care for oneself' = 'to beware'), ἀπό τινος L. 12. 1, Mt. 7. 15 etc.; in a similar sense ὁρᾶν, βλέπειν ἀπό Mc. 8. 15, 12. 38. Τηρεῖν and διατηρεῖν, however, take ἐξ (equally unclassical): ἐξ (ἀφ' D) ὅν διατηροῦντες ἔαντος A. 15. 29, Jo. 17. 25, Ap. 3. 10. In these instances also the idea of separation or alienation is expressed by ἀπό, as it is in many expressions, especially in St. Paul, which cannot be directly paralleled from the classical language: R. 9. 3 ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χρ., 2 C. 11. 3 μὴ φθαρῆ τὰ νοήματα ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπλότητος τῆς ἐν Χρ., 2 Th. 2. 2, Col. 2. 20 ἀπεθάνετε ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ κόσμου, similarly with καταργεῖσθαι R. 7. 6, G. 5. 4; also μετανοεῖν ἀπό in A. 8. 22, cp. H. 6. 1, ἐκ Ap. 2. 21 etc.; δικαιοῦν, θεραπεύειν, λούειν ἀπό approach still more nearly to λύειν etc.<sup>1</sup> Cp. in Hermas and other writings: διαφθαρῆναι ἀπό Sim. iv. 7, ἀποτυφλοῦσθαι ἀπό Mand. v. 2. 7, κολοβῆς ἀπό Sim. ix. 26. 8, κενὸς ἀπό Sim. ix. 19. 2, ἔριμος ἀπό Clem. Cor. ii. 2. 3, λιποτακτέεν ἀπό i. 21. 4, ἀργεῖν ἀπό 33. 1.—On the use of ἀπό in reckoning distance (ἀπὸ σταδίων δεκαπέντε) see § 34, 8.—On ἀπὸ προσώπου τινός infra 9.

4. On the largely employed ἐκ, ἐκ there is little to remark. It takes the place of the subjective genitive 2 C. 9. 2 τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἥγιος (without ἐξ sBCP), cp. 8. 7 τῇ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐν ἡμῖν (?) ἀγάπῃ. For its partitive use cp. § 35, 4, § 36, 1; with 'to fill' *ibid.* 4 (§ 38, 1). In place of a genitive of price: ἥγιόρασαν ἐξ αὐτῶν (the 30 pieces of silver) τὸν ἀγρόν Mt. 27. 7, § 36. 8. In a peculiar sense: τὸν νικῶντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου (probably = τηρήσαντας ἔαντος ἐκ ..., *supra* 3) Ap. 15. 2. Denoting the cause like ἀπό, and classical ὑπό, *supra* 3: Ap. 16. 10 ἐμασῶντο τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πόνου, cp. 11, 21: this book with the Gospel and the first Epistle of St. John makes proportionally the largest use of ἐξ, of any of the N.T. books. With attraction ἐξ for ἐν see § 76, 4.

5. Πρὸ is not represented by very many examples, most of which = 'before' of time; 'before' of place only in Acts (5. 23, v.l.) 12. 6 (v.l. πρὸς in D), 14, 14. 13, Ja. 5. 9 (elsewhere ἐμπροσθεῖν, vide *infra* 7); of preference πρὸ πάντων Ja. 5. 12, 1 P. 4. 8. On the Hebraistic πρὸ προσώπου τινός *infra* 9. In a peculiar usage: Jo. 12. 1 πρὸ ἐξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα '6 days before the passover,' cp. Lat. *ante diem tertium Calendas* (so also other writers under the Empire,

<sup>1</sup> But H. 5. 7 εἰσακούσθεις ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβεῖας cannot be so taken 'heard (and freed) from his fear,' especially as εὐλαβ. 12. 28 rather denotes the fear of God (cp. εὐλαβεῖσθαι 11. 7, εὐλαβῆς A. 2. 5 etc.); therefore render 'on account of his piety,' cp. p. 125.

see Kühner Gr. II.<sup>2</sup> 288, W. Schmidt de Josephi elocut. 513, and cp. μετά § 42, 3, and ἀπό in the reckoning of distance supra 3).

6. **Quasi-prepositions with genitive.** ‘For the sake of’ is ἔνεκεν, also εἴνεκεν § 6, 4, ἔνεκα A. 26. 21 (Attic, § 6, 1) in Paul’s speech before Agrippa, also L. 6. 22 (-εν D al.), Mt. 19. 8 O.T. &BLZ (LXX. -εν), A. 19. 32 &AB, Mc. 13. 9 B. Not frequent (some 20 instances, including quotations); it denotes the cause or motive which is given for an action, so regularly ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ in the Gospels, elsewhere it is hardly distinguishable from διά with accus., see § 42, 1; its position (which in Attic is quite unrestricted) is always before the genitive except in the case of an interrogative (*τίνος* ἔνεκεν A. 19. 32) or a relative sentence (*οὗ* εἴνεκεν L. 4. 18 O.T.). Χάριν is still rarer (almost always placed after the word).—‘**Except**,’ ‘without,’ is usually χωρὶς; ἀνευ (also Attic) only appears in Mt. 10. 29, 1 P. 3. 1, 4. 9; ἀτερ (poetical: in prose not before imperial times) only in L. 22. 6, 35 (often in Hermas, e.g. Sim. v. 4. 5; Barn. 2. 6 C, but ἀνευς); πλήν (Attic) A. 8. 1, 15. 28, 27. 22, Mc. 12. 32, ‘Jo.’ 8. 10. The position of these words (as also of those that follow) is always before the case, except in one ex. οὐ χωρὶς H. 12. 4, § 80, 4; χ. as adverb (often in Attic) only appears in Jo. 20. 7.—‘Unto’ is ἀχρι(s), μέχρι(s) as in Attic (on the s see § 5, 4), the former in Lc., Acts, Paul, Hebrews, Ap., Mt. 24. 38: the latter in Mt. 11. 23, 13. 30 (ἔως BD), 28. 15 (&\*D ἔως), Mc. 13. 30 (ἔως D), and sporadically in Lc., Acts, Paul, Hebrews; both are also used as conjunctions (in an intermediate stage with the interposition of a relative, ἀχρι οὐ, μ. οὐ; Herm. Vis. iv. 1. 9 μ. ὅτε &\*, μ. ὅτου & as), see § 65, 10; 78, 3; ἔως is also employed in this sense, originally a conjunction throughout (its use as a prep. appears in Hellenistic Gk. and the LXX.), Mt. 1. 17 ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ ἔως Δαυΐδ, ἔως τοῦ Χριστοῦ etc. (often in Mt., also in Mc., Lc., Acts, rare in Paul and James; in Hebr. only in quotations; John uses none of the three words); here also we have ἔως οὐ, ἔως ὅτου. “Eos is moreover readily joined with an adverb: ἔως πότε, ἀπὸ ἀνωθεν ἔως κάτω, ἔως ἄρτι, ἔως σήμερον, on the other hand ἀχρι (μέχρι) τοῦ νῦν, τῆς σήμερον (although Thuc. 7. 83 has μέχρι ὁψέ). It occasionally has the meaning ‘within’: A. 19. 26 D ἔως Ἐφέσου, 23. 23 (β text) ἔως ἑκατόν. Herm. Mand. iv. 1. 5 ἀχρι τῆς ἀγνοίας οὐχ ἀμαρτάνει means ‘as long as he does not know’ (ἀχρις ἂν ἀγνοη = ἀ. ἀν γνῷ ‘until’).

7. ‘Before’ (in local sense, rarely πρό, supra 5) is expressed by ἐμπροσθεν, ἐναντίον (ἐναντί, κατέναντι, ἀπέναντι), ἐνώπιον (κατενώπιον). Of these expressions ἐμπροσθεν and ἐναντίον with the genitive are also classical, and in the case of ἐναντίον the construction with the genitive is also the predominant use of the word, whereas ἐμπροσθεν is more frequently adverbial; ἀπέναντι is Hellenistic (Polyb.); ἐνώπιον (ἐν-ώπ. before the eyes: τὰ ἐνώπια is as old as Homer), κατενώπιον (κατένωπα or κατ’ ἐνώπα Hom.), ἐναντί<sup>1</sup> (ἐναντα Hom.), κατέναντι (κατέναντα in poetry) all take their origin from the LXX.

<sup>1</sup> “Enanti occurs in inscriptions in translations of Roman senatus consulta, Viereck Sermo graecus Senat. Rom. (Gtg. 1888) p. 16, 66.

and are foreign to profane authors even at a later date than the N.T.<sup>1</sup> while the N.T. on the other hand has not got ἀντικρύ(ς) (except in A. 20. 15 ἀ. Χίου) καταντ. ἀπαντ. The expressions serve as a rendering for the Hebrew בְּפָנָיו, also for τὰς, and ἐμπροσθεν and ἐναντίον also frequently stand in the N.T. in places where classical Greek would express itself in a simpler manner. Thus Mt. 7. 6 μὴ βάλητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν ἐμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων = class. μὴ προβάλῃτε τ. μ. τοῖς χοίροις. "Ἐμπροσθεν is also apparently used of time = πρό (so in class. Greek), in Jo. 1. 15, 30 (or of precedence = has obtained the precedence of me ?); in adverbial sense only in L. 19. 4, 28, Ph. 3. 14, Ap. 4. 6; it is employed by well-nigh all writers (not Pet., James, Jude, Hebr.), most frequently by Mt. Ἐναντίον occurs in Mc. 2. 12 ACD (al. ἐμπρ.), L. 1. 8 &AC al. (ἐναντι BDE al.), 20. 26, 24. 19 (ἐνώπιον D), A. 7. 10 (ἐναντι §), 8. 32 O.T.; ἐναντι is further used in 8. 21 (ἐνώπιον EHLP); κατέναντι ἀπέν. (where the readings often vary) Mt. 21. 2, 27, 24 etc., A. 3. 16, 17. 7, R. 3. 18 O.T., 4. 17 (adverb L. 19. 30); ἐνώπιον is frequent in Luke (in the first half of the Acts; in the second half it is only found in 19. 9, 19, 27, 35) and in the Apocalypse: in John only in 20. 30, 1 Jo. 3. 22, 3 Jo. 6: in Mt. and Mc. never (κατενώπ. in a few passages of Paul and in Jude).—'Before' in the strictly local sense is generally expressed by ἐμπροσθεν alone (the word has only this sense in the Apoc.): ἐμπρ. τοῦ βίβλου A. 18. 17, τῶν ποδῶν Ap. 19. 10 (B ἐνώπιον), 22. 8 (A πρὸ), although the author of the Apoc. also says ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου; similarly 'before anyone' is ἐμπροσθεν Jo. 3. 28, 10. 4 (ἐνώπιον L. 1. 76 &B); ἐμπρ. ἐναντίον ἐνώπιον express 'before anyone' = before the eyes of anyone, also pleasing in anyone's eyes = 'to anyone,' A. 6. 5 ἥρεσεν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πλήθους = τῷ πλήθει, 1 Jo. 3. 22 τὰ ἀρεστὰ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ; ἀμαρτάνειν ἐνώπ. τινος = εἴς τινα L. 15. 18, 21 (1 Sam. 7. 6), or τινί, LXX. Judges 11. 27, Buttm. p. 150; so a genitive or dative is often replaced by this circumlocution, Mt. 18. 24 οὐκ ἔστιν θέλημα ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου, where ἐμπρ. might be omitted, 11. 26, L. 15. 10 χαρὰ γίνεται ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων = τῶν ἀγγέλων or τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, 24. 11 ἐφάνησαν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ λῆπτος = αὐτοῖς, etc. Similar is H. 4. 13 ἀφανῆς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, 13. 21; but in the second half of the Acts it is only used = class. ἐναντίον. Κατέναντι, ἀπέναντι mean 'over against' = class. καταντικρύ, Mt. 21. 2, Mc. 12. 41 etc.; but are also commonly used = 'before' like ἐναντίον, ἐνώπιον, e.g. with τοῦ ὄχλου Mt. 27. 24; a peculiar usage is ἀπέναντι τῶν δογμάτων 'contrary to' A. 17. 7 (ἐναντία τοῖς δόγμασιν ορ τῶν δογμάτων in classical Greek).

8. The opposite of ἐμπροσθεν in the local sense is ὅπισθεν 'behind,' occurring with genitive only in Mt. 15. 23, Lc. 23. 26, rarely also as an adverb; on the other hand ὅπισω (in the older language the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Deissmann, Neue Bibelstudien (Marburg, 1897), p. 40 f., who gives instances from the papyri of an adverbial use of ἐνώπιον, in the sense of 'in person,' Latin *coram*; see also Grenfell-Hunt, Pap. ii. 112.

opposite of *πρόσω*, for which Attic had *πόρρω* ‘far off,’ the latter form occurring occasionally in N.T.) is found fairly often, usually as a preposition, more rarely as an adverb. The prepositional use of *ἐπίσω*, which is foreign to profane writers, takes its origin from the LXX. (Hebr. יְלַקֵּן): *ἔρχεσθαι ὑπίσω τινός* ‘to follow’ (also *ἀκολουθεῖν ὅπ. τιν.*, instead of the dative, see § 37, 6), *ἀπέστησε λαὸν ὑπίσω αὐτοῦ* A. 5. 37, cp. 20. 30; even *θαυμάζειν ὑπίσω* Ap. 13. 3 (§ 38, 2, note 2). Somewhat different is *ἔρχεσθαι ὅπ. τ.* Mt. 3. 11 etc., ‘to come after (or behind) anyone,’ in the Baptist’s utterance about Christ.—The compounds, found already in Attic Greek, *ἐπ-άνω* ‘above’ and *ὑπο-κάτω* ‘underneath’ (used also in Attic with the genitive), have a weakened force in the N.T. = ‘upon,’ ‘under’: Mt. 5. 14 *πόλις ἐπάνω ὄρους κειμένη* = Att. *ἐπ'* ὄρους, L. 8. 16 *ὑποκάτω κλίνης τίθησιν* = Att. *ἰπδὲ κλίνην*; *ἐπάνω* only is used adverbially, and this word is also joined with numerals = ‘more than,’ without affecting the case, § 36, 12 (before an adverb Mt. 2. 9 *ἐπάνω οὖθις ἦν τὸ παιδίον*, but D here has *τοῦ παιδίον*).—‘Between’ is expressed by *μεταξύ* (Att.) Mt. 18. 15 etc. (rare); this word is also used adverbially in Jo. 4. 31 *ἐν τῷ μ.* = ‘meanwhile,’ but in the common language<sup>1</sup> = ‘afterwards,’ A. 13. 42 *εἰς τὸ μεταξύ σάββατον*, cp. 23. 24 an addition of the β text, Barn. 13. 5, Clem. Cor. i. 44. 2. Beside *μεταξύ* we have *ἄντα μέσον*, see § 39, 2: *ἐν μέσῳ* (*ἐρμέσῳ*) with genitive ‘among,’ ‘between,’ Mt. 10. 16 (B *εἰς μέσον*), L. 10. 3 (*μέσον* D, vide infra), 8. 7 (*μέσον* D), 21. 22 etc. = Hebrew בֵּין and classical *ἐν* or *εἰς*, since ‘where?’ and ‘whither?’ are not distinguished in this instance (*εἰς μέσον* never occurs except as a var. lect. in Mt. 10. 16 vide supra, 14. 24 D for *μέσον*; but of course we have *εἰς τὸ μέσον* without a subsequent case). Other equivalents are *μέσος* adjective Jo. 1. 26, L. 22. 55 BL (v.l. *ἐν μέσῳ, μετ'*) or *μέσον* adverb (cp. modern Greek *μέσα*), Ph. 2. 15 *τέκνα θεοῦ μέσον γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς*, L. 10. 3 D, vide supra (adj. or adv. in Mt. 14. 24, L. 8. 7 D). To these must be added *ἐκ μέσον* with gen. = בֶּן־מִן Mt. 13. 49 etc. = class. *ἐξ*; *διὰ μέσον* with gen. (בֶּן־מִן) L. 4. 30 *διελθὼν διὰ μέσον αὐτῶν* = διά, (see also § 42, 1).

9. To express a prepositional idea by a circumlocution, the substantives *πρόσωπον*, *χέρι*, *στόμα* are employed with the genitive, similarly to *μέσον*, in constructions modelled on the Hebrew. ‘Απὸ προσώπου *τινός* = ἀπό or *παρά* with gen. after verbs signifying ‘to come’ or ‘to go,’ A. 3. 19, 5. 41 := the N.T. ἀπό (supra 3) after ‘to drive out,’ ‘to hide,’ ‘to fly’ A. 7. 45, Ap. 6. 16, 12. 14, 20. 11, = בַּיִת. Πρὸ προσώπου Mt. 11. 10 O.T. (בְּבַיִת), so L. 1. 76 (אֲבִיָּהֵל εἰπιον), 9. 52, even (in A. 13. 24, a sermon of Paul) πρὸ προσώπου *τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ* ‘before (in advance of) him.’ Κατὰ πρόσωπον = coram is also a recognised usage in profane writers, and in this sense is correctly employed in A. 25. 16 (without a gen.); elsewhere as in 3. 13 κατὰ πρόσωπον Πιλάτου, L. 2. 31 κατὰ πρ. πάντων τῶν λαῶν it corresponds

<sup>1</sup> In this sense it is found in Plut. Moral. 240 b and Josephus.

to the Hebr. **בְּ**; similarly *eis πρ. τινος* 2 C. 8. 24 (*eis πρ.* without case, and with *eis* in place of *ἐν*, Herm. Vis. iii. 6. 3).—**Χειρ**: *eis χεῖράς* (τῇ) *τινος παραδιδόναι*, ‘into anyone’s power,’ ‘to anyone’ Mt. 26. 45 etc., L. 23. 46, Jo. 13. 8, H. 10. 31 (*έμπεσεν εἰς χ. θεοῦ*, cp. Polyb. 8, 20. 8 *ὑπὸ τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν χ. πίπτειν*; *ὑποχείριος*); for which is substituted *ἐν τῇ χ.* δέδωκεν (*ἐν* for *eis*, § 41, 1) in Jo. 3. 35. ‘*Ἐν* (σὺν ABCDE) *χειρὶ ἀγγέλου* A. 7. 35 (cp. G. 3. 19) **τῇ**, ‘through,’ ‘by means of.’ ‘*Ἐκ χειρός τινος* ‘out of the power of anyone’ (τῇ) L. 1. 71, A. 12. 11 *ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χ.* ‘*Ηρώδου*, cp. in classical Gk. Aesch. 3. 256 *ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἐξελέσθαι τῶν Φιλίππου* (here used as a stronger and more vivid expression), etc. Διὰ *χειρός*, διὰ *τῶν χειρῶν* = διὰ ‘through,’ ‘by means of’ Mc. 6. 2 and frequently in Acts (2. 23, 5. 12 etc.), of actions; διὰ *στόματος*, on the other hand, is used of speeches which God puts into the mouth of anyone, L. 1. 70, A. 1. 16 etc. Further, for *λόγοι οἱ ἀπό τινος* or *τινος* the fuller and more vivid *οἱ ἐκπορευόμενοι ἐκ* (διὰ) *στόματος*. *τινος* is used in Mt. 4. 4 O.T.=LXX. Deut. 8. 3, L. 4. 22 etc.; for *ἀκούειν τινός* we have *ἀκ.* *ἐκ* (*ἀπὸ*, διὰ) *τοῦ στ. τινός* L. 22. 71, A. 1. 4 D, E. 4. 29 etc.; cp. L. 11. 54 *θηρεύσατι τι ἐκ τ. στ. αὐτοῦ*, a word from him; *ἐπὶ στόματος* ‘on the assertion of’ Mt. 18. 16, and many similar exx.; *στόμα* was moreover utilized in classical Greek to coin many expressions of this kind. ‘*Ἐκ στόματος* can also mean ‘out of the jaws,’ 2 Tim. 4. 17.—On *ὅδον* as preposition (*versus*) Mt. 4. 15 see § 34, 8, note 1.

#### § 41. PREPOSITIONS WITH THE DATIVE.

1. ‘*Ἐν*’ is the commonest of all prepositions in the N.T., notwithstanding the fact that some writers (§ 39, 3) occasionally employ *eis* instead of it. (The reverse change, namely, the misuse of *ἐν* for *eis*, can only be safely asserted to take place in a very few cases in the N.T. Thus *ἐν μέσῳ* is used in answer to the question ‘whither?’, § 40, 8; compare also *εἰσῆλθε διαλογισμὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς* L. 9. 46 ‘came into them,’ ‘into their hearts’ [see next verse]: *κατέβαινεν ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ* in a spurious verse Jo. 5. 4 [Herm. Sim. i. 6 *ἀπέλθης ἐν τῇ πόλει σου*, Clem. Hom. i. 7, xiv. 6]. But *ἐξῆλθεν ὁ λόγος ἐν τῇ Ἰονδαΐᾳ* L. 7. 17 [cp. 1 Th. 1. 8] means ‘was spread abroad in J.’; in Ap. 11. 11 *εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς* is only read by A, *αὐτοῖς* CP, *eis αὐτούς* sB; classical authors can use *ἐν* with *τιθέναι* and *ιστάναι*, and with this may be compared *διδόναι* [‘to lay’] *ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τινος* Jo. 3. 35 [§ 40, 9; Clem. Cor. i. 55. 5 *παρέδωκεν Ὁλοφέρνην ἐν χειρὶ θηλείας*], or *ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ* 2 C. 1. 22, 8. 16; no conclusive evidence can be drawn from the metaphorical usage in L. 1. 17 *ἐν φρονήσει δικιώνων*, with the meaning ‘so that they have the wisdom’; *καλεῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ* and similar phrases).—The use of *ἐν* receives its chief extension through the imitation of Hebrew constructions with **בְּ**. Under this head comes its instrumental employment, § 38, 1; also its use to indicate the personal agent: *ἐν τῷ ἀρχοντι* (through) *τῶν δαιμονίων*

ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια Mt. 12. 24 (9. 24), κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν ἀνδρὶ A. 17. 31 (1 C. 6. 2).<sup>1</sup> In the same way no doubt is to be explained its use to express the motive: A. 7. 29 ἔφυγεν Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ 'on account of' (DE have another reading ἔφυγάδευσεν Μωϋσῆν ἐν 'with'): Mt. 6. 7 ἐν τῷ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακονθίσονται: ἐν τούτῳ 'on this account' A. 24. 16, Jo. 16. 30: ἐν φῷ 'since,' 'because' H. 2. 18, or 'on which account' 6. 17; to the same category belongs the use of *ἐν* with verbs expressing emotion, e.g. χαιρεῖν, § 38, 2. Another instance of instrumental *ἐν* is Ap. 5. 9 ὥγόρασας ἐν τῷ αἴματί σου, cp. A. 20. 28; this phrase *ἐν τῷ αἵματι* (*τοῦ Χρ.*) is found in various connections in the Pauline Epistles and Acts (R. 3. 25, 5. 9 etc.), where the very indefinite and colourless meaning of *ἐν* does not help to determine the sense more accurately. On ἐνδεδυμένος *ἐν* and similar phrases see § 34, 6, note 2; on *ἐν* of accompaniment (with 'army' etc.) § 38, 3. Of manner (vide ibid.): *ἐν τάχῃ* (class.) L. 18. 8 etc., κρίνειν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ = δικαίως A. 17. 31, Ap. 19. 11, *ἐν πάσῃ ἀσφαλείᾳ* = ἀσφαλέστατα A. 5. 23, *ἐν (πάσῃ)* παρρησίᾳ 'freely,' 'openly' etc. Again ἄνθρωπος *ἐν πνεύματι* ἀκαθάρτῳ Mc. 1. 23, 5. 2 must mean 'with an unclean spirit' = ἔχων πνεῦμα ἀκάθ. (3. 30 etc.), although a passage like R. 8. 9 ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἔστε ἐν σαρκὶ ἀλλ' *ἐν πνεύματι*, εἴπερ πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν· εἰ δέ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει κ.τ.λ. is calculated to show the constant fluctuation of the meanings of *ἐν* and of the conceptions of the relation between man and spirit. Another phrase with an extremely indefinite meaning is *ἐν Χριστῷ* (*κυρίῳ*), which is attached again and again in the Pauline Epistles to very different ideas.

2. Occasionally *ἐν* appears to stand for the ordinary dative proper. 1 C. 14. 11 ἔσομαι τῷ λαλοῦντι ('for the speaker') βάρβαρος, καὶ ὁ λαλῶν *ἐν* ἑμοὶ βάρβαρος 'for me,' instead of *ἐμοὶ*, which Paul avoided because it might have been taken with *λαλῶν*. Cp. G. 1. 16 ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν νίδν αὐτοῦ *ἐν* ἑμοὶ 'to me' ('in me,' i.e. 'in my spirit' would be an unnatural phrase); in 2 C. 4. 3 *ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ἔστι κεκαλυμμένον* 'for' is a better rendering than 'among'; 2 C. 8. 1 *τὴν χάριν τὴν δεδομένην* *ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Μακ.*, cp. A. 4. 12 where D omits the *ἐν*; but 1 Jo. 4. 9 *ἐν τούτῳ ἐφανερώθη* ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ *ἐν* ἡμῖν means 'towards us,' and is like *ποιεῖν* *ἐν τινι*, γίνεσθαι *ἐν τινι*, where moreover either the dative or *εἰς* can stand, § 34, 4.—'En has the meaning of 'in' or 'by' with μανθάνειν 1 C. 4. 6, γινώσκειν L. 24. 35 etc. (likewise classical); but we also find γιν. ἐκ L. 6. 44 etc., κατὰ τί 1. 18. For 'to swear by' ὅμνύναι *ἐν* see § 34, 1 (instead of the accus.); for ὅμολογεῖν *ἐν τινι* 'to profess allegiance to anyone' (a Syriac expression) Mt. 10. 32, L. 12. 8, for which an accus. or two accusatives may be used, see § 34, 5. 'En μυστηρίῳ λαλοῦμεν σοφίαν 1 C. 2. 7 = 'as a mystery' (so in classical Greek). On *ἐν* in temporal sense see § 38, 4.

<sup>1</sup> In R. 11. 12 *ἐν Ἡλίᾳ λέγει* ἡ γραφή might be interpreted in the same way, 'by Elias,' cp. *ἐν τῷ Όσηέ 9. 25*, *ἐν Δαυίδ H. 4. 7*, *ἐν ἑτέρῳ προφήτῃ λέγει* Barn. 6. 14. But others class these with *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ* and the like.

3. Σύν in classical Attic is limited to the sense of ‘including,’ whereas ‘with’ is expressed by μετά; but the Ionic dialect and afterwards the Hellenistic language kept the old word σύν in addition to μετά, and it is consequently found in the N.T., although very unequally employed by the different authors, and only occurring with any frequency in Luke (Gospel and Acts) and Paul, while it is unrepresented in the Apocalypse and the Epistles of John, and almost unrepresented in his Gospel.<sup>1</sup> There is scarcely anything noteworthy in the way in which it is employed. Σύν πάσι τούτοις is ‘beside all this’ (LXX., Josephus, see W.-Gr.) L. 24. 21. On ἄμα and σύν see § 37, 6.

#### § 42. PREPOSITIONS WITH TWO CASES.

1. Διά with accusative, local ‘through’ (poetical) only in L. 17. 11 διήρχετο διὰ μέσον (nBL, D omits διά, § 40, 8; A al. διὰ μέσον). Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας, an inadmissible reading; elsewhere ‘on account of,’ denoting not only motive and author, but also (what in classical Greek is expressed by ἔνεκα) aim,<sup>2</sup> so that the modern Greek meaning ‘for’ is already almost in existence: Mc. 2. 27 τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἐγένετο καὶ οὐχ ὁ ἀνθρ. διὰ τὸ σάββατον, Jo. 11. 42, 12. 30, 1 C. 11. 9 etc.—With genitive ‘through’ of place, time, and agent as in classical Greek. The temporal διά also expresses an interval of time that has elapsed: δι' ἑτῶν πλειόνων ‘after several years’ A. 24. 17, G. 2. 1; and further (not classical) the period of time within which something takes place: A. 3 δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσεράκοντα ὥπτανόμενος αὐτῷς ‘during forty days’ (not continuously, but at intervals, as was already noticed by the Scholiast following Chrysostom), διὰ νυκτός *per noctem* ‘at night’ (class. νυκτός, νύκτωρ), 5. 19 etc.; L. 9. 37 D διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ‘in the course of the day.’ Instead of the agent, the author may also be denoted by διά (as in Aeschylus Agam. 1486 διὰ Διὸς παναιτίου πανεργύτα): R. 11. 36 ἐξ αὐτοῦ (source) καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ (the Creator) καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα, ep. H. 2. 10 δι' ὥν (God) τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὐν τὰ π., 1 C. 1. 9, G. 1. 1<sup>3</sup> (but the use is different in 1 C. 8. 6 εἰς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὐν τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν, καὶ εἰς κύριος I. X., δι' οὐν [δὲ B] τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ, ep. Jo. 1. 3; Mt. 1. 22 τὸ ρῆθεν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, etc.).—Indicating mode and manner, διὰ λόγου ‘by way of speech,’ ‘orally’ A. 15. 27; also the circumstances in which a man is placed in doing anything: R. 2. 27 ὁ διὰ γράμματος καὶ περιτομῆς παραβάτης νόμου, ‘who has the written statute withal,’ 14. 20 διὰ προσκόμματος ἐσθίειν

<sup>1</sup> See Tycho Mommsen's book, Beiträge zu d. Lehre v. d. gr. Präpositionen (Berlin, 1895), where on page 395 the statistics of σύν and μετά in the N.T. are concisely given. In John σύν occurs in 12. 2, 18. 1, 21. 3 (μετά very frequently); in Paul it is absent from 2 Th., 1 and 2 Tim., Tit., Philem.; as it is also from Hebr. and 1 Pet. [For the distinction between σύν and μετά see also Westcott's note on Jo. 1. 2. Tr.]

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Hatzidakis Einl. in d. ngr. Gramm. 212 f.

<sup>3</sup> It stands for ὑπό with a passive verb in Herm. Sim. ix. 14. 5, Vis. iii. 13. 3.

'with offence,' διὰ πολλῶν δικρύων 2 C. 2. 4: also undoubtedly δὲ ἀσθενεῖας (not -ένειαν) εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν G. 4. 13 'in sickness,' as the Vulgate *per* (not *propter*) *infirmitatem*.<sup>1</sup>—In a peculiar use in an urgent petition = 'by' (Attic *πρός τινος*): R. 12. 1 παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ 15. 30, 1 C. 1. 10 and elsewhere in the Pauline Epp. (cp. κατά τινος infra 2).

2. **Κατά with accusative** occurs frequently and in various senses, but in general these agree with the classical uses. As the use of κατά with accus. as a circumlocution for a genitive occurs frequently in the Hellenistic language (ή κατὰ τὸν ὥλιον πορείᾳ 'the course of the sun'), so in the N.T. one may adduce: A. 18. 15 νόμου τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς 'the law in force with you, your law,' cp. 26. 3, 17. 28, E. 1. 15 τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίστιν, A. 16. 39 D τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς = τὸ ὑμέτερον πρᾶγμα, and R. 1. 15 τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον = ἡ ἐμὴ προθυμία? (but it is better to take τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ as *quod in me est*, and then read πρόθυμος with the Latin authorities and supply εἰμί, § 30, 3; cp. τὸ κατὰ σάρκα 9. 5 and other phrases, § 34, 7).—The distributive κατά has become stereotyped as an adverb (cp. ἀνά, § 39, 2) in καθ' εἰς, see § 51, 5.—In the headings to the Gospels κατὰ Ματθαῖον etc. the author of this particular form of the Gospel is denoted by κατά, cp. § 35, 3; with this is compared (W.-Gr.) ή παλαιὰ διαθήκη κατὰ τοὺς ἔβδομήκοντα, and 2 Macc. 2. 13 τοῖς ὑπομνηματισμοῖς τοῖς κατὰ Νεεμίαν, which perhaps means 'which bear the name of N.'

With the genitive the instances are far less numerous; κατά τινος most often means 'against someone' in a hostile sense, and indeed in the Hellenistic language it also takes the place of Attic ἐπί τινα (ἐστιν and the like): Mt. 12. 30 δὲ μὴ ὅν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐστιν (Demosth. 19. 339 ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐστίν, but Polyb. 10. 8. 5 κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἵπελάμβανον εἶναι), whereas the Attic κατά 'against' is used after verbs of speaking, witnessing etc.—Rarely in local sense: κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ Mt. 8. 32 etc. 'down from'; κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων 1 C. 11. 4, opposed to ἀκατακαλύπτω τῇ κεφαλῇ ('hanging down over the head,' 'on the head'); 'throughout' A. 9. 31 καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας, 10. 37, L. 4. 14, 23. 5 (Hellenistic, Polyb. 3. 19. 7 διεσπάρησαν κατὰ τῆς νήσου), in this sense always with ὅλος and confined to Luke's Gospel and Acts (with accus. οἱ ὄντες κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν A. 11. 1, it means simply 'in'). A peculiar use is ἡ κατὰ βάθους πτωχεία 2 C. 8. 2 'deep' or 'profound poverty' (Strabo 9, p. 419 ἀντρον κοῦλον κατὰ βάθους, W.-Gr.).—For its use with ὅμνύναι, (ἐξ)ορκίζειν Mt. 26. 63, H. 6. 13, 16, see § 34, 1 (κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἴρωτησα 'entreathed by the Lord' Herm. Vis. iii. 2. 3).

3. **Μετά with accusative** in local sense 'after,' 'behind' only occurs in H. 9. 3 μετὰ τὸ δεύτερον καταπέτασμα (answering to πρό, an unclassical use); elsewhere it always has temporal sense 'after.' Οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας A. 1. 5 is 'not many days after to-day,' cp. πρό, § 40, 5.—**Μετά with genitive** has to itself (and not in com-

<sup>1</sup> [Still no Greek ms. has the genitive in this passage. See Lightfoot ad loc. Tr.]

mon with σύν) the meaning of ‘among,’ ‘amid,’ μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν L. 24. 5, μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη (Mc. 15. 28) L. 22. 37, O.T. (Hebr. τῷ, LXX. ἐν), as in classical poets; in the sense of ‘with’ it is interchanged with σύν, § 41, 3, but with this limitation that with expressions which imply mutual participation, such as πολεμεῖν, εἰρηνεύειν, συμφωνεῖν, φίλος, λαλεῖν (Mc. 6. 50 etc.) and others (§ 37, 6), μετά τίνος and not σύν τινι is used in place of or by the side of the simple dative (Hebr. οὗ, class. dative or πρός); it is likewise the only preposition used to express accompanying circumstances, μετὰ φόβου etc., § 3, 3 (class.), and in the sense of ‘to’ (Hebraic) in ποιεῖν ἔλεος μετά τίνος L. 10. 37, cp. 1. 58 (Herm. Sim. v. 1. I even has περὶ πάντων δὲν ἐποίησε μετ' ἐμοῦ ‘to me,’ which differs from the use of the phrase in A. 14. 27 where μετά = ‘with’). On the whole the use of μετά far outweighs that of σύν (the number of instances of the former word is nearly three times that of the latter), though in individual books σύν has equally strong or even stronger attestation (in Acts).

4. **Περὶ with accusative** (not very frequent) is used in local and temporal sense for ‘about’; so οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν Mc. 4. 10, L. 22. 49 = ‘his disciples’; but οἱ περὶ Παῦλον A. 13. 13, as is the case with similar phrases in the literary language, includes Paul; we even have πρὸς τὰς περὶ Μάρθαν καὶ Μαριάν Jo. 11. 19 A al. (as often in later writers) to denote Martha and Mary only, but the phrase can hardly be considered genuine;<sup>1</sup> it has a further use, which is also classical, to denote the object of the action or of the pains expended (not the subject of speech or thought, which is περὶ τίνος), with ἐπιθυμίᾳ Mc. 4. 19 (om. D), with περισπᾶσθαι, τυρβάζεσθαι L. 10. 40 f., with ἐργάται A. 19. 25. Paul, who only began to use περὶ τίνα at the time of writing the Philippians epistle, uses it generally for ‘concerning’ (something like Plato’s πονηρὸν περὶ τὸ σῶμα, ‘injurious with regard to’): Ph. 2. 23 τὰ περὶ ἡμέ, 1 Tim. 1. 19 περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐνανάγονται, 6. 4, 21, 2 Tim. 2. 18, 3. 8, Tit. 2. 7 (τὰ περὶ τὸν πύργον Herm. Vis. iii. 3. 1).

**Περὶ with genitive** (extremely common) most often in such phrases as ‘to speak,’ ‘know,’ ‘have a care’ etc., ‘concerning’ or ‘about’; at the beginning of a sentence or paragraph ‘as concerning’ 1 C. 7. 1 etc. (class.); also ‘on account of’ (class.) with κρίνεσθαι, ἐγκαλεῖν, εὐχαριστεῖν, ἐρωτᾶν (entreat), δεῖσθαι, προσεύχεσθαι, πρόφασιν (an excuse) ἔχειν, αἴνειν etc., in which cases it often passes over to the meaning of ‘for’ and becomes confused with ὑπέρ: Jo. 17. 9 οὐ περὶ τοῦ κόστου ἐρωτῶ, ἀλλὰ περὶ δὲν δέδωκάς μοι. It is used as absolutely equivalent to ὑπέρ in Mt. 26. 28 τὸ περὶ (D ὑπέρ) πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον (in Mc. 14. 24 περὶ is only read by A al.), 1 C. 1. 13 ἐσταυρώθη περὶ ὑμῶν only BD\* (al. ὑπέρ), A. 26. 1 περὶ (SAC al.; ὑπέρ BLP) σταυροῦ λέγειν, G. 1. 4 (ὑπέρ Κ<sup>o</sup>B), H. 5. 3 καθὼς περὶ ἐαυτοῦ, οὕτως καὶ περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ προσφέρειν περὶ (ὑπέρ C<sup>o</sup>D<sup>o</sup> al. as in ver. 1) ἀμαρτιῶν, cp. 10. 6, 8 O.T., 18, 26, 13. 11, 1 P. 3. 18, Mc. 1. 44, L. 5. 14.

<sup>1</sup> Πρὸς τὴν Μ. καὶ Μ. ΚBC\*L.al., similarly without τὴν D; ὥστα παραμυθήσωνται τὴν Μ. καὶ τὴν Μ. Syr. Sin.

With verbs expressing emotion: Mt. 9. 36 ἐσπλαγχνίσθη περὶ αὐτῶν (*i.e.* τῶν ὄχλων; elsewhere the verb has ἐπὶ τινα or ἐπὶ τινι, §§ 36, 7; 43, 1 and 3), Mt. 20. 24 and Mc. 10. 41 ἀγανάκτειν περὶ τίνος, 'concerning anyone' (classical Greek has περὶ τῶν πραχθέντων Plat. Ep. vii. 349 D), L. 2. 18 θαυμάζειν περὶ ('concerning a thing'), all these constructions hardly classical; περὶ πάντων ἐνδούσθαι 'in every respect' 3 Jo. 2. Ποιῆσαι περὶ αὐτὸν ('to do with him') L. 2. 27 also appears to be an incorrect phrase (περὶ αὐτόν would be better, *vide supra*, N.T. says αὐτῷ or ἐν αὐτῷ); λαγχάνειν ('to draw lots') περὶ τίνος Jo. 19. 24 may be compared with the classical μάχεσθαι περὶ τίνος.

5. **Ὑπέρ with accusative** (not frequent) 'above,' denotes superiority (no longer found in local sense); hence it is used with the comparative, § 36, 12; it is used adverbially in the Pauline epistles ὑπὲρ λίαν (or ὑπερλίαν §§ 4, 1; 28, 2) 2 C. 11. 5, 12. 11 ὑπέρ ἐκ περισσοῦ or ὑπερεκπ. 1 Th. 3. 10, E. 3. 20, similarly or ὑπέρ ἐκπερισσῶς (BD\*FG) 1 Th. 5. 13; or it stands by itself 2 C. 11. 23 διάκονοι Χριστοῦ εἰσιν; ὑπέρ (to a higher degree) ἔγώ (διάκ. Χρ. εἴμι), cp. the classical words ὑπέρλαμπτος, ὑπερεξακισχίλιοι ([Demosth.] 59. 89), whereas in the N.T. it is impossible in all cases to carry out the compounding of the two words into one.—**Ὑπέρ with genitive** 'for,' opposed to κατά τίνος Mc. 9. 40 etc., is much limited in its use by the substitution of περὶ (*supra* 4), while the reverse change (λέγειν ὑπέρ 'to speak about') which is common in Attic and Hellenistic Greek (as also in the LXX.), is found more rarely and is almost confined to Paul: Jo. 1. 30 ὑπέρ (περὶ καὶ A. al.) οὐ εἰπον, 2 C. 8. 23 εἴτε ὑπέρ Τίτου ('as concerning') 12. 8 ὑπέρ τούτου παρεκάλεσα ('on this account,' 'on behalf of this,' cp. *supra* 4 περὶ), 2 Th. 2. 1, κανχᾶσθαι ὑπέρ often in Paul, also φυσιούσθαι ὑπέρ, φρονέν ὑπέρ (in Ph. 1. 7 'to think upon,' in 4. 10 'to care for'). Also the object to be attained may be introduced by ὑπέρ, 2 C. 1. 6 ὑπέρ τῆς ἴμων παρακλήσεως ('to'); so also Ph. 2. 13 ὑπέρ (<οὐ>?) τῆς ἐνδοκίας (God's; C adds αὐτὸν) πάντα ποιεῖτε (the first words are not to be taken with the preceding clause).

6. **Ὑπό with accusative** (not very frequent; in John only in 1. 49 of his Gospel, never in the Apocalypse<sup>1</sup>) 'under,' answering the questions 'where?' and 'whither?' (the old local use of ὑπό τίνος and ἵπό τινι has become merged in ὑπό τι), is used in literal and metaphorical sense; in temporal sense only in A. 5. 21 ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον, *sub, circa* (class.).<sup>2</sup>—**Ὑπό with genitive** 'by,' denoting the agent, is used with passive verbs and verbs of passive meaning like πληγὰς λαμβάνειν 2 C. 11. 24;<sup>3</sup> in some instances its place is taken by ἀπό, § 40, 3; see also διά, *supra* 1.

<sup>1</sup> The Apoc. has ὑποκάτω (§ 40, 8) instead, which is also found in John's Gospel 1. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Herm. often uses ὑπὸ χεῖρα in a peculiar way 'continually,' Vis. iii. 10. 7, v. 5. 5, Mand. iv. 3. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Herm. has the peculiar phrases in Sim. ix. 1. 2 ὑπὸ παρθένου ἐώρακας and ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου βλέπεις 'under the guidance of'—'the angel makes you to see,' cp. Ap. 6. 8 ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν ... καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων = ποιεῖν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ κ.τ.λ.

## § 43. PREPOSITIONS WITH THREE CASES.

1. 'Επί is the single preposition the use of which with all three cases is *largely* represented. The case, however, which it takes with far the most frequency is the **accusative**. This is used not only, as in classical Greek, in answer to the question Whither? (including such constructions as that with *στῆναι*, where *εἰς* may take the place of *ἐπί*, § 39, 3), but also not infrequently as a substitute for genitive or dative, in answer to the question Where?: Mt. 9. 2 (Mc. 2. 14, L. 5. 27) *καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τελώνιον*, Mc. 4. 38 *ἐπὶ τῷ προσκεφάλαιον* (D. *ἐπὶ προσκεφαλαίον*) *καθεύδων*, L. 2. 25 *πνεῦμα ἄγιον ἦν ἐπ' αὐτόν*, cp. 40 (where D has *ἐν αὐτῷ*), Jo. 1. 32 *ἔμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτόν* (33), A. 1. 15 *ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ‘together’* (so fairly often in Acts, and occasionally in Paul and elsewhere, used with *εἰναι* etc.; LXX. Joseph.), 2 C. 3. 15 *ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κεῖται*, A. 21. 35 *ἔγένετο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναβαθμούς*, cp. *γίνεσθαι εἰς* § 39, 3 (but *ἐπὶ τίνος* L. 22. 40), Mt. 14. 25 *περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν* B al., gen. CD al., 26 gen. BCD al., acc. EFG al.; 28 f. all MSS. *ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα*; in Mc. 6. 48 f., Jo. 6. 19 the gen. is used, which in the passage of John some would understand as in 21. 1 in the sense of ‘by the sea,’ although we should not use such an expression, but ‘on the shore.’ Moreover with the metaphorical senses of *ἐπί* the accusative is more widely prevalent than it strictly should be: not only do we have *καθιστάναι δικαστὴν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς* (direction whither?) L. 12. 14, but also *βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακὼβ* 1. 33 (Hebraic, cp. inf. 2, § 36, 8), *ἐπὶ ὁλίγα ἥς πιστός*, *ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω* Mt. 25. 21, *σπλαγχίζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὥχλον* 15. 32, Mc. 8. 2, cp. Herm. Mand. iv. 3. 5, Sim. ix. 24. 2 (which in Attic must at least have been *ἐπὶ τῷ ...*), *μὴ κλαίετε ἐπὶ ἔμε* L. 23. 28, *ἐλπίζειν, πιστεύειν*<sup>1</sup>, *πίστις, πεποιθέναι ἐπὶ τίνα* or *ἐπὶ τίνι*, § 37, 1 alternating with *εἰς τίνα* (*ἐν τίνι*), Mc. 9. 12 f. *γέγραπται ἐπὶ τὸν νιὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ‘concerning’* (Att. prefers *ἐπὶ τίνι*). The following further instances may be noticed: A. 4. 22 ὁ ἀνθρώπος *ἐφ'* ὅν *γεγόνει τὸ σημεῖον ‘upon’* (class. *εἰς ὅν*, Hdt. i. 114, or *περὶ ὅν*; cp. also *ἐπὶ τίνος* infra 2): 10. 35 *πεσὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας προστεκύνησεν*, = Att. *προσπεσὼν αὐτῷ* (Jo. 11. 32 has *πρὸς* with v.l. *εἰς*, Mc. 5. 22 *πρός*). In temporal senses: A. 3. 1 *ἐπὶ τὴν ὥραν τῆς προσευχῆς*, 4. 5 (L. 10. 35) *ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον*, more frequently expressed by *τῇ ἐπ-αὔριον*, denoting the coincidence of an action with a particular time, for which classical Greek uses *εἰς* (*ἐστάυρων*); it further denotes duration of time as in classical Greek: *ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείους* A. 13. 31 etc.

2. 'Επί with genitive in the majority of cases means ‘upon’ (answering the question Where?), as in *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, *ἐπὶ κλίνης*, *καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος*, *ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου* etc., but also in answer to the question Whither?, the reverse interchange of meanings taking place with *ἐπί* with the accus. as was noticed above in 1: Mc. 4. 26

<sup>1</sup> 'Επιστευσαν *ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον* A. 9. 42, 11. 17 etc. might be compared with *ἐπέστρεψαν ἐπὶ τὸν κ.* 9. 35, 11. 21 etc. (direction whither), but we also have *τοὺς πιστεύοντας ἐπὶ σέ* A. 22. 19 etc., where this explanation is unsuitable.

βάλῃ τὸν σπόρον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, 9. 20 πεσὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (accus. in Mt. 10. 29, 34), Mt. 26. 12 etc.; a further meaning is ‘by,’ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ Mt. 21. 19, ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης Jo. 21. 1 etc. (For the strengthened form ἐπάνω ‘upon’ see § 40, 8.) With persons it means ‘before,’ Mc. 13. 9 ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνων σταθήσεσθε, A. 25. 9 κρίνεσθαι ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ (ibid. 10 ἐπὶ τοῦ βίβλου Καίσαρος ἔστως ‘before,’ but in 17 καθίσας ἐπὶ τ. β. ‘upon’), Mt. 28. 14 with ἀκούσθη (BD ὑπό), 1 Tim. 5. 19 ἐπὶ μαρτίρων (ἐπὶ στόματος μαρτ. 2 C. 13. 1, Hebr. **נִשְׁמַע־לְעֹדֶן**, cp. infra 3, 2 C. 7. 14 ἐπὶ Τίτου (v.l. πρὸς Τίτον). In metaphorical sense of ‘over,’ of authority and oversight (Attic), it is used not only with εἶναι, but also with καθιστάναι (supra 1), A. 8. 27, R. 9. 5, Mt. 24. 45 etc.; also with βασιλεύειν (cp. supra 1, § 36, 8) Mt. 2. 22 CD al. (NB have the simple genitive). ‘To do to anyone,’ ‘to say of anyone’: Jo. 6. 2 ἀ ἐποίει ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθεούντων, G. 3. 16 οὐ λέγει ... ὡς ἐπὶ πολλῶν κ.τ.λ. (as in Plato Charm. 155 D, W.-Gr.); ἐπ’ ἀληθείας ‘in accordance with the truth’ Mc. 12. 14 etc. (Demosth. 18. 17 etc.); frequently of contemporaneousness (classical) ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ ἀρχιερέως Mc. 2. 26, Mt. 1. 11, H. 7. 11 and elsewhere; Paul uses ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου meaning ‘in,’ E. 1. 16 etc.; a Hebraistic use is ἐπ’ ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν H. 1. 1, cp. 1 P. 1. 20, 2 P. 3. 3, Jude 18, and ep. § 47, 2.

3. **Ἐπὶ with dative.**—When the preposition has a local sense the genitive and accusative have the preponderance, and a sharp distinction between its use with those cases and with the dative cannot be drawn. Answering the question Where? we have ἐπὶ θύραις, ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ (classical) ‘before the door’ Mt. 24. 33, A. 5. 9 etc. (but in Ap. 3. 20 the accus.): ἐπὶ πίνακι ‘upon’ (‘upon’ in classical Greek is generally ἐπὶ τίνος, Buttm. p. 289) Mt. 14. 8, 11, Mc. 6. 25, 28: ἐκαθέξετο ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ Jo. 4. 6, cp. 5. 2, ‘at’ or ‘by’: ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ (accus. in D) οἰκοδομήσω Mt. 16. 18 (but 7. 24 ff. accus.): with ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπικείσθαι ἐπιπίπτειν Mt. 9. 16, Jo. 11. 38 (without ἐπ’ Ν\*, cp. § 37, 7), A. 8. 16 (accus. D\*, which is on the whole far the more frequent construction): ἐφ’ ἵπποις Ap. 19. 14 (elsewhere always expressed by genit.). The dative also intervenes in the metaphorical sense ‘to set over’ (as in classical authors) Mt. 24. 47. Most frequently ἐπὶ τίνι denotes the **ground** or **reason**, especially with verbs expressing emotion, such as θαυμάζειν, χαίρειν, λυπεῖσθαι, μετανοεῖν, see § 38, 2 (for the accus. supra 1); also with εἰχαριστεῖν, δοξάζειν τὸν θεόν, κρίνεσθαι (A. 26. 6); καλεῖν ἐπὶ ‘to call after’ L. 1. 59; ξῆν ἐπὶ Mt. 4. 4 O.T.; ἀρκεῖσθαι ἐπὶ 3 Jo. 10; ἐφ’ ϕ ‘for the reason that,’ ‘because’ R. 5. 12, 2 C. 5. 4; under this head may be brought πεποιθεῖν, πιστεύειν, ἐπίζειν ἐπὶ τίνι, § 37, 1 (beside ἐπὶ τίνα, supra 1, and other constructions), παρρησιάζεσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ A. 14. 3, unless the last instance is to be connected with the common ἐπὶ (like ἐν) τῷ ὄντος τίνος, § 39, 4.—Expressing **addition** to (classical): L. 3. 20, 16. 26 ἐπὶ (ἐν ΝBL) πᾶσι τούτοις, cp. E. 6. 16 (ἐν ΝBP), Col. 3. 14, H. 8. 1 (for which we have accus. in Ph. 2. 27 λύπην ἐπὶ λύπην). Expressing a **condition** (classical): ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι R. 8. 20, 1 C. 9. 10, Tit. 1. 2 (a different use in A. 2. 26 O.T., 4. 8, 5. 2, where it rather indicates the reason); cp. H. 8. 6, 9. 10, 15, 17; also καλεῖν ἐπ’

ἐλευθερίᾳ G. 5. 13, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀκαθαρσίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγιασμῷ 1 Th. 4. 7: denoting rather *aim*, ἐπ' ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς E. 2. 10, cp. ἐφ' φ καὶ κατελήμψθη Ph. 3. 12 (4. 10 is similar, but the expression is hardly formed correctly; cp. *infra*); of *result* 2 Tim. 2. 14 (beside an ἐπί with accus., where however there is a var. lect.). ‘**At**’ or ‘**to anything**’; 1 C. 14. 16, E. 4. 26, Ph. 1. 3, 2. 17, 1 Th. 3. 7, H. 11. 4, Jo. 4. 27 ἐπὶ τούτῳ (better ἐν Ι\*Δ); H. 9. 26 ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος; ἐφ' φ ἐφρονέῖτε ‘whereon ye thought’ Ph. 4. 10; with persons ‘against’ (cp. accus. *supra* 1) L. 12. 52 (beside an accusative), Ap. 10. 11, ‘concerning’ (cp. accus. *supra* 1) γεγραμμένα Jo. 12. 16 (D περὶ αὐτοῦ), ‘in the case of’ A. 5. 35; ἐπὶ δυσὶ μάρτινι ἀποθνήσκει H. 10. 28 = Hebr. יְפִלֵּל, cp. *supra* 2 ‘if two witnesses are there,’ denoting condition or reason.

4. **Παρά with accusative**, mostly in local sense ‘by,’ ‘beside,’ is used indiscriminately to answer the questions *Where?* (strictly παρά τινι) and *Whither?* (a distinction which is already becoming lost in the classical language, through the encroachment of παρά with the accus.; in the N.T. the local παρά τινι has almost disappeared, vide *infra* 6). It is not, as it frequently is in classical Greek, joined with personal names (though παρὰ τοῖς πόδας τινός is common); πρὸς τινα takes its place, *infra* 7.—In metaphorical sense (classical) ‘contrary to,’ as opposed to κατά ‘according to,’ R. 1. 26, 11. 24 παρὰ φύσιν opposed to κατὰ φ.; κατὰ δύναμιν ... παρὰ δύν. (‘beyond’) 2 C. 8. 3 (v.l. ὑπὲρ); ‘other than’ G. 1. 8 f., also with ἄλλος 1 C. 3. 11 (class.); often ‘more than,’ both with a comparative, § 36, 12, and also without one: ἐλάττεσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα R. 1. 25, 12. 3, 14. 5, L. 13. 2, 4, Herm. Mand. x. 1. 2 (in classical Greek only ‘in comparison with,’ but this easily leads to the other usage). It denotes also (as in class. Greek) that in consequence of which something is or is not: 2 C. 11. 24 τεσσαράκοντα παρὰ μίαν, i.e. minus one, παρά τι ‘almost’ L. 5. 7 D, Herm. Sim. ix. 19. 3, οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος 1 C. 12. 15 f. ‘that is no reason for its not being’ etc.—In Mt. and Mc. it is only found in local sense, in the Johannine writings (including the Apocalypse) and in the Catholic Epistles the use with accusative is entirely absent.

5. **Παρά with genitive** ‘from the side of,’ only with persons (so classical Greek), with verbs of coming, hearing, receiving etc. (ἀπὸ sometimes incorrectly takes its place, § 40, 3); it is also rightly used in τοῖς λελαλημένοις παρὰ κυρίου L. 1. 45 (since God did not speak Himself, but the angel who was commissioned by Him, W.-Gr.); but in A. 22. 30 παρό is found with κατηγορεῖσθαι, but only in HLP, the other MSS. reading ἵπο. It occurs without a verb in Mc. 3. 21 οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ ‘His kinsfolk’ (LXX. Dan. Sus. 33), but there are several variants (the phrase in classical Greek could only mean the persons sent out by someone): δαπανήσασα τὰ παρ' (παρ' om. D) ἔαντῆς 5. 26 is good classical Greek; Lc. 10. 7, Ph. 4. 18 etc.

6. **Παρά with dative** is ‘by,’ ‘beside,’ answering the question *Where?* and with the exception of Jo. 19. 25 παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ is only used of persons (so preponderantly in classical Greek), and more-

over not of immediate neighbourhood<sup>1</sup> (thus not *καθῆσθαι παρά*, but *μετά* Ap. 3. 21, *σύν* A. 8. 31, or *πρός* Mt. 26. 55 CD), but ‘in the house of anyone’ as in Jo. 1. 40: or ‘amongst a people’ as in Ap. 2. 13. The word is further used in a figurative sense: L. 1. 30 *εἰρησες χάριν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ*, Mt. 19. 26 δινατὸν, ἀδύνατον *παρά τινι*, especially with the meaning ‘in the opinion of anyone’ (classical) R. 12. 16 (11. 25, where AB have ἐν) φρόνιμοι *παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς*, 1 C. 3. 19 μωρία *παρὰ τῷ θεῷ*; also A. 26. 8 ἀπιστον κρίνεται *παρ’ ἡμῖν* (Mt. 21. 25 διελογίζοντο *παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς*, but ἐν BL al., as in 16. 8 etc.).—The dative is the rarest of the cases after *παρά* (on account of its clashing with *πρός*, vide 7), still nearly all writers use it.<sup>2</sup>

7. *Πρός* with accusative is abundantly used with verbs of coming, sending, bringing, saying etc. = ‘to’ (a person); often also with the verb ‘to be’ = ‘with’ or ‘at,’ taking the place of *παρά τινι*, Mt. 13. 56 *πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰσιν*, 26. 18 *πρὸς σὲ ποιῶ τὸ πάσχα*, 26. 55 as a v.l., Mc. 6. 3 etc. (Herm. Mand. xi. 9 etc.); also for *παρά τινα* (cp. supra 4), ἔθαψαν *πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς* A. 5. 10, εἰσῆλθες *πρὸς ἄνδρας* 11. 3, i.e. ‘into their house,’ and therefore expressed in Attic by *παρά*.<sup>3</sup> Also of places and things: Mt. 21. 1 *πρὸς* (v.l. *εἰς*) τὸ ὄρος, Mc. 11. 1, L. 19. 29: *πρὸς τὴν θύραν* Mc. 1. 33, 2. 2, 11. 4 (L. 16. 20), answering the questions Whither? and Where? (in the latter case we have correctly *πρὸς τὴν θύραν* Jo. 18. 16, *πρὸς τῶν θυρῶν* A. 5. 23, ἐπὶ θύραις Mt. 24. 33): Mc. 3. 7 *πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν* (v.l. *εἰς*, cp. § 39, 5),<sup>4</sup> L. 12. 3 *πρὸς τὸ οὖς λαλεῖν*. As in classical Greek we also have *θερμαίνεσθαι πρὸς τὸ φῶς* (‘turning towards’) Mc. 14. 54 (L. 22. 56).—In temporal sense it is used of approximation (class.): *πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐστίν* L. 24. 29 (*πρ. ἐ. κέκλικεν ἡ ἡμέρα D*); and with the meaning ‘for a certain time’ (and no longer) *πρὸς καιρόν*, ὥραν, ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, τὸ παρόν,<sup>5</sup> L. 8. 13, Jo. 5. 35, H. 12. 10 f. etc.—To express hostile and friendly relations, with *μάχεσθαι*, *εἱρήνην ἔχειν*, *ἀσύμφωνος* (A. 28. 25), *ηπιος* etc.; relevance to, *τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς*; ‘what is it to us?’ (so classical Greek, § 30, 3) Mt. 27. 4, Jo. 21. 22; Mc. 12. 12 *πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν παραβολὴν εἰπεν* = of them, cp. 10. 5, Mt. 19. 8, L. 12. 41, 18. 1, 20. 19 etc.; with *ἀγαθός*, *ώφελιμος*, *δυνατός* and other adjectives (‘to,’ ‘for’) E. 4. 29, 1 Tim. 4. 8, 2 C. 10. 4, in which cases it may also denote destination, aim, or result, as in L. 14. 32, 19. 42 τὰ *πρὸς εἱρήνην*, Jo. 4. 35 *λευκαὶ πρὸς θερισμόν*, 11. 4 *πρὸς θάνατον* (1 Jo. 5. 16 f.), A. 3. 10 ὁ *πρὸς τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην καθήμενος*, Jo. 13. 28 *πρὸς τί εἰπεν* ‘for what intent.’ ‘In accordance with’ (class.) *πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον* 1 C. 12. 7, *πρὸς ἀ ἐπραξεν* 2 C. 5. 10, L. 12. 47, Herm. Mand. xi. 3. ‘In comparison with’ (class.) *ἄξια πρὸς* R. 8. 18.

<sup>1</sup> L. 9. 47 has *ἐστησεν αὐτὸν παρ’ ἑαυτῷ*, but D *ἑαυτόν*.

<sup>2</sup> All except the author of the Ep. to the Hebrews.

<sup>3</sup> Confusion with *παρά τινι* also takes place in Mc. 9. 31 ἐκράτησαν *πρὸς ἑαυτούς*, 11. 31 (L. 20. 5) διελογίζοντο *πρὸς ἑαυτούς*, cp. Mt. 21. 25 *παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς*, supra 6.

<sup>4</sup> L. 24. 50 ἔξιγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐως (om. D) *πρὸς (εἰς AX al.) Βηθανίαν*, ‘as far as to B.’ ‘within view of B.’ for that they entered into the place is not to be thought of; *εἰς* is wrong.

<sup>5</sup> Classical (Thuc. ii. 22. 1, iii. 40. 7; Plato, Leg. v. 736 A).

8. **Πρὸς with genitive** only occurs in A. 27. 34 (literary language) *τοῦτο πρὸς τῆς ἴμετέρας σωτηρίας ὑπάρχει* ('on the side of,' 'advantageous to,' 'for,' as in Thuc. iii. 59. 1 οὐ πρὸς τῆς ἴμετέρας δόξης τάδε). —**Πρὸς with dative**, in local sense 'by,' 'at' (classical) is very rare, since the accusative takes its place (cp. supra 7): Mc. 5. 11 πρὸς τῷ ὄρει, L. 19. 37 (D accusative), Jo. 18. 16, 20. 11 (with v.l. accus.), 12, Ap. 1. 13.

#### § 44. SYNTAX OF THE ADJECTIVE.

1. The adjective may take over the functions of a substantive not only in the masculine and neuter, to denote persons and things (where these ordinary ideas readily suggest themselves), but also in the feminine: in this case there is a more or less obvious ellipse of some well-known substantive, which is sufficiently indicated by the feminine gender, the sense, and the context. The rule which applies to adjectives holds good also for pronouns and participles, as also for adverbial (or prepositional) expressions with the article. In the following phrases γῆ must be understood: ἡ ξηρά (Xenoph., LXX.) Mt. 23. 15 (*τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τ. ξ.*), H. 11. 29 (AD\*E with γῆς), ἡ περίχωρος (Plut.) Mt. 3. 5 etc., ἡ ὄρευνή L. 1. 30 (or sc. χώρα), ἡ ἐρημός; in ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰς τὴν ὑπ' οὐρ. L. 17. 24 it is better to supply μερίδος; in ἔξι ἐναντίας αὐτῶν Mc. 15. 39 (D ἔκει), Tit. 2. 8 (class.) the ellipse is quite obscure.—Ellipse of ημέρα: τῇ ἐπιούσῃ A. 16. 11, 20. 15, 21. 18 (with ἡμ. 7. 26), τῇ ἔχομένῃ, τῇ ἐτέρᾳ 20. 16, L. 13. 33 (*τῇ ἔχ. ἡμ. A. 21. 26*), elsewhere in Acts (and Luke's Gospel) τῇ ἔξης; τῇ (*ἐπ*)αὔριον occurs also in Mt. 27. 62 (Mc., Jo., Ja.); σήμερον καὶ αὔριον καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ L. 13. 32 (elsewhere τῇ τρ. ἡμ.); εἰς τὴν αὔριον... πρὸ μᾶς Herm. Sim. vi. 5. 3 (Clem. Hom. ix. 1); ἡ ἐβδόμη 'the Sabbath' H. 4. 4, τῇ μᾶς τῶν σαββάτων A. 20. 7 etc., μέχρι τῆς σήμερον Mt. 11. 23 etc. (elsewhere with ἡμ.); also with ἀφ' ἦς 2 P. 3. 4 ('since') ἡμ. may be supplied, cp. A. 24. 11 (Col. 1. 6, 9), but in L. 7. 45 there can only be an ellipse of ὥρας,<sup>1</sup> as there is in ἔξαντῆς 'immediately' (§ 4. 1); there is the same ellipse in (*ἡ*) πρωΐα, ὥψια Mt., Mc., Jo., Herm. (not classical), (*ἡ*) τετράμηνος Jo. 4. 35, τρίμ. H. 11. 23, cp. ἡ τρίμηνος Hdt. ii. 124. 'Οδός is elided in L. 19. 4 ἐκείνης, 5. 19 ποίας (a stereotyped phrase; § 36, 13), εἰς εὐθείας L. 3. 5 O.T. (but ὁδός occurs soon after). Further instances are: ἐν τῇ ἐλληνικῇ (ἐλληνίδι *ἢ* sc. γλώσσῃ Ap. 9. 11, τῇ πνεούσῃ sc. αἱρεψ. A. 27. 40 (ἀργυρίον μυριάδας πέντε sc. δραχμῶν A. 19. 19), ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ sc. πόλῃ Jo. 5. 2, ἡ δεξιά, ἀριστερά sc. χειρ Mt. 6. 3 etc., ἐν δεξιᾷ R. 8. 34 etc. 'on the right hand,' unless this should be read ἐνδέξια (classical; N.T. elsewhere has ἐκ δεξιῶν, εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη Jo. 21. 6, Hermas has also δεξιά, εὐώνυμα for 'to right' or 'left' Sim. ix. 12. 8), δαρήσεται πολλάς... ὀλίγας sc. πληγάς L. 12. 47 (§ 34, 3; class.), cp. 2 C. 11. 24. The following have become stereotyped: ἀπὸ μᾶς L. 14. 28 'with

<sup>1</sup> It was a stereotyped formula, cp. Herm. Sim. viii. 1. 4 ἀφ' ἦς πάντα ἤδης 'as soon as,' 'after that'; 6. 6.

one mind or voice' (*ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἵσπλαγχνος* Aristoph. Lysistr. 1000);<sup>1</sup> *κατὰ μόνας* 'alone' (Thuc. i. 32. 5 etc.) Mc. 4. 10, L. 9. 18 (LXX.; Herm. Mand. xi. 8); frequently *κατ', *iδίᾳ* 1 C. 12. 11, *δημοσίᾳ* 'openly' *in publico* (with a different meaning in Attic) A. 16. 37 etc.*

—Similar instances of ellipse are found also with the other genders: *τῷ πνέοντι sc. ἀνέμῳ* A. 27. 15 β text, *προϊμον καὶ ὄψιμον sc. θεόν* Ja. 5. 7 with the reading of (§)B, *τῷ τρίτον, τέταρτον, δέκατον sc. μέρος* Apoc. (not classical), *τῷ διοπτετές sc. ἄγαλμα* A. 19. 35, *ποτήριον ψυχροῦ sc. ὑδατος* Mt. 10. 42, cp. Ja. 3. 11 (Winer, § 64, 5), *ἐν λευκοῖς sc. ἱματίοις* Jo. 20. 12 (Herm. Vis. iv. 2. 1), cp. Mt. 11. 8, Ap. 18. 12, 16. —The opposite procedure to an ellipse takes place when Luke (according to classical precedent) inserts an *ἀνήρ* with a substantive denoting a person: *ἀ. προφήτης* L. 24. 19, *φονεύς* A. 3. 14, *ἀνδρὶ Ἰουδαίῳ* 10. 28, and in addresses *ἀνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι, Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδελφοί* etc., A. 1. 16 and elsewhere.

2. The use of an **adjectival instead of an adverbial expression** in the case of certain ideas that are annexed to the predicate is found in the N.T. as in the classical language, but rarely: the instances are mainly in Luke's writings. *Δευτεραῖοι ἥλθομεν* 'on the second day' A. 28. 13, cp. *πεμπταῖοι* 20. 6 D for *ἄχρι ἡμερῶν πέντε* of the other MSS. *Γενόμεναι ὁρθριναὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μημείον* L. 24. 22 (*ὁρθρινὸς ἔλατονθες* Herm. Sim. v. 1. 1). *Αἴτομάτη ἥνοιγη* A. 12. 19, Mc. 4. 28. *'Επιστῆ αἰφνίδιος* L. 21. 34; also *ἔκών, ἄκων, πρῶτος* 'first of all' (R. 10. 19); *ἀνάστηθι ὁρθός* A. 14. 10, *τοῦτο ἀληθὲς εἴρηκας* (§E *ἀληθῶς*)<sup>2</sup> Jo. 4. 18 (like Demosth. 7. 43 *τοῦτο γ' ἀληθῆ* [other MS. *ἀληθές*] *λέγουσι*). There is a certain amount of mixture of *μόνος* and the adverb *μόνον*, just as in the classical language the one use borders closely on the other: Mc. 6. 8 *μηδὲν εἰ μὴ ῥάβδον μόνον* (*μόνην* D), A. 11. 19 *μηδενὶ εἰ μὴ μόνον* (*μόνοις* D) *Ἰουδαῖοι*, 1 Jo. 5. 6 *οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον* (B *μόνῳ*). If the word 'alone' refers without any doubt to a verb (or else to a predicative idea like *ἀκροατά* Ja. 1. 22, *ἀργαῖ* 1 Tim. 5. 13), then *μόνον* is the only possible expression; but it is also not contrary to Greek idiom to say (H. 12. 26) *σείσω οὐ μόνον τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν* 'I am not contented with earth-shaking only,' 2 Tim. 4. 8 *οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐμοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν* (to limit the gift to one would be too little). For the reverse use of adverb for adj. see § 76, 1.

3. On the coincidence in meaning of the **comparative** and **superlative** and the reason for it, we have already spoken in § 11, 3; the two degrees are in no way differentiated, as they are in modern Greek or in French, by the addition of the article for the superlative, but are indistinguishable:<sup>3</sup> see 1 C. 13. 13 *πίστις ἐλπὶς ἀγάπη, τὰ τρία ταῦτα μεῖζων δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀγάπη*. The form which has remained in ordinary use is in nearly all cases that of the comparative; *πρῶτος*

<sup>1</sup> Strictly of runners in a race, who rush off together at the fall of the single rope (*ἵσπλαγχνη, ἴσπλαγχνη*).

<sup>2</sup> Less classical is *λέγω ὑμῖν ἀληθῶς* L. 9. 27, 12. 44, 21. 3 = *ἀμήν* (which D reads in 12. 44 and Cyprian in 21. 3).

<sup>3</sup> Barnabas agrees with the N.T. use, e.g. 12. 2 *ὑψηλότερος πάντων*.

and ἔσχατος are the only exceptions to this (§ 11, 5). Now whereas the superlative in classical Greek is used not only where there is a definite comparison made of several things, but often in what may be called an absolute sense, equivalent to our ‘very,’ while the classical comparative occasionally corresponds to an English positive ( $\thetaάπτων$  = ‘quickly’), so the New Testament comparative may have an ambiguous meaning: Jo. 13. 27 δ ποιεῖς ποίησον τάχιον (Luther ‘bald’ [A.V. ‘quickly’]; but it may also mean ‘as quickly as possible’; cp. 1 Tim. 3. 14, where there is a v.l. ἐν τάχει; in H. 13. 19 probably ‘more quickly,’ 23 ἐὰν τάχιον ἔρχηται ‘if he comes soon’; in A. 17. 15 we have ὡς τάχιστα from the literary language, but D reads ἐν τάχει).<sup>1</sup> Also ἀστον, μᾶλλοι, ἄμεινον etc., similarly νεώτερος or -ρον (*καινότερον*) can in the classical language be rendered in many cases by the positive (although we also use similar phrases such as ‘come nearer,’ ‘it is better to ...’); in the N.T. cp. (besides πρεσβύτερος used as the designation of a Jewish or Christian official) A. 17. 21 λέγειν τι ἢ ἀκούειν καινότερον (Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 848),<sup>2</sup> whereas ἀστον παρελέγοντο τὴν Κρήτην 27. 13 (if θάστον be not the right reading) must mean ‘as near as possible’; so in any case 24. 22 ἀκριβέστερον εἰδώς = ἀκριβέστατα, 25. 10 κάλλιον ἐπιγινώσκεις = ἀριστα, and 2 Tim. 1. 18 should be similarly explained βέλτιον σὺ γινώσκεις (not ‘thou knowest better than I,’ which can certainly not be right).<sup>3</sup> In A. 17. 22 ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέροντιμᾶς θεωρῶ, it is doubtful whether the comp. has its classical sense of ‘unusually (too) god-fearing’ or means ‘very god-fearing’; but σπουδαιότερος 2 C. 8. 17 can only mean ‘very zealous’; and frequently there is a corresponding use of the English comparative, the standard of comparison being readily supplied, 2 C. 7. 7 ὥστε με μᾶλλον χαρῆναι ‘still more.’ In Hermas, on the other hand, the elative sense is regularly expressed by the superlative, ἀγαθώτατος, σεμνότατος etc., while in other cases he also uses comparative and superlative interchangeably (Mand. viii. 4. πάντων πονηρότατα needs correction); Sim. ix. 10. 7 is noticeable, ήσαν δὲ ιλαρώτεραι, which appears to be used in elative sense, and therefore to need correction, but the Latin has *hilares satis*.—Οἱ πλείονες may mean ‘the greater number,’ as in 1 C. 15. 6 ἔξι ὅν οἱ πλείονος μένοντιν, 10. 5, but also ‘others,’ ‘more,’ 9. 19 ἵνα τοὺς πλείονας κερδήσω? (τ. πλ. αὐτῶν Origen), 2 C. 2. 6, 4. 15, 9. 2, Ph. 1. 14 as opposed to the person or persons who have

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Clem. Hom. i. 14 τάχιον σε καταλήψομαι, ‘as quickly as possible,’ xi. 13 τάχιον ἐπιλανθάνεοθε (‘forthwith’); in a quite different sense ix. 23 ὡς τάχιον εἶπον = φθάσας, *modo*, ‘just before.’ For the superlative or elative sense cp. also Papyr. Berl. Aeg. Urk. 417, 451, 615. Cp. πυκνότερον A. 24. 26 where it is ambiguous (‘very often’ or ‘so much the oftener’); Clem. Cor. ii. 17. 3 probably ‘as often as possible,’ Clem. Hom. Ep. ad Jac. 9 πυκνότερον ... ὡς δύνασθε (in the weaker sense ibid. iv. 2, viii. 7), similarly συνεχέστερον iii. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Hermas, Vis. iii. 10. 3 Λαν πρεσβυτέρα, 5 δῃ νεωτέρα ‘very old,’ ‘quite youthful,’ Sim. ix. 11. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The passage adduced by Winer, Lusclian Piscat. 20 ἄμεινον σὺ οἰσθα ταῦτα, θ Φιλοσοφία, is different, so far as the meaning of the comp. is concerned: the goddess did actually know better than Lucian.

*hitherto* been considered; cp. *ταῦτα ἐπών καὶ τὰ τούτων πλείστα* Clem. Hom. Ep. ad Jac. 17 (so A. 2. 40 ἑτέροις τε λόγοις πλείστιν?).<sup>1</sup> —On the remnants of the superlative see § 11, 3 (especially for *μᾶλιστα* and *μᾶλλον*); on the forms of expression to introduce the object compared (gen., *ἢ*, *παρά* or *ἐπέρ*) § 36, 12.

4. The positive may also be used with the meaning of a comparative (or superlative): this occasionally takes place in the classical language, but it is mainly due to the example of the Semitic language, which has no degrees of comparison at all. Οἱ πολλοὶ are the many as opposed to the few, *i.e.* the majority, in classical Greek and Mt. 24. 12, frequently in Mc. (Gregory-Tisch. 128) 6. 2 BL (v.l. without *οἱ*), 9. 26 ΙΑΒΛΔ (same v.l.), cp. 12. 37 infra; in St. Paul *τῶν πολλῶν* 1 C. 10. 33 is opposed to *έμαντοῦ*, and is therefore parallel to the same writer's use of *οἱ πλείστες* elsewhere; *πλείστος* is also found in this sense: Mt. 21. 8 δὲ *πλείστος ὄχλος*<sup>2</sup> = δὲ *πολὺς ὅ.* of Mc. 12. 37 (*αἱ πλείσται δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ* Mt. 11. 20 'his numerous miracles,' cp. *τὰ πολλὰ γράμματα* A. 26. 24). A further example is (Buttm. p. 73) Mt. 22. 36 *ποίᾳ ἐντολῇ μεγάλῃ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ* 'the greatest,' cp. 5. 19. With the idea of comparison more clearly marked (by the addition of a gen.), we have *τὰ ἄγια τῶν ἀγίων* H. 9. 2 f. (LXX.), a use which is by no means unclassical (*κακὰ κακῶν*, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 20). In the case where the comparison is introduced by *ἐπέρ* or *παρά* (§ 36, 12), on the analogy of the Semitic construction, the adjective may be either positive or comparative: L. 13. 2 *ἀμαρτωλοὶ παρὰ πάντας* (where a comparative was wanting, cp. *δεδικαιωμένος παρὰ* 18. 14 ΙΑΒΛ; frequent in LXX., *e.g.* *μέγας παρὰ*, *πραῦς παρὰ* Ex. 18. 11, Num. 12. 3). The positive may however also be used with *ἢ*: Mt. 18. 8 f., Mc. 9. 43, 45 *καλόν ἔστιν ... ἢ* (LXX. Gen. 49. 12 *λευκὸν ἢ*); similarly where there is no adjective (and *μᾶλλον* is therefore to be supplied) L. 15. 7 *χαρὰ ἔσται ... ἢ*, 1 C. 14. 19 *θέλω ... ἢ*, Lc. 17. 2 *λυσιτελεῖ ... ἢ*, for which there are classical parallels.<sup>3</sup>

5. The comparative is heightened, as in classical Greek, by the addition of *πολύ* or *πολλῷ*: 2 C. 8. 22, Jo. 4. 41; occasionally too by the accumulation of several comparatives: Ph. 1. 23 *πολλῷ γὰρ μᾶλλον κρέσσον* (Clem. Cor. i. 48. 6 ὅσῳ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον μείζων εἶναι is merely pleonastic, like Herm. Sim. ix. 28. 4 *μᾶλλον ἐνδοξότεροι*), 2 C. 7. 13 *περισσότερως μᾶλλον ἔχαρην*, Mc. 7. 36 *μᾶλλον περισσότερον (-οτέρως D.) ἐκήρυσσον*, cp. § 11, 3, note 4. The same accumulation appears in classical Greek, Schwab Syntax der Comparation iii. 59 ff. But in *ἡδιστα μᾶλλον* 2 C. 12. 9 the words should not be taken together: the sense being 'Gladly (superl. with elative force, and a stereotyped phrase) will I rather glory in my weaknesses.'

<sup>1</sup> Classical Greek had the same use: *τὸν πλείστα χρόνον* 'a longer time' (than at present), *πλείστες λόγοι*, *τὸν πλείστων λόγον* (Soph. Tr. 731) 'further speech.' Cp. Kühn. ii. 549; E. Tournier, Rev. de philol. 1877, 253; O. Schwab, Syntax der Comparation ii. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, Leg. 700 C.

<sup>3</sup> Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 841 (so Herodotus ix. 26 fin. *δικαιόν ἔστιν ... ἢ*).

## § 45. NUMERALS.

1. The first day of the month or of the week is expressed in the LXX. and in the N.T. not by *πρώτη* but by *μία*, whereas for the higher numbers the ordinal is used, *δευτέρα* and so on: of course the day being a single day (in the case of *δευτέρα* ‘the second’ etc.) does not admit of being expressed by a plural, while all other numbers but *εἷς* must necessarily be plurals. Thus *εἷς μίαν σαββάτων* ‘on Sunday’ Mt. 28. 1, *ἐν μιᾷ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ δευτέρου* Num. 1. 1. This is not a classical,<sup>1</sup> but undoubtedly a Hebrew idiom (Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 134, 4), with this difference that in Hebrew the later days of the month are also denoted by cardinal numbers. This N.T. usage (found also in A. 20. 7, 1 C. 16. 2, Mc. 16. 2) is violated in ‘Mc.’ 16. 9 *πρώτη σαββάτου*, for which Eusebius however quotes *τῇ μιᾷ*.

2. *Εἷς* already begins now and again to pass from the sense of a numeral (one as opposed to several) into that of the indefinite article; the latter development, which has analogies in the German and Romance languages, appears completely carried out in modern Greek. The Hebrew **תְּנָשׁ**, moreover, afforded a precedent to the N.T. writers. In Mt. 8. 19 *προσελθόντες εἷς γραμματεῖς*, 26. 69 *μία παιδίσκη*, Ap. 8. 13 *ἥκοντα ἐνὸς ἀετοῦ* etc., *εἷς* = the classical *τις*; and similarly we find *εἷς* with the gen. (or *ἔξι*): L. 15. 15 *ἐνὶ τῶν πολιτῶν*, Ap. 7. 13 *εἷς ἐκ (ἐκ οὐ. κ.) τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*;<sup>2</sup> it is used in conjunction with *τις* (classical) *εἷς τις ἐξ αὐτῶν* L. 22. 50, still in such a way that *εἷς* forms a contrast to the remaining body (Jo. 11. 49, a v.l. in Mc. 14. 47, 51). Another unclassical use is that of *ὁ εἷς ... ὁ ἔτερος* for *ὁ μὲν (ἔτερος) ... ὁ δὲ (ἔτερος)*, Mt. 6. 24, L. 7. 41 *τὸν ἔνα - τὸν δὲ ἔνα* Barn. 7. 6, 17), *εἷς ... καὶ εἷς ...*, Mt. 27. 38, L. 18. 10 D (Herm. Mand. vi. 2. 1; on the model of Heb. **תְּנָשׁ**, e.g. in Ex. 17. 12), Mc. 4. 8, 20, ep. Mt. 13. 8, 23 (§ 46, 2) etc., though even classical writers repeatedly employ *εἷς* when dividing a multitude (or a duality) into its component parts, Hyperid. cont. Athenogenes § 14 f. *ὁ εἷς νόμος ... ἔτερος ν. κ.τ.λ.*, Xenoph. Cyrop. i. 2. 4 *τέτταρα ... ἐν μὲν ... ἐν δὲ ... ἀλλο ... ἀλλο*; Demosth. xviii. 215 *τρία ... ἐν μὲν ... ἔτερον δὲ ... τρίτον δὲ*, Arist. Rhet. ii. 20 f. 1393 A, 27 *εἰδη δύο, ἐν μὲν - ἐν δὲ,* (where the full meaning of the numeral is preserved), ep. Ap. 17. 10 *ἔπτα ... οἱ πέντε ... ὁ εἷς ... ὁ ἀλλος*. Lastly, a quite unclassical but Semitic usage is that of *εἷς τὸν ἔνα* for *ἀλλήλους* 1 Th. 5. 11 (1 C. 4. 6 *εἷς ἵπτερ τοῦ ἐνὸς κατὰ τοῦ ἔτέρου* is different):

<sup>1</sup> *Εἷς καὶ εἰκοστός, τριακοστός* (the regular form even in Attic inscriptions) is essentially different, since this is only a case of the formation of the ordinal being imperfectly carried out, as in the Latin *unus et vicesimus*.

<sup>2</sup> This use of *εἷς* is found already in Attic writers, *ἐνὶ τῶν πολιτῶν* Hyperid. Lycophr. 13, *τῶν ἑταίρων εἷς* Aesch. c. Ctesiph. 89, although there is always the implied meaning ‘belonging to this definite number (or class),’ so that the *εἷς* has a force which is quite absent from it in Luke loc. cit. The instances adduced for the weakened sense of *εἷς* from Plato and Xenophon (e.g. Plat. Leg. ix. 855 D) are quite irrelevant, since the *εἷς* is there a true numeral.

the sense being, every individual on behalf of the one against the other, fully expressed *εἰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐ. κ. τ. ἐτ. καὶ ἔτερος ὑπ. τ. ἐνὸς* [the opposite person to the previous *ἐνὸς*] *κ. τ. ἐτ.*).

3. 'Αὐτὰ and *κατὰ* with a numeral have a **distributive** sense as in classical Greek: Mc. 6. 40 *κατὰ* (v.l. ἀνὰ as in L. 9. 14) *ἔκατὸν καὶ κατὰ πεντήκοντα* (Herm. Sim. ix. 2. 3 ἀνὰ δύο *παρθένοι*, cp. § 39, 2); besides this we have after the Semitic manner<sup>1</sup> δύο δύο Mc. 6. 7 (ἀνὰ δύο D as in L. 10. 1), just as for *κατὰ συμπόσια, κ. πρασιάς* Mc. 6. 39 f. has *συμπόσια συμπόσια, πρασιὰ πρασιά* (Herm. Sim. viii. 2. 8 *τάγματα τάγματα*, 4. 2).<sup>2</sup> On ἀνὰ *εἰς ἔκαστος, εἰς καθ' εἰς* and the like, see § 51, 4.

4. 2 P. 2. 5 *ὅγδοον Νῶε ἐφύλαξεν*, 'Noah with seven others,' is correct classical Greek (though ὅγδ. *αὐτὸν* would be more usual).—Mt. 18. 22 ἔως ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἐπτά is peculiar for 'seventy times seven times': D\* alone reads ἑβδ. *ἐπτάκις*.—'Now for the third time' is *τρίτον τοῦτο* (§ 34, 3), like Herod. v. 76 *τέταρτον τοῦτο* (W.); 'for the third time' is (*τὸ*) *τρίτον* Mc. 14. 41 etc., *ἐκ τρίτου* Mt. 26. 44, cp. A. 10. 15.

#### § 46. THE ARTICLE. I. 'Ο, η, τό, as pronoun; the article with independent substantives.

1. The article ὁ, η, τό, which had long since been developed out of the old demonstrative pronoun, retains on the whole in the N.T. all its former usages, and amongst them to a certain extent its use as a **pronoun** ('this one,' 'he'). There is here, however, a confusion (found also in other Hellenistic writings, and indeed in the classical period, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 779 f.) between the forms of the *ἄρθρον προτακτικόν ὁ, η, τό* and those of the *ἄρθρον ὑποτακτικόν ὅς, οὐ, ὅ*, since the latter are employed as demonstratives instead of relatives.

2. 'Ο μὲν – δὲ, 'the one – the other.' This use is no longer very frequent in the N.T., and usually takes the form of *ὅς μὲν – δέ* (neut. *ὅ μὲν ... δέ*, plur. *ἃ μὲν, οὖς μὲν, οὖς μὲν* etc.); moreover the (Semitic) use of *εἰς* encroaches upon it, § 45, 2, though the latter is not everywhere synonymous with it, and can form no plural. Thus *ὅ μὲν – δέ* refers either to persons already familiar, **the one – the other**, this one—that one, or is quite indefinite, one – another; on the other hand it does not serve as a means of differentiating a number of persons or things when they are introduced for the first time; hence, whereas Luke can say (23. 33) *τοὺς κακούργους, ὅν μὲν – δὲν δέ*, the phrase in Mt. 27. 38 is δύο *λυσταῖ*, *εἰς – καὶ εἰς* (class. *εἰς μέν – ἔτερος δέ*), cp. § 45, 2. Other instances of *ὅς μὲν – ὅς δέ*: Mt. 13. 4 (*ἃ μὲν – ἄλλα δέ* [D *ἃ δέ*]); similar freedom as to the sequence in the clauses is frequent elsewhere, cp. Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 508 note), 13. 8, 16. 14, 21. 35, 22. 5 (*δές ΚBC\*L, οἱ D*), 25. 15, 26. 67 (*οἱ δέ alone, 'but others'*),

<sup>1</sup> LXX. Gen. 7. 3, 9. From classical Greek Winer adduces Aesch. Pers. 981 *μυρία μυρία πεμπαστάν*, i.e. *τὸν κατὰ μυρίους ἀριθμοῦντα*.

<sup>2</sup> A mixed construction ἀνὰ δύο δύο occurs in the Gospel of Peter 35.

28. 17 (ditto),<sup>1</sup> Mc. 4. 4, 12. 5, L. 8. 5, Jo. 7. 12, A. 14. 4, 17. 18 (*τινὲς ... οἱ δὲ*, 32, 27. 44, 28. 24, R. 9. 21, 14. 2 (*ὅς μὲν — ὁ [ὅς FG] δὲ ἀσθενῶν*), 5, 1 C. 11. 21, 12. 8, 28, 2 C. 2. 16 ('the latter' — 'the former') Ph. 1. 16 (ditto), 2 Tim. 2. 20, Jd. 22. On the other hand the only instances of *ὁ μὲν — ὁ δὲ* are: 1 C. 7. 7 *ὁ μὲν οὗτος ὁ δὲ οὗτος* (*ὅς ΚL*), E. 4. 11 *τὸν μὲν — τὸν δὲ* all MSS.; also in H. 7. 20 f., 23 f., 12. 10 we have *οἱ μὲν — ὁ δὲ*, referring to **definite** persons (in 7. 20 f. the priests under the old system — Jesus), who are indicated in this way instead of by a repetition of the names, a case in which *ὅς* is never used: Mt. 13. 23 also appears to be an instance, *ὅς δὴ* (D has *τότε* for *ὅς δὴ*) *καρποφορεῖ καὶ ποιεῖ ὁ μὲν ἐκατόν, ὁ δὲ ἑξήκοντα, ὁ δὲ τριάκοντα*, but the verse = verse 8, where *ὁ* is neuter, and it should therefore probably be so taken here as well, cp. Mc. 4. 20 *Ἐν τριάκοντα κ.τ.λ.* (where it is quite wrong to write *ἐν*).

3. 'Ο δὲ' 'but he,' ή δὲ, οἱ δὲ (only in the nominative) used in continuing a narrative, are common in all historical writings (least often in St. John);<sup>2</sup> the use of *ὁ μὲν οὖν* 'he then,' without a δὲ strictly corresponding to the *μὲν*, is confined to the Acts. 'Ο δὲ, *ὁ μὲν οὖν* show a special tendency to take a participle after them, which gives rise occasionally to ambiguity. For instance, in A. 8. 4 *οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες* means 'they therefore that were scattered,' since in order to separate *οἱ* from *διασπαρέντες* it would be necessary for the subject referred to to have been mentioned just before, whereas here it is a long way off (verse 1); but in 1. 6 *οἱ μὲν οὖν συνελθόντες* it is ambiguous whether the meaning is 'they therefore who were come together' or 'they therefore, when they were come together.' The demonstrative *ὅς* no longer appears in connection with other particles: there is no trace of *καὶ ὅς*, *καὶ τόν* in the continuation of a narrative, nor of *τὸν καὶ τόν* 'such and such a one,' or *πρὸ τοῦ* 'formerly' etc.

4. 'Ο, η, τό used as the **article** with **appellatives** has as in classical Greek a double import: it is either **individual** or **generic**, i.e. it either calls special attention to one definite individual out of a class, *ὁ ἄνθρωπος = οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος*, or it contrasts the whole class as such with other classes, *οἱ ἄνθρωποι* opposed to *τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα* (or to *ὁ θεός*). The latter use is also derived from the demonstrative sense: 'these persons,' to wit 'men.' This sense of the article was known by grammarians in early times (Apollonius Dyscolus) as the '**anaphoric**' sense, because there is a reference back (*ἀναφορά*) to something already familiar or supposed to be familiar: *ὁ δοῦλός σου* is 'your slave' (the particular slave whom you know I mean, or the one whom you have), but *δοῦλός σου* is 'a slave of yours.' If therefore an individual who is not yet familiar is introduced for the first

<sup>1</sup> In these last two passages there is no partition indicated at the beginning of the sentence, but it is only through the *οἱ δὲ* that it becomes apparent that the preceding statement was not applicable to the whole body. Cp. Winer, § 17, 2, who compares passages from classical authors.

<sup>2</sup> Jo. 5. 11 *ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη ΚC\*GKL al., ἀπεκρ. alone C<sup>3</sup>DEF al.*, a peculiar reading *ὅς δὲ ἀπ.* AB, as in Mc. 15. 23 *ὅς δὲ ΚB.* Cp. § 79, 4.

time, or if the whole class (though familiar) is not embraced, but only an undefined part of it, then no article need be used, as e.g. in the case of a predicate: for in *ἱμεῖς μάρτυρες τούτων* there is no ἀναφορά to particular well-known witnesses, nor is the whole class embraced: this is the ordinary rule for expressing a predicate (exceptions are given in § 47, 3).

5. The use of the individual article, in cases where it is used at all, is generally speaking obligatory, at least according to classical usage it is so: the necessity for its use is not removed by the insertion of a demonstrative or a possessive: *οὗτος δὲ ἄνθρωπος, η̄ ἐμὴ οὐκία*. The generic article may be far more readily dispensed with, especially in the case where the genus is represented by only a single specimen. With **natural objects**: we have δὲ ἥλιος, η̄ σελήνη, but also ἥλιον δὲ (*τοῦ δὲ η̄*, D) ἀνατείλαντος Mt. 13. 6, L. 21. 5 ἔσονται σημεῖα ἐν ἥλιῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἀστροῖς, followed by a contrasted statement καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ‘here on earth’: A. 27. 20 μήτε δὲ ἥλιου μήτε ἀστρων ἐπιφαινόντων, ‘neither sun nor stars shining,’ 1 C. 15. 41 ἀλλη δόξα ἥλιου, καὶ ἀλλη δόξα σελήνης, καὶ ἀλλη δόξα ἀστέρων, Ap. 7. 2, 16. 12 ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἥλιου, 22. 5 οὐκ ἔχοντιν χρείαν φωτὸς λύχνου καὶ φωτὸς ἥλιου (cp. 21. 23 **with art.**). In a certain number of these examples the omission or insertion of the article was obviously a matter of choice; but in A. 27. 20 the meaning appears to be intensified by the omission ‘neither any sun,’ and with 1 C. 15. 41 verse 39 must be compared, ἀλλη μὲν (*σὸρξ*) ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλη δὲ κτηνῶν etc., and the reason for the absence of the article might be in both passages that the reference is not so much to the species taken as a whole, or to the uniquely existing sun, as to the distinctive characteristic of the species or of the individual object in the respective passages. Cp. 2 C. 11. 26 *κινδύνοις ἐκ γένους* (**my kindred**, i.e. Jews), καὶ ἐξ ἔθνῶν (elsewhere usually *τὰ ἔθνη*, vide infra), κ. ἐν θαλάσσῃ; the article would here be wrong. Further instances of the absence of the art. with **θάλασσα**: Mt. 4. 15 O.T. ὁδὸν θαλάσσης, A. 10. 6, 12 παρὰ θάλασσαν (after a preposition or a substantive equivalent to a prep., § 40, 9), L. 21. 25 *ἥχοις θαλάσσης*, Ja. 1. 6 κλύδωνι θαλάσσης, Jd. 13 *κύματα ἄγρια θαλ.* (part of the predicate, and also due to the distinctive character of the sea being the point of the comparison). With *γῆ* ‘earth’ the cases of omission of the art. are mainly after a preposition (though even here the cases of insertion far preponderate): *ἐπὶ γῆς* Mt. 28. 18 (with *τῆς* BD), L. 2. 14, 1 C. 8. 5, E. 3. 15, H. 12. 25, 8. 4 (in all these instances except the last in conjunction with *ἐν οὐρανοῖς* (-ῷ) or *ἀπ’ οὐρανῶν* or *ἐν ὑψίστοις*), *ἐκ γῆς* 1 C. 15. 47 (opposed to *ἐξ οὐρ.*), cp. also ἀπὸ ἀκρου γῆς ἔως ἀκρου οὐρανοῦ Mc. 13. 27. Besides these we have A. 17. 24 *οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς κύριος*, 2 P. (3. 5 *οὐρανοὶ ... καὶ γῆ* ‘a new heaven,’ similarly 13), 3. 10 *οὐρανοὶ* (with *οἱ ABC*)...*στοιχεῖα ... γῆ* (with *ἡ CP*), cp. 12. Among these instances, in 1 C. 15. 47 the omission was no doubt obligatory, since *ἐκ γῆς* is ‘earthy’ (the essential property of earth is referred to). *Οὐρανός* (-οῦ) with a preposition frequently stands without an article (often there is a diversity of reading in the MSS.); the omission is obligatory in Mt. 21. 25 f. *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ... ἐξ ἀνθρώπων*

= 'of heavenly' or 'human origin'; so in Mc. 11. 30 f., L. 20. 4 f. Omission of art. where there is no prep. occurs in A. 3. 21, 17. 24 (for 2 P. 3. 5, 12 vide supra). **Κόσμος**: ἐν κόσμῳ 1 C. 8. 4, 14. 10, Ph. 2. 15 etc. (v.l. in 2 P. 1. 4); of one world as opposed to another 2 P. 1. 5 (see above on  $\gamma\hat{\eta}$ ); κόσμον forming part of the anarthrous predicate R. 4. 13, 11. 12, 20; the omission is regular in all writers in the formula ἀπὸ καταβολῆς ( $\alpha\rho\chi\hat{\eta}\varsigma$ , κτίσεως) κόσμου Mt. 25. 34 etc., cp. ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς κτίσεως Mc. 10. 6, 13. 19, 2 P. 3. 4; other instances 2 C. 5. 19, G. 6. 14.—The points of the compass, only found in connection with prepositions, never have the article: κατὰ μεσημβρίαν A. 8. 26, ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν Mt. 2. 1, 8. 11 etc., ἀπὸ δυσμῶν L. 12. 54, ἀπὸ βορρᾶ καὶ νότου 13. 29 (so in other writers); also βασιλίσσα νότου Mt. 12. 42 of more definite regions in the south, but ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ is used in the same sense in Mt. 2. 2, 9.

6. Another class of Being, unique of Its kind, is expressed by θεός, κύριος (= **Χριστός**, but also Christ), and these words come near being proper names; it is not surprising that the article is frequently dropped. This happens especially after a preposition ( $\alpha\pi\delta$  θεοῦ Jo. 3. 2, ἐν κυρίῳ passim), or when the word is in the genitive and dependent on an anarthrous noun (particularly a predicate), e.g. Mt. 27. 20 ὅτι θεοῦ εἰμι νίος, L. 3. 2 ἐγένετο ρῆμα θεοῦ (subject), although we also have εἰ νίδιος εἰ τοῦ θεοῦ Mt. 4. 3, νιὲ τοῦ θεοῦ 8. 29, and the usage depends more on a natural tendency to assimilation and abbreviation than on any hard and fast rule. So also νιὲ διαβόλου A. 13. 10 (διαβ. elsewhere takes an art., as does σατανᾶς except in [Mc. 3. 23 'one Satan'] L. 22. 3). On Χριστός vide infra 10.—Under the head of the generic article must also be classed plurals like ἀνθρώποι, νεκροί, ἔθνη; here too it is especially after a preposition and in a few phrases besides that we occasionally have noticeable instances of the omission of the art.: ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερθῆ Mt. 17. 9, and so regularly (except in E. 5. 14 O.T., Col. 2. 12 BDEFG, 1 Th. 1. 10 [om. τῶν ACK]), whereas we have ἤγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν ν. Mt. 14. 2 etc.; ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν A. 17. 32, 23. 6 etc.; in 1 C. 15. 15 f., 29, 32 the article could not stand, because it is the idea and not the complete number which is in question (verse 52 is different); 1 P. 4. 5 κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς = all, whether dead or living, cp. 6.—Not infrequently οὐνη, 'the heathen' is without an art.: after Hebr. **Μῆλα** in A. 4. 25 O.T., R. 15. 12 O.T.; ἐξ οὐνῶν A. 15. 14, G. 2. 15, ἐν οὐνεσιν 1 Tim. 3. 16, σὺν οὐ. A. 4. 27; in the gen. πλοῦτος οὐνῶν, οὐν. ἀπόστολος R. 11. 12 f. (predic.); also R. 3. 29 f. ἡ Ἰουδαίων (as such) ὁ θεὸς μόνον; οὐχὶ καὶ οὐνῶν; ναὶ καὶ οὐνῶν, εἴπερ εἰς ὁ θεός, ὃς δικαιώσει περιτομὴν (as such, or in some individual instances not specified) ἐκ πίστεως καὶ ἀκροβυστίᾳν διὰ τῆς (anaphoric) πίστεως.

7. The individual article could scarcely be expected in formulas like ἀπ' ἄγρον, ἐν ἄγρῳ, εἰς ἄγρον, since there is no question of a definite field (Mt. 13. 24 ἐν τῷ ἄγρῳ αὐτοῦ); if however we also find ἐν τῷ ἀ. etc. without reference to a definite field (Mt. 13. 44, like τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἄγρου 6. 28), the art. must then be regarded as generic (as we say 'the country'). 'Ἐν ἄγρῳ L. 7. 32 = ἐν ταῖς ἄγροις (ταῖς om.

CEF al.) in Mt. 11. 16 etc.; ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς Mc. 7. 4 a formula; similarly ἐπὶ θύραις Mt. 24. 33; of **time** πρὸς ἑσπέραν L. 24. 29, ἔως ἑσπέρας A. 28. 23, μεχρὶ μεσονυκτίου 20. 7 (κατὰ τὸ μεσ. 16. 25), διὰ νυκτὸς with v.l. διὰ τῆς v. A. 5. 19, 16. 9 etc. (the art. denoting the particular night), πρὸς καιροῦ = πρὸς καιρὸν εἶναι Mt. 8. 29, ἐν καιρῷ = ὅταν καιρὸς ὁ 24. 45, ἄχρι καιροῦ L. 4. 13, A. 13. 11, πρὸς καιρόν L. 8. 13, κατὰ κ. R. 5. 6 ('at the right time'; 'in its due time'), παρὰ καιρὸν ἡλικίας H. 11. 11 (so also in classical Greek without art.); ἀπ' (ἔξ) ἀρχῆς, ἐν ἀρχῇ (class.); but ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ 1 P. 1. 5, ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις 2 Tim. 3. 1, Ja. 5. 3 (used along with ἐπ' ἐσχάτου or -ων τῶν ἡμερῶν, § 47, 2) come under the same class as ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας A. 20. 18, Ph. 1. 5 (xABP insert τῆς), ἀπὸ ἕκτης ὥρας Mt. 27. 45, ἔως ὥρας ἐνάτης Mc. 15. 33 (cp. Herm. Vis. iii. 1. 2, Sim. ix. 11. 7), ἔως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ 2 C. 12. 2, πρώτην φυλακὴν καὶ δευτέραν A. 12. 10, πρώτης (the reading -τη of the MSS. is corrupt) μερίδος τῆς Μακ. πόλις 16. 12, and are explained by a usage of the older language, according to which the art. may be omitted with ordinal numbers, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 551, and not merely in phrases like ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν 1 Jo. 2. 18. The usage of the language is however regulated with still greater precision: in statements about the hour the art. is used only either anaphorically as in Mt. 27. 46, cp. 45, or where there is an ellipse of ὥρα as in Mt. 20. 6 (in 9 it is anaphoric), or where a further definition is introduced as in A. 3. 1 τὴν ὥραν τῆς προσευχῆς τὴν ἐνάτην; with ἡμέρᾳ, on the other hand, it is only absent in the case of more indefinite expressions, but is used with more definite statements, thus τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ always, and in Jo. 6. 39 ff. ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.—**Θάνατος** very frequently appears without an art., where German inserts one: ἔως θανάτου Mt. 26. 38, ἔνοχος θανάτου, ἄξιον θανάτου, παραδιδόναι εἰς θάνατον, γενέσθαι θανάτου; the art. is used either of the actual death of a definite person (1 C. 11. 26), or (but this is almost confined to John's Gospel, Paul, and Apoc.) of death in the abstract, cp. 8. inf., Jo. 5. 24 μεταβέβηκεν ἐκ τοῦ θ. εἰς τὴν ψώνην,<sup>1</sup> or where death is half personified (Ap. 13. 3, 12), besides the case where assimilation to a noun in connection with it requires the article: τὸ ἀπόκριμα τοῦ θ. 2 C. 1. 9 (ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θ. αὐτοῦ Ap. 13. 3, 12 is anaphoric).—**Πνεῦμα**: τὸ ἄγιον πν. is used sometimes to a certain extent personally, and then with the article, sometimes for the godlike spirit moving in man, and then without an art., unless there is 'anaphora' as in A. 2. 4, 8. 18, cp. 17; in 10. 44 ἐπέπεσεν τὸ πν. τὸ ἄγ. ἐπὶ πάντας there is a reference to the well-known fact of the outpouring, but this instance also approximates to the first usage. Omission is also occasioned by the presence of a preposition or by assimilation: ἐν πν. ἄγιῳ, ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος ἄγιον.—3 Jo. 6 ἐνώπιον ἐκκλησίας, 1 C. 14. 4 ἐκκλησίāν οἰκοδομεῖ scarcely need explanation ('a congregation'); in H. 12. 7 τίς γὰρ νίος, δὸν οὐ παιδεύει πατήρ, we might expect to have δ. π. 'his father,' as in 1 Tim. 2. 12 after γυναικί to have τοῦ ἀνδρός 'her husband' (so 1 C. 11. 3 κεφαλὴ γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνήρ; in E. 5. 23 the art. goes with

<sup>1</sup> On incidental cases of omission of the art. cp. 8.

*γυναικὸς*), but the relation is neglected ('whom a father does not chastise'; see also § 82, 2 note), cp. Herm. Sim. ix. 28. 4 ἵνα δοῦλος κύριον ἴδιον ἀρνήσηται. Πατέρ<sup>is</sup> is used of God in Jo. 1. 14 δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός (a kind of assimilation to *μονογ.*), also in the formula ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν R. 1. 7 etc.; πιστῷ κτίστη 1 P. 4. 19, with v.l. ὡς π. κτ., is at any rate agreeable to the sense. Σὺν γυναιξὶν A. 1. 14 is a regular formula, cp. 21. 5 σὺν γ. καὶ τέκνοις (classical Greek has the same phrase; so we say 'with women and children'); further, ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πίπτειν L. 5. 12 etc., κατὰ πρ. 2 C. 10. 7<sup>1</sup>; cp. 9.

8. With **abstract words** the article is very frequently absent in Greek, where it is used in German; the more abstract the sense in which such a word is used, the less liable is it to take any article other than the generic. Hence in some passages the question is rather to account for the presence of the art. than for its absence; e.g. Col. 3. 5 πονείαν ἀκαθαροίαν πάθος ἐπιθυμίαν... καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ἡτις ἔστιν εἰδωλολατρία 'and that principal vice, covetousness' etc.; the additional clause ἡτις κ.τ.λ. entails the use of the article. In 1 C. 14. 20 μὴ παιδία γίνεσθε ταῖς φρεσίν, ἀλλὰ τῇ κακίᾳ νηπιάζετε, τῇ κ. is due to *ταῖς φρεσίν*. Cp. further H. 1. 14 εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα διὰ τὸν μέλλοντα κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν (2. 3, 5. 9, 6. 9, 9. 28, 11. 7; with art. only in 2. 10 τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν). In 1 C. 13. 13 νῦν δὲ μένει πίστις ἐλπὶς ἀγάπη ... μείζων δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀγάπη the art. is anaphoric (so also in the German); cp. verses 4 and 3, R. 13. 10 and 9; R. 12. 7 εἴτε διακονίαν, ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ εἴτε ὁ διδάσκων, ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ etc.; but ibid. 9 ff. ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος, τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ φιλόστοργοι, τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προτηγούμενοι, τῇ σπουδῇ μὴ ὀκνηροί, because they are virtues assumed to be well known etc.). St. Paul is fond of omitting the art. with ἀμαρτίᾳ, νόμος, and occasionally with θάνατος (R. 6. 9, 8. 38, cp. supra 7), but the reason for his doing so is intelligible: R. 5. 13 ἤχρι γὰρ νόμου ἀμαρτίᾳ ἦν ἐν κόσμῳ ('before there was a law, there was sin'), ἀμαρτίᾳ δὲ οὐκ ἐλλογεῖται μὴ ὅντος νόμου, 6. 14 ἀμαρτίᾳ ('no sin,' cp. 8 θάνατος) ὑμῶν οὐ κυρεύεται οὐ γάρ ἔστε ὑπὸ νόμου ('under any law') ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ χάρων, 3. 20 διὰ γὰρ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἀμαρτίας (a general statement). Σάρξ also inclines to an abstract sense (the natural state of man); hence we frequently have ἐν σάρκι and nearly always κατὰ σάρκα (*τὴν* is inserted as a v.l. in 2 C. 11. 18, and by nearly all MSS. in Jo. 8. 15).

9. Whereas hitherto no case has occurred where the classical usage of the article is opposed to the N.T. usage, such opposition appears in the case of a **noun which governs a genitive**, and which in Hebrew would therefore be in the construct state or would have a suffix attached to it, and in either case would be without an article; this **Semitic** usage has exercised a considerable influence on the Greek of the N.T. writers, especially where they make use of Semitic (*i.e.* Hebrew or Aramaic) originals. But as it was repugnant to the spirit of the Greek language, the article has in general only

<sup>1</sup> Also in profane writers like Polybius; there are similar classical phrases, κατ' ὄφθαλμούς, ἐν ὄφθαλμοῖς etc.

been omitted, where the whole clause was governed by a preposition (cp. supra 5-7), and the phrase has thus become a fixed formula: ἀπὸ (πρὸ) προσώπου τινός,<sup>1</sup> διὰ χειρός τινος, διὰ στόματός τινος, ἀπὸ ὄφθαλμῶν σου L. 19. 42, ἐν ὄφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν Mt. 21. 42 O.T. (πρὸ ὄφθ. ἡμῶν Clem. Cor. i. 2. 1),<sup>1</sup> formulas which are all thoroughly Hebraic, § 40, 9; further instances are ἐν ἡμέραις Ἡράδον Mt. 2. 1, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὥρῆς R. 2. 5, Ph. 1. 6 ἅχρις ἡμέρας Ἰησοῦν Χριστοῦ, cp. 10, 2. 16 (ἐν τῇ ἡμ. τοῦ κυρίου 1 C. 5. 6, 2 C. 5. 14, 2 Th. 2. 2; on the other hand the art. is omitted even with the nom., ἡμέρα κυρίου 1 Th. 5. 2 [ἡ add. AKL], 2 P. 3. 10 BC [with ἡ ΚΑΚΛΠ]); εἰς οἶκον αὐτῶν Mc. 8. 3, cp. 26 (the use with the art. largely preponderates; L. 14. 1 εἰς οἶκόν [τὸν ο. Α] τινος τῶν Φαρισ. [cp. A. 18. 7, 10. 32] is excusable: τὴν κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίαν R. 16. 5, Col. 4. 15, cp. Philem. 2, is a regular phrase and perhaps not a Hebraism); ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς (αὐτοῦ) Mt. 9. 12, L. 1. 15, A. 3. 2, 14. 8; ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς Ph. 4. 3 (but in Ap. with two articles), ἐν βίβλῳ λόγων Ἡσαΐου L. 3. 4, cp. 20. 42, A. 1. 20, 7. 42 (ἐν τῇ β. Μωϋσέως Mc. 12. 26), ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ L. 11. 20, ἐν τῷ Βεελζεβοὺλ ἀρχοντὶ τῶν δαιμονίων Mt. 12. 24 (and a v.l. in L. 11. 15), and many more. To these must be added phrases which contain a proper name in the genitive, where the omission of the art. is not dependent on the presence of a preposition: γῆ Ἰσραήλ, Σοδόμων, Αἰγύπτου, Χαλδαίων etc., βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου A. 7. 10, εἰς πόλιν Δανίδ L. 2. 4, cp. 11 ('the city of D.'), οἶκος Ἰσραήλ Mt. 10. 6 (23 D) etc., ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δανίδ L. 2. 4 (but in L. 1. 33, H. 8. 8, 10 O.T., it takes the article as in the LXX.), ἐξ ἐφημερίας Ἀβία L. 1. 5. It is not often that this omission of the art. goes beyond such instances as those mentioned, as it does in Mary's song of praise in L. 1. 46 ff.: ἐν βραχίονι αὐτοῦ, διανοίᾳ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν, Ἰσραήλ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, and in that of Zacharias ibid. 68 ff.: ἐν οἴκῳ Δανίδ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐξ ἔχθρῶν ἡμῶν, διαθήκῃς ἀγίας αὐτοῦ, ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ, διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέος θεοῦ ἡμῶν etc., by which means an unusually strong Hebrew colouring is here produced.<sup>2</sup> Cp. 2. 32 (Simeon's song of praise), Ja. 1. 26, 5. 20.

10. In the case of **proper names** the final development of the language has been that in modern Greek, when used as proper names, they take the article; in classical Greek, on the other hand, as also in the Greek of the N.T., proper names as such take no article, but may take one in virtue of a reference (anaphora) to something preceding. Thus if Luke in A. 9. 1 says ὁ δὲ Σαῦλος ἔτι ἐμπνέων κ.τ.λ., his object in using the article is to remind the reader of what he has previously narrated about the man (8. 3 Σαῦλος δὲ); we are then informed that he requested ἐπιστολαὶ εἰς Δαμασκόν, and further on in verse 3, that he drew nigh to τῷ Δαμασκῷ (the place of his destination).

<sup>1</sup> Cp. supra 7 ad fin. with note <sup>1</sup>; writers of pure Greek do not add a genitive to expressions of this kind.

<sup>2</sup> 1 C. 2. 16 τίς γάρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου is a quotation, and so is 1 P. 3. 12 ὄφθαλμοι κυρίου, ὥτα αὐτοῦ; the LXX. abounds with instances of this kind. But in 1 Tim. 5. 10 ἀγίων πόδας, πόδας is due to assimilation to ἀγίων; in 1 C. 10. 21 τραπέζης κυρίου – τρ. δαιμονίων it is the character of the thing which is in question, cp. supra 5 (the one is a table of the Lord, the other a table of devils).

tion), the use of the article being much the same as in 20. *τὸν κλάσαι ἄρτον* compared with *τοὺς κλάσας τὸν ἄρτον*. There is a subtle, and often untranslatable, nicety of language in this use of the article. But it is obvious that it depends in great measure on the caprice of the writer, whether in a case where frequent mention is made of the same person he chooses to express this reference to the preceding narrative or not: moreover the MSS. are frequently divided. If in Acts 1. 1 Ι&AE al. (as opposed to BD) are right in reading *ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, then by this *ὁ* the mind is carried back to the contents of the Gospel; but such a reminder was by no means necessary. *Ἰησοῦς*, moreover, in the Evangelists takes the article as a rule, except where an appositional phrase with the art. is introduced; since obviously in that case either the article with the name or the phrase in apposition is superfluous. Hence Mt. 26. 69, 71 *μετὰ Ἰ. τοῦ Γαλιλαίου* (*Ναζωραίου*), 27. 17, 22 *Ἰ. τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν*, L. 2. 43 *Ἰ. ὁ παῖς* (2. 27 *τὸν παιδίον Ἰησοῦν*), cp. A. 1. 14 *Μαρία τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Ἰ.*, etc. (L. 3. 19 *ὁ δὲ Ἡρῴδης ὁ τετραρχὴς*, with reference to v. 1; e omits *ὁ τετρ.*). Again, not only at the first mention of Jesus at all, but also in the first appearance of the risen Lord, the use of the art. is excluded, since here too there cannot well be anaphora: Mt. 28. 9 (*ὁ Ἰ.* DL al.), L. 24. 15 (*ὁ Ἰ.* DNPX al.); in John's Gospel, however, while on the one hand the anaphoric article is rendered possible at this point by the context and is actually found there (20. 14 *θεωρεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐστῶτα*, after 12 *τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*), on the other hand it is often omitted elsewhere (e.g. in 1. 50), as frequently happens in the other Evangelists in the case of other less distinguished names, such as *Ιωάννης* and *Πέτρος*. In the Epistles, on the contrary, and in the Apocalypse (and to some extent in the Acts) the article is as a rule omitted as entirely superfluous (somewhat in the same way as is done by the Greek orators in the name of the adversary in a lawsuit); exceptions are 2 C. 4. 10 f. (but D\*FG omit the art.), E. 4. 21 (anaphora to *αὐτῷ*), 1 Jo. 4. 3 (anaphora to 2; but it has no art.). *Χριστός* is strictly an appellative, —the Messiah, and this is made apparent in the Gospels and Acts by the frequent insertion of the article; here again the Epistles for the most part (but not always) omit it.—A special case is that of indeclinable proper names, with which the article, without its proper force, has occasionally to serve to determine the case of the word: Mt. 1. 2 ff. *Ἄβραὰμ ἐγένενησεν τὸν Ἰσαάκ... τὸν Ἰακώβ* etc. (the same form is also used in the case of declinable names, such as *τὸν Ἰούδαν*, and where there is a clause in apposition as in 6 *τὸν Δανιὴλ τὸν βασιλέα*; ibid. *ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου*) cp. A. 7. 8, 13. 21. On *οἱ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου* see § 35, 2.

11. The preceding statements hold good equally for place-names as for personal names (the art. is anaphoric in A. 9. 3 vide supra, 9. 38 *τῇ Ἰόπη*, 42 *τῆς Ἰόπης*, cp. 36); *τῆς Πώμης* 18. 2 is due to *τῆς Ἰταλίας* in the same verse; *τὴν Ρώμην* 28. 14 denotes Rome as the goal of the whole journey. *Τρωάς* also, although strictly subject to an article (*Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ Τρωάς*), only takes one in a peculiar way in 2 C. 2. 12 (without an art. in A. 16. 8, 20. 5). There is a peculiar use of the art. in the Acts in the statement of

halting-places on a journey : 17. *ι τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν* (the places lying on the well-known road between Philippi and Thessalonica), 20. 13, 21. 1, 3, 23. 31, but in 20. 14 ff. there is no article. *Ιερουσαλήμ*, *Ιεροσόλυμα* hardly ever take an art., Winer, § 18, 5 (*ἐν τοῖς Ιεροσολύμοις* Jo. 10. 22 ABL, *ἐν Ιερῷ* the rest; the force of the article is, in the very same place which was the scene of the previous narrative.)—The case is different with names of countries, many of which being originally adjectives (*sc. γῆ, χώρα*) are never found without an article: *ἡ Ιουδαία*<sup>1</sup>, *ἡ Γαλιλαία*<sup>2</sup>, *ἡ Μεσοποταμία*, *ἡ Μισία* (Μύσιος adj.), *ἡ Ἑλλάς* A. 20. 2; for a different reason *ἡ Ασία* like *ἡ Εὐρώπη* (*ἡ Λιβύη* does not come under this head) takes the art. from early times, as one of the two divisions of the globe that are naturally opposed to each other, and keeps it even when it is used to denote the Roman province (in A. 2. 9 f. *Μεσοποταμία*, *Ασία* and *ἡ Λιβύη* *ἡ κατὰ Κυρήνην* are the only places with an article); only in A. 6. 9 do we find *ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ασ.*, and in 1 P. 1. 1 the names of all the countries are without the art. (but there there is no art. at all in the whole address: *ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διαστορᾶς Πόντου κ.τ.λ.*).<sup>3</sup> Also with other names of countries the article is found more frequently than it would be with names of towns: always with *Ιταλία*, generally with *Ἀχαΐα* (without art. R. 15. 26, 2 C. 9. 2); *Συρία*, *Κιλικία*, *Φρυγία*, *Αραβία* are strictly adjectives, and therefore generally take the art., but A. 21. 3 *εἰς Σ.*, *Κιλ.* 6. 9 (vide supra), 23. 34. *Φρυγίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν* 2. 10, *εἰς Αραβίαν* G. 1. 17. *Παμφυλία*, although strictly on a par with the others (*τὸ Παμφύλιον πέλαγος* A. 27. 5 β text), yet in a majority of cases omits the art.; it has it in A. (27. 5 infra) 13. 13: *εἰς Πέργην τῆς Παμφυλίας* is a chorographical gen. of the whole, § 35, 4, which absolutely requires the article (A. 13. 14, 22. 3, 27. 5, cp. 16. 12, 21. 39). *Αἴγυπτος* never takes the art. (except in a wrong reading of ΗΑΒCD in A. 7. 11, and of BC in 7. 36).—**River-names**: *ὁ Ιορδάνης ποταμός* Mc. 1. 5, elsewhere *ὁ Ιορδάνης (τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Τίβεριν* Herm. Vis. i. 1. 2; classical usage is the same); **names of seas**: *ὁ Αδρίας* A. 27. 27 as in classical Greek.<sup>4</sup>

12. The names of **nations**, where the nation as a whole is indicated, do not require the article any more than personal names require it, and it is therefore omitted in almost every instance where *Ἰουδαῖοι* are referred to in St. Paul's vindications of himself against the Jews, A. 26. 2, 3, 4, 7, 21, 25. 10 (as it is in the name of the opponent in speeches in an Athenian lawsuit, supra 10), the

<sup>1</sup> For which the Hebraic *γῆ Ιούδα* is also used Mt. 2. 6. (Cp. *ἡ Ιουδαία γῆ* in Jo. 3. 22, and also according to D in 4. 3.)

<sup>2</sup> Exception L. 17. 11 *μέσον Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας*, where the omission with Σ. has produced the omission with Γ.

<sup>3</sup> This is not so much an enumeration of the persons addressed as a characterization of them, and the omission of the art. becomes intelligible by a comparison with 1 Tim. 1. 2 *Τιμοθέῳ γνησιῷ τέκνῳ = δι εἰ γρήσιον τ.* Cp. also Winer, § 18, 6, note 4; infra § 47, 6, note 1 on p. 159; see also 47, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. on the article with names of countries etc. Kallenberg Philol. 49, 515 ff.

exception being 25. 8 *τὸν νόμον τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, where *τὸν ν.* Ἰουδαίων could not well be used, while *τὸν ν. τὸν Ἰ.* (the Attic phrase, see § 47, 7) was contrary to the predominant practice of the N.T. Also in the Pauline Epistles Ἰουδαῖοι takes no article, except in 1 C. 9. 20 ἐγενόμην *τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος* ('individual' article, those with whom I had to deal on each occasion; *τοῖς ἀνόμοις* etc. in the following clauses are similar); nor yet "Ελληνες, although this comprehensive name, just because of its comprehensiveness (in opposition to βάρβαροι, cp. 11 on Ἀσία) in classical Greek regularly has the article<sup>1</sup>; but the point with St. Paul is never the totality of the nation, but its distinctive peculiarity (cp. supra 5 on ἥλιος etc.), consequently R. 1. 14 Ἐλλησίν τε καὶ βαρβάροις is not less classical than Demosth. viii. 67 πᾶσιν Ἐλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις (all, whether Greeks or barbarians), or σοφοῖς τε καὶ ἀνοήτοις which follows it in St. Paul, see § 47, 2. On the other hand in the narrative of the Evangelists (and to some extent in the Acts<sup>2</sup>) the article is rarely omitted with Ἰουδαῖοι and other names of nations (Mt. 28. 15 παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις, D inserts *τοῖς*: 10. 5, L. 9. 52 εἰς τόλιν Σαμαριτῶν is easily explained: in Jo. 4. 9 the clause is spurious). An instance of a national name in the masc. sing. is ὁ Ἰσραὴλ; the art. is wanting in Hebraic phrases like γῆ Ἰ., ὁ λαὸς Ἰ. (*vioi Ἰ.*), but also not infrequently elsewhere.

#### § 47. ARTICLE. II. The article with adjectives etc.; the article with connected parts of speech.

1. Every part of speech which is joined to a substantive as its attribute or in apposition to it—adjective, pronoun, participle, adverb, prepositional expression, the same case or the genitive of another substantive etc.—may in this connection, and without the substantive being actually expressed, be accompanied by the article, which in the case of the omission of the substantive often takes its place and indicates the substantive to be supplied: thus *οἱ τότε sc. ἄνθρωποι*, where the omission of *οἱ* is impossible. We deal with the latter case first, where the additional definition stands alone without the substantive.

The adjective, where it is not a predicate to a substantive, in most cases takes the article, which may be either individual or generic. Masc. sing.: ὁ ἀληθινός 1 Jo. 5. 20 (God), ὁ μόνος 'the only One' (God) Jo. 5. 44 B (the other MSS. insert θεός, cp. 17. 3), ὁ πονηρός 'the devil,' ὁ ἀγιος τοῦ θεοῦ L. 4. 34 (Christ), ὁ δίκαιος (Christ) A. 22. 14, in all which cases the art. is individual and denotes him who possesses this quality *κατ' ἔξοχήν*. Quite different is 1 P. 4. 18 ὁ δίκαιος—ὅς ἀσεβής, as we say 'the righteous—the godless,' i.e. one (everyone) who is righteous or godless, regarded in this capacity,

<sup>1</sup> See Rhein. Mus. xliv. 12.

<sup>2</sup> In this book we also find the correct classical phrases Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες 17. 21, cp. § 47, 9; πάντες Ἰουδαῖοι 26. 4 BC\*E (ins. ol ΗAC<sup>2</sup> al.).

where an individual is taken as a concrete instance of the genus : similarly with a substantive introduced ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος Mt. 12. 35, L. 6. 45 (§ 32, 3) : frequently with participles : the usage stands midway between the individual and the generic use. A third mode of using the art. may be illustrated by Ja. 2. 6 τὸν πτωχόν ‘that beggar,’ where it is individual and anaphoric, referring to the instance in verse 2 (§ 32, 3). The **masc. plur.** can also be used in this last sense, but it is more frequently generic : οἱ πλούσιοι ‘the rich,’ οἱ ἄγιοι a name for Christians. The **fem. sing.** is used elliptically, ἡ ἔρημος and the like, § 44, 1 (the art. is individual : ἡ ἔρημος χῶρα opposed to inhabited country). The **neut. sing.** is used with individual sense of a single definite thing or action, 2 C. 8. 14 O.T. τὸ πολὺ and τὸ ὀδίγον, Philem. 14 τὸ ἀγαθόν σου ‘thy good deed,’ but more frequently with generic sense as in L. 6. 45 ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς καρδίας προφέρει τὸ ἀγαθόν (corresponding to ὁ ἀγαθός, vide supra), G. 6. 10 ἐργαζόμεθα τὸ ἀγαθόν, R. 13. 3 τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποίει, cp. just before τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἐργῷ = τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἔργοις or ἀγαθοῖς ἔργῳ, as Mt. 12. 35 (the parallel passage to L. 6. 45) has τὰ (om. B al.) ἀγαθά and πονηρὰ (LUD ins. τὰ) in the corresponding clause, cp. also R. 3. 8 τὰ κακά — τὰ ἀγαθά. A peculiar usage of Paul (and Hebrews) is that of the neut. sing. adjective equivalent to an abstract noun, usually with a genitive : R. 2. 4 τὸ χρηστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς μετάνοιάν σε ἄγει, differing from χρηστότης (which precedes), since the adjective denotes this goodness in a concrete instance; 1. 19 τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ‘the fact of God’s being known,’ or else that part of God which is (to be) known at all, in which case φανερὸν ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς must be ‘is evident to them,’ cp. § 41, 2. The genitive would then be partitive, and the adjective would not be used for an abstract noun. It is also perhaps so used in τὸ δοκίμιον ἴμων τῆς πίστεως Ja. 1. 3 = 1 P. 1. 7, for δοκίμιος is = δόκιμος, see G. A. Deissmann, Neue Bibelstudien, 86 ff.; see further 1 C. 1. 25 τὸ μωρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ σοφώτερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν (cp. μωρία 21, 23), this divine attribute which appears as foolishness ; 2 C. 4. 17 τὸ παραντίκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς θλίψεως ἴμων (opposed to βάρος ibid.), 8. 9 τὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης γνήσιον, Ph. 3. 8 διὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῆς γνώσεως Χριστοῦ (more concrete and vivid than ὑπεροχή), 4. 5 τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ἴμων, R. (8. 3)<sup>1</sup>, 9. 22, H. 6. 17, 7. 18, 1 C. 7. 35 τὸ εὔσχημον καὶ εὐπάρεδρον τῷ κυρίῳ (§ 37, 7) ἀπερισπάστως. This is the most classical idiom in the language of the N.T., and may be paralleled from the old heathen literature, from Thucydides in particular.<sup>2</sup>—The neut. sing. is also occasionally

<sup>1</sup> Here not in abstract sense, τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου means the one thing which the law could not do : still the genitive belongs to the same class of gen. in either case.

<sup>2</sup> Still it is not to be attributed to imitation ; since the imitation must, according to the usual way with imitative writers of that period, have betrayed itself in details. Moreover, other contemporary writers avail themselves of this method of expression : Strabo 3; p. 168 τὸ εὐμεταχέλυστον τῆς θήρας (Winer, § 34, 2) ; on Joseph. and others, see W. Schmidt de Jos. elocut. 365 ff. See also Clem. Cor. i. 19. 1, 47. 5. “Quite a current usage in the higher κοινή,” W. Schmid, Atticism. iv. 608.

used collectively to denote **persons**, *τὸ ἔλαττον - τοῦ κρείττονος = οἱ ἔλαττονες - τῶν κρειττόνων*, § 32, 1; a peculiar instance is *τὸ δωδεκάφυλον ἡμῶν* ‘our 12 tribes’ A. 26. 7 (Paul before Agrippa), cp. Clem. Cor. i. 55. 6 *τὸ δ. τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ* (and with the same meaning 31. 4 *τὸ δωδεκάσκηπτρον τ. Ἰ.*). Elsewhere the **neut. plur.** is used of **persons**, 1 C. 1. 27 f. *τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου* etc., § 32, 1; also of things with the genitive, *τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τοῦ σκότους, τῆς καρδίας, τῆς αἰσχύνης* R. 2. 16, 1 C. 4. 5, 14. 25, 2 C. 4. 2, *τὰ ἀόρατα τοῦ θεοῦ* R. 1. 20, a use analogous to that of the singular (*vide supra*), but referring to a plurality of phenomena. Other instances like *τὰ ὄρατα καὶ ἀόρατα* Col. 1. 16 (without a genitive) need only brief mention; *τὰ καλά - τὰ σπαρά* of fish caught in a net (*what* is good or bad) Mt. 13. 48. Neuters of this kind are not frequent in the Gospels.

2. With the different ways of employing the adjective that have been quoted, the **article** is sometimes essential, sometimes unnecessary. In R. 1. 14 as we have “Ελλησίν τε καὶ βαρβάροις (§ 46, 12), so also σοφοῖς τε καὶ ἀνοήτοις: Mt. 23. 34 προφήτας καὶ σοφούς, 11. 25 = L. 10. 21 ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν ... νηπίοις, where the article would be as little in place as it would be if a substantive were employed (cp. § 46, 5 on 1 C. 15. 39), Mt. 5. 45 ἐπὶ πονηρὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, 1 C. 1. 20 ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεύς; occasionally too it is absent with neuter words, where its presence or omission appears to be more optional: Ja. 4. 17 καλὸν ποιεῖν (‘some good’), Herm. x. 2. 3 πονηρὸν ἥργαστα, but followed in 4 by *τὸ πονηρόν* anaphoric: 2 C. 8. 21 προνοούμενοι καλὰ οὐ μόνον ἐνώπιον κυρίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνώπιον ἀνθρώπων, in this passage the article would have broken the connection with what follows. It is not accidental that beside *ἐν τῷ φανερῷ* (Mt. 6. 4 etc.) there is regularly found *εἰς φανερὸν ἐλθεῖν* (because the latter refers to something not yet in existence), Mc. 4. 22, L. 8. 17; usually too we have *ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ* as in Mt. 6. 4, R. 2. 29, but in Jo. 7. 4, 10, 18. 20 *ἐν κρυπτῷ* (*εἰς κρύπτην* subst. L. 11. 33); the opposite to which in John is not *ἐν τῷ φανερῷ*, but (*ἐν*) *παρρησίᾳ* or *φανερῷ*. *Εἰς τὸ μέσον, ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου* are used if no genitive follows; otherwise the article is dropped, not so much on account of the Hebraic usage (§ 46, 9), as because *ἐν τῷ μέσῳ* ὑμῶν would be superfluously verbose in a common formula; classical Greek also leaves out the article. Instances of these phrases without a gen. and without an art. (frequent in class. Greek) are Mc. 14. 60 (ins. *τὸ DM*), L. 4. 35 only ΔΓΔ al., ‘Jo.’ 8. 3, 9, A. 4. 7 DEP, 2 Th. 2. 7. Cp. Mc. 13. 27 ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς ἐως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ, Mt. 24. 31, vide inf. 6, note 2; *ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν* H. 1. 1, 2 P. 3. 3 (*ἐσχάτων* from (*τὰ*) *ἐσχάτα*, as in Barn. 16. 5, Herm. Sim. ix. 12. 3), *ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων* 1 P. 1. 20 (*τοῦ χρόνου* &c, cp. Jd. 18), = **בְּאַתְּרִית הַיּוֹם** LXX; *ἐως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς* A. 13. 47 O.T., 1. 8; but *τὰ ἐσχάτα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου* Mt. 12. 45 = L. 11. 26, opposed to *τὰ πρῶτα*.

3. The **participle**, when it stands alone and does not refer to a noun or pronoun, takes the article in most cases. Thus it is often found even as **predicate** with the article, though this part of the

sentence elsewhere generally omits the article. There are, however, frequent instances where even a subst. or adj. used predicatively takes the art.: Mc. 6. 3 οὐχ οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ τέκτων; (he who is known by this designation), Mt. 5. 13 ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ ἄλας τῆς γῆς, cp. 14, 6. 22 ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν ὁ ὀφθαλμός (σου), 16. 16 σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ νιὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, Mc. 15. 2 σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; Jo. 1. 4, 8 etc.,<sup>1</sup> i.e. not *one* salt etc. as compared with another, but that which alone has or deserves this title; more striking are Jo. 3. 10 σὺ εἶ ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ ‘the (great) teacher,’ 5. 35 ἐκεῖνος (John) ἦν ὁ λύχνος ὁ καιόμενος καὶ φαίνων, the light of which one speaks in proverbs; Mt. 24. 45 τίς ἄρα ἴστιν ὁ πιστός δούλος καὶ φρόνιμος; in connection with an anarthrous noun Jo. 8. 44 ὅτι ψεύστης ἐστιν καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ (a passage which from early times was grossly misunderstood, as though ὁ πατήρ were a further subject, see Tischend.). So with an adjective Mt. 19. 17 εἰς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός, cp. supra 2 ad init. This use is very frequent with participles: Mt. 7. 15 ἐκεῖνά ἐστιν τὰ κουνῦντα τὸν ἀνθρωπον, Jo. 5. 39 ἐκεῖναι εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἔμον etc., in all which cases it is taken for granted that something which produces this or that result exists, and then this given category is applied to a definite subject. A periphrasis of the verbal idea by means of εἴναι is the only case where an art. could not stand, § 14, 2.—On the other hand a participle which stands alone is occasionally found, as in classical Greek, without the art. even when it is the subject of the sentence as in Mt. 2. 6 O.T. ἡγούμενος, but in this case it must be regarded as a substantive (cp. Wilke-Grimm ἡγεῖσθαι; other exx. in § 73, 3).

4. **Adverbs or prepositional expressions** when used alone to denote persons or things require the article practically in all cases (*πλησίον* ‘neighbour’ is used as predicate without ὁ in L. 10. 29, 36); in the same way the article is found governing the genitive, although all these modes of expression are not very frequent in the N.T. Οἱ ἐκεῖθεν L. 16. 26, τὰ κάτω, τα ἄνω Jo. 8. 23, Col. 3. 1 f.; οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν Mc. 4. 10, L. 22. 49; Πέτρος καὶ οἱ σὸν αὐτῷ L. 9. 32; with the gen. οἱ τοῦ Ζεβδαίου Jo. 21. 2 (§ 35, 2), τα Καισαρος and τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ L. 20. 35, οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ 1 C. 15. 23; more peculiar is Ja. 4. 14 τὸ (Α τὰ) τῆς αὔριον ‘the things of the morrow,’ ‘what happens to-morrow’; 2 P. 2. 22 το τῆς ἀληθοῦς παρουμίας ‘the import of the proverb,’ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης R. 14. 19, ‘that which makes for peace.’ Especially noticeable are the adverbial accusatives (§ 34, 7) like το κατ’ ἐμέ ‘so far as I am concerned,’ R. 1. 15 (see § 42, 2; elsewhere τὰ κατ’ ἐμέ appears as subject or object, Ph. 1. 12, Col. 4. 7), τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν R. 12. 18, το κατὰ σάρκα 9. 5, where the insertion of the article puts strong emphasis on the limitation, ‘so far as the material side is considered,’ τὸ καθ’ ἡμέραν § 34, 7, in which case the art. may be equally well used or omitted, τὸ πρωΐ (ibid.) etc.—Quite peculiar is L. 17. 4 in D: ἐὰν ἐπτάκις ἀμαρτήσῃ καὶ τὸ ἐπτάκις ἐπιστρέψῃ (‘these 7 times,’ cp. Syr. Sin., therefore anaphoric).

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Winer, § 18, 7.

5. On the **infinitive** with the article see § 71. The neut. sing. of the article may be prefixed, in the same way as to the infin., to indirect **interrogative sentences**, but this usage is rarely represented except in the Lucan writings : R. 8. 26 τὸ γάρ τι προσενέψωμεθα οὐκ οἴδαμεν, 1 Th. 4. 1 καθὼς παρελάβετε παρ' ἡμῶν τὸ πῶς (ὅπως without τὸ FG) δεῖ ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ. (Herm. Sim. viii. 1. 4, Clem. Hom. i. 6); for Lucan instances see 1. 62, 19. 48, 9. 46 (εἰσῆλθεν διαλογισμός, τὸ τίς ἀν εἴη κ.τ.λ.), A. 4. 21, 22. 30. No apparent distinction in meaning is caused by using or omitting the article.—The art. τὸ is prefixed to quotations of words and sentences as in classical Greek : τὸ Ἀγάρ G. 4. 25 (v.l.), τὸ ἀνέβη E. 4. 9, τὸ Οὐ φονεύσεις κ.τ.λ., Mt. 19. 18 (τὸ om. DM.), ἐν τῷ Ἀγαπήσεις κ.τ.λ. G. 5. 14; cp. R. 13. 9, H. 12. 27.

6. The **adjective** (or **participle**) which is not independent, but is used as an **attribute** to a substantive, must, as in classical Greek, if the substantive has the article, participate in this art. by being placed in a middle position—οἱ ἄγαθοι ἀνθρωποι : or, if placed after the substantive, it must take an article of its own—οἱ ἀνθρωποι οἱ ἄγαθοι ; if it stands outside the article and the substantive without an article, then it is **predicative**. If it is placed between the art. and the subst. greater emphasis is laid on the adjective—οἱ ἄγαθοι ἀνθρωποι Mt. 12. 35 : if it is placed after the subst. the emphasis falls on the substantive—εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθήν opposed to πέτραν etc. L. 8. 8. Examples of predicative use : Jo. 5. 35 ἔχω τὴν μαρτυρίαν μείζω = ἡ μ. ἡν ἔχω μείζων ἐστίν, Mc. 8. 17, H. 7. 24, 1 C. 11. 5 ἀκατακαλύπτω τῇ κεφαλῇ = ἀκατακάλυπτον ἔχουσα τὴν κεφ. (§ 38, 3), A. 14. 10 εἰπεν μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ (26. 24) = ἡ δὲ φ. ὡς εἰπεν μεγάλη ἡν (also expressed without an art. by φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, the adjective being placed after the noun, 8. 7 etc.). Under this head there comes also the **partitive use** of the adj., with **μέσος** as in classical Greek, L. 23. 45, Mt. 25. 6, A. 26. 13 (§ 36, 13), while for ἄκρος τὸ ἄκρον with the gen. and so elsewhere τὸ μέσον is used<sup>1</sup> (A. 27. 27 κατὰ μέσον τῆς νυκτός, for which we have κατὰ τὸ μεσονύκτιον 16. 25, never as in classical Greek περὶ μέσας νύκτας : L. 16. 24 τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ = τὸν δ. ἄκρον, H. 11. 21, Mc. 13. 27):<sup>2</sup> besides μέσος, this use in the N.T. is only found with πᾶς and ὅλος (where they are contrasted with a part), vide infra 9.—In the case of an attributive adjective it may also happen that the subst. has no article, while the adjective (participle etc.) that follows it has one, since the definiteness is only introduced with the added clause by means of the article, and was not present before. See Kühner Gr. ii.<sup>2</sup> 530 : L. 23. 49 γυναῖκες αἱ συνακολούθουσαι women viz. those who etc., A. 7. 35 ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ὁφέντος αὐτῷ an angel viz. that one who etc.; this happens especially with a participle, which may be resolved into an equivalent relative sentence,

<sup>1</sup> Also in older Greek (Xenophon etc.), Lobeck Phryn. 537.

<sup>2</sup> Mt. 24. 31 ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως (τῶν add. B) ἄκρων αὐτῶν only resembles the classical usage in appearance: the plural ἄκρα is occasioned by the plural οὐρανοί. Cp. ἐσχατον (-a) sup. 2 ad fin.

cp. § 73, 2; Jo. 14. 27 εἰρήνην ἀφέμι νῦν, εἰρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν δίδωμι νῦν.<sup>1</sup>

7. The rule which holds good for adjectives holds good in the classical language also for defining clauses with an adverb or preposition; to a certain degree also for attributive genitives: thus ὁ Ἀθηναῖων δῆμος or ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναῖων, although ὁ πατήρ μου is obligatory and ὁ ἵππος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ is possible. In the N.T. genitives in a middle position are frequent, and still more so are genitives placed after the noun which they qualify, but without a repetition of the article: genitives in the later position with the article are not frequent: A. 15. 1 τῷ ἔθει τῷ Μωϋσέως (om. the 2nd τῷ DEHLP),<sup>2</sup> 1 C. 1. 18 ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ,<sup>3</sup> Tit. 2. 10 τὴν διδασκαλίαν τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ.<sup>4</sup> Cp. § 46, 12. The partitive gen. must, as in classical Greek, stand outside the principal clause and without a repetition of the article: οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων (A. 28. 17 is different, τὸν δοῦλον τῶν Ἰουδ. πρώτους). Where the defining clause is formed by a preposition, if the clause stands after the main clause, the article appears to be especially necessary for the sake of clearness (just as there are scarcely any instances of such a prepositional clause used as attribute to an anarthrous subst.: in 1 C. 12. 31 εἰ τι for ἔτι is read by D\*F [Klostermann], whereby καθ' ἵπερβολὴν is separated from ὁδὸν, sc. ἤγλοντε), and the omission of the article in classical authors is by no means sufficiently attested; in the N.T., on the other hand, a considerable number of instances of omission are commonly supposed to exist, apart from those cases where the subst. has additional defining clauses (infra 8), 1 C. 10. 18 βλέπετε τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα, 1 Th. 4. 16 οἱ νεκροὶ (οἱ add FG, cp. it. Vulg. qui in Chr. sunt) ἐν Χριστῷ, 2 C. 9. 13 (τῇ) ἀπλότητι τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς αὐτούς (where, however, τῇ ὑποταγῇ τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν [vide infra 8] εἰς τὸ κ.τ.λ. precedes, and ἡμῶν is also to be supplied with κοιν.); R. 6. 4 συνετάφημεν αὐτῷ διὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον (cp. 3 εἰς τὸν θ. αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν). This last instance (if our text is correct) appears conclusive; but in τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα the repetition of the art. was quite impossible, as the sense is ὁ κατὰ σ. ὢν Ἰσρ. (Ισρ. is predicate); so with οἱ κατὰ σ. κύροι E. 6. 5 v.l. οἱ κ. κατὰ σ., Col. 3. 22 id., τὰ ἔθνη ἐν σαρκὶ E. 2. 11<sup>5</sup>; ὁ δέσμιος ἐν κυρίῳ 4. 1,

<sup>1</sup> Buttmann is not to be followed in his assertion (p. 81) that the art. had sometimes to stand before the substantive as well; Winer, § 20, 4 is here correct. L. 5. 36 ἐπίβλημα τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ καινοῦ is a wrong reading, which is only by error found in Lachmann. A. 15. 23 ἀδελφῶις (this is the right reading, see the author's note on that passage), τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιβχειαν is an address, see § 46, 11, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Μωϋσέω is found without an art. after the noun qualified in A. (13. 39), 15. 5, Mc. 12. 26, L. 2. 22, 24. 44 (Jo. 7. 23 ὁ νόμος ὁ M. Ν, like 6. 33 ὁ ἄρτος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ΝD), A. 28. 23, 2 C. 3. 7.

<sup>3</sup> In the preceding verse (17) we have ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ; so that ὁ τοῦ στ. appears to be a kind of anaphora.

<sup>4</sup> Appositional clauses like Μαρία η τοῦ Ἰακώβου sc. μήτηρ do not come under this head.

<sup>5</sup> Hence the reading of DEFG in R. 9. 3 τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν συγγενῶν μου τῶν (om. cett.) κατὰ σάρκα is wrong.

*τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι* 1 Tim. 6. 17, ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ L. 16. 10, in all which instances the closely connected predicative clause could not be severed by the insertion of the article. With a participle (R. 15. 31 *τῶν ἀπειθούντων ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαϊᾳ*) it is quite obvious that the article is not repeated.

8. If a single substantive has several defining clauses it often becomes inconvenient and clumsy to insert all of these between the article and the substantive, and there is a tendency to divide them so that some stand before the substantive and some after it. But in this case the clauses placed after the substantive do not require the repetition of the article, which on the contrary is only repeated in a case where the particular defining clause is emphasized (or implies a contrast), or else if the meaning would be in any way ambiguous. Similarly the additional article can be dispensed with if the substantive is immediately followed by a genitive, which does not require the article (*supra* 7), and this again is followed by a further defining clause with a preposition: E. 3. 4 *τὴν σύνεσιν μονὸν ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ τοῦ Χρ.* (*τὴν ἐν* would contrast this particular *σύνεσις* of Paul with another),<sup>1</sup> G. 1. 13 *τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφήν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαισμῷ.* Exx. of repeated article: 1 Th. 1. 8 *ἡ πύστις ὑμῶν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεόν ἔξελήλυθεν* (to prevent ambiguity), 2 C. 9. 3 (ditto), R. 7. 5 (ditto), 8. 39 (emphasis). An adjective (or participle) following a genitive must take the art.: *ὁ νίος μονὸν ἀγαπητός* Mt. 3. 17; cp. 2 C. 6. 7, H. 13. 20, E. 6. 16 (*τὰ om.* BD\*FG); if there is no art. it is a predicate: Tit. 2. 11 *ἐπεφάνη ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ* (*ἡ add.* C<sup>o</sup> al.) *σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις.* The presence of a numeral between the art. and the noun never renders a subsequent article dispensable: Ja. 1. 1 *ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς ἐν —, Jo. 6. 13, Ap. 21. 9* (since the numeral is nothing more than a nearer definition of the plural): on the other hand an adjective (or participle) in this position can exempt a subsequent adj. from the article: 1 P. 1. 18 *τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου* (but *πατρ. ἀναστ.* is read by C Clem. Orig.), 1 C. 10. 3 *τὸ αὐτὸ δρώμα πνευματικόν?* (N<sup>o</sup>DEFG al., but *πν.* stands before *δρ.* in N<sup>o</sup>AB al.), G. 1. 4 *τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ* (N<sup>o</sup>DEFG al.; *τοῦ αἰ. τοῦ ἐν. π.* N<sup>o</sup>AB a harsher reading; so Herm. Mand. x. 3. 2 *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ δοθὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἰλαρόν*), cp. Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 532; no offence is caused by *ὁ πιστὸς δοῦλος καὶ φρονιμος* Mt. 24. 45, where *καὶ* carries over the article; on the other hand in Ap. 2. 12 *τὴν ῥομφαίαν τὴν δίστομον τὴν δόξειαν* the repetition is necessary, as in H. 11. 12 *ἡ ἄμμος ἡ παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ ἀναρίθμητος.* The repetition of the art. before the subst. is rare (more frequent in class. Greek): L. 1. 70 *τῶν ἀγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ... προφητῶν* only AC al. (cp. A. 3. 21), 1 P. 4. 14 *τὴν δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα;* but *ὁ ἄλλος, οἱ λοιποί,* if not followed immediately by a noun but by a defining clause, require to be followed by an article, as in classical Greek: Jo. 19. 32 *τοῦ ἄλλου τοῦ συσταυρωθέντος,* Ap. 2. 24 *τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς*

<sup>1</sup> 1 C. 8. 7 *τῇ συνηθείᾳ* (al. *συνειδήσει*) *ἔως ἅρτι τοῦ εἰδώλου,* the ordinary position of the gen. being reversed (but *τ. εἰδ. ἔ. ἀ. ALP.*)

ἐν Θυατίραις (since ἄλλ. and λ. do not unite with other defining clauses to form a single phrase).

9. On *οὗτος*, *έκεινος*, *αὐτός* 'self' with the article when used with a subst. see §§ 49, 4; 48, 10. *Τοιοῦτος* is occasionally preceded by the art. (when referring to individuals or embracing a class): Mt. 19. 14 *τῶν τοιούτων* (referring to the previous *τὰ παιδία*); but this rarely happens when a subst. follows, 2 C. 12. 3, Mc. 9. 37 ABDL (*τοιούτους* before *τοὺς* in Jo. 4. 23 is predicative). Τὸ *τηλικοῦτο κῆτος* Herm. Vis. iv. 1. 9. *Ἐκαστος* is never followed by the art. (Attic usage is different); with *ὅλος* and *πᾶς* (cp. supra 6; *ἄπας* is only found in Luke with any frequency)<sup>1</sup> the relations are more complicated. Thus, with *πάντες* 'all' the subst., to which it belongs, as one which must be understood in its entirety, is naturally defined by the (generic) article, although *πάντες* in itself does not require the art. any more than *οὗτος* does; hence *πάντες Αθηναῖοι* as in Attic A. 17. 21, because names of peoples do not need the art., cp. 26. 4, § 46, 12, note 2; also in (Luke and) Paul *πάντες ἀνθρώποι* A. 22. 15, R. 5. 12, 18, 12. 17, 18 etc. (Herm. Mand. iii. 3), often in the weakened sense of 'all the world,' 'everybody'; cp. for Attic usage Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 545<sup>2</sup> (*πάντες ἄγγελοι* H. 1. 6 O.T.). It is just this weakening of meaning which is the cause of the omission; the words do not denote any totality as such, but the meaning approximates to that of *πᾶς* 'every' (vide infra), as in *πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς* G. 6. 6, 1 P. 2. 1 *πάσας καταλαλίας* (*πᾶσαν καταλαλιάν* Κ\*), *πᾶσιν ὑπερομένοις* Herm. Mand. ii. 4. But in 2 P. 3. 16 *πάσας τὰς* (τ. om. ABC) *ἐπιστολὰς*, E. 3. 8 *πάντων τῶν ἀγίων* (*τῶν* ins. P. only), the art. according to classical usage can by no means be omitted; a similar violation of classical usage is seen in L. 4. 20 *πάντων* ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ ('those who were in the syn.'), cp. 25.<sup>3</sup> *Αμφότεροι* like *πάντες* also takes the art., but only in L. 5. 7 (elsewhere used without a subst.). *Πᾶς* 'whole' in Attic is only used of definite individual ideas, *ὅλος* 'whole' also of indefinite ideas, and so in Jo. 7. 23 *ὅλον ἀνθρώπον* 'a whole man,' A. 11. 26 *ἐνιαυτὸν* *ὅλον*, also perhaps L. 5. 5 δι' *ὅλης νυκτὸς* 'a whole night' (v.l. with *τῆς*); the latter word is also used with anarthrous city-names, A. 21. 31 *ὅλη Ἱερουσαλήμ* like *πᾶσα* (om. D) *Ἱεροσόλυμα* Mt. 2. 3 (§ 46, 11); elsewhere it always takes the article. *Πᾶς* before an anarthrous subst. means 'every' (not every individual like *ἴκαστος*, but any you please): Mt. 3. 10 *πᾶν δένδρον*, 19. 3 *κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν*, etc.; *πᾶσα δίκαιοσύνη* = *πᾶν δὲ ἄνθρακα* (W.-Gr.) Mt. 3. 15; it is also equivalent to *summus* (W.-Gr.): *μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας* A. 4. 29; *πάσῃ συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ* A. 23. 1 (in

<sup>1</sup> The instances besides those in Luke are Mt. 6. 32, 24. 39 (*πάντα* D), 28. 11 (*ἄπαντα* A), Mc. 8. 25 (D *πάντα*), 11. 32 v.l., 'Mc.' 16. 15 (om. D), G. 3. 28 ΣΑΒ<sup>3</sup>, E. 6. 13 (all MSS.), Ja. 3. 2. The Attic distinction, that *πᾶς* stands after a vowel, *ἄπας* after a consonant (Diels Gött. Gel. Anz. 1894, 298 ff.), cannot be made in all cases even in Luke, cp. 1. 3 *ἀνωθεν πᾶσιν*, although *ἄπας* is generally found after a consonant.

<sup>2</sup> So Dem. 8. 5, 42.

<sup>3</sup> The words ἐν τῇ συναγ. are probably spurious, as they vary much in their position in different MSS.

every respect). The distinction between *πᾶς* with and without the art. appears in 2 C. 1. 4 (W.-Gr.): ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν (that which actually exists in its totality), εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖν τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ θλ. (any which may arise); so also A. 12. 11 πάσης τῆς προσδοκίας τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων (the whole expectation actually entertained); 1 C. 13. 2 πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν and π. τ. πίστιν (all that there is in its entirety). But in imitation of Hebrew we have *πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ* R. 11. 26, the whole of I., *πᾶς ὅλος Ἰσραὴλ* A. 2. 36 (ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας αὐτῶν Herm. Sim. vii. 4), cp. § 46, 9; similar but not incorrect is *πᾶσα σάρξ* ‘all flesh,’ ‘everything fleshly’ = ‘all men’ (**רַב־לְבָד**) Mt. 24. 22, L. 3. 6, R. 3. 20, 1 C. 1. 29 (never otherwise), cp. sup. *πάντες ἀνθρώποι*; with a negative as in Mt. loc. cit. οὐκ ἀν ἐσώθη π. σ. like Hebr. **לֹא** ... **לֹא** = ‘no flesh,’ § 51, 2. In other cases *πᾶς* ὁ and *πᾶς* must be carefully distinguished: Ph. 1. 3 ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνείᾳ ‘the whole’ (or omit *τῇ* with DE), R. 8. 22 πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις ‘the whole creation,’ *πᾶσα κτ.* ‘every created thing’ 1 P. 2. 13, Col. 1. 23 (with *τῇ* & D<sup>e</sup> al.), 15 πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως. A very frequent use is that of *πᾶς* ὁ with a participle (§ 73, 3) cp. the partic. with art. without *πᾶς* e.g. ὁ κλέπτων ‘he who stole hitherto’ E. 4. 28; without an art. Mt. 13. 19 παντὸς ἀκούοντος, L. 11. 4; so always if a subst. is interposed, Mt. 3. 10 πᾶν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν κ.τ.λ.—‘Ο *πᾶς*, οἱ *πάντες* contrast the whole or the totality with the part, A. 19. 7 ἥσαν οἱ *πάντες* ἀνδρες (‘on the whole,’ ‘together’) ὥστε δώδεκα (cp. class. examples, e.g. Thuc. 1. 60), 27. 37, G. 5. 14 ὁ *πᾶς νόμος* ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ πεπλήρωται (opposed to the individual laws), A. 20. 18 τὸν πάντα χρόνον (ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας has preceded); frequently in Paul we have οἱ *πάντες* without a subst., 1 C. 9. 22 (a comprehensive term for the individual persons named in verses 20 ff.; also in 19 πᾶσιν has preceded), 10. 17, R. 11. 32, E. 4. 13, 2 C. 5. 10 τοὺς πάντας ἡμᾶς (not only he, of whom he had previously spoken), somewhat differently in 15 οἱ *πάντες* ‘they all’ (ὑπὲρ πάντων has preceded), cp. Ph. 2. 21; similarly τὰ πάντα in 1 C. 12. 6 (opposed to the individual thing), 19, R. 8. 32, 11. 36 (the universe), 1 C. 15. 27 f. (similarly, and with reference to πάντα preceding), etc.; also A. 17. 25 (Mc. 4. 11 v.l.). A peculiar use is 1 Tim. 1. 16 τὴν ἀπασαν (πᾶσαν) μακροθυμίαν ‘the utmost (cp. supra) long-suffering which He has,’ cp. Herm. Sim. ix. 24. 3 τὴν ἀπλότητα αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσαν νηπιότητα. Like οἱ *πάντες*, τὰ πάντα we also have οἱ ἀμφότεροι, τὰ ἀμφότερα E. 2. 14, 16, 18 (A. 23. 8, but here there is no contrast to the individual things, so that ἀμφότερα πάντα would be more correct); τοὺς δύο E. 2. 15 utrumque, because οἱ ἀμφότεροι 16, 18 had to be used to express utriusque.

10. A phrase in apposition with a proper name takes the article, if a well-known person has to be distinguished from another person of the same name, as Ἰωάνης ὁ βαπτιστής, Φίλιππος ὁ εὐαγγελιστής A. 21. 8, ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡράκλης (v.l. Ἡ. ὁ β.) 12. 1, Ἀγρίππας ὁ β. 25. 13; in that case the proper name itself must generally stand without the art., § 46, 10 (hence the reading in A. 12. 12 τῆς [§ABD] Μαρίας τῆς μητρός is incorrect, cp. ibid. 25 D\*); on the other hand we have Σίμωνι βυρσεῖ 10. 6, Μνάσωνι τινὶ Κυπρίῳ 21. 16,

Μαναιὴν Ἡρῷδον τοῦ τετραάρχου σύντροφος 13. 1 (ibid. the MSS. except D\* wrongly read Λουκιος ὁ Κυρωνῖος); the necessity for the person to be well known does not hold in the case of ὁ (ἐπι)καλούμενος with a surname following, or the equivalent ὁ καὶ, or again where a man is denoted by the name of his father or other relation by an art. and gen. (with or without νίος etc.), § 35, 2. On Φαραὼ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου A. 7. 10 see § 46, 9.—In the case of the anarthrous θεός (§ 46, 6) the article may be dispensed with in a clause in apposition with it, but only in more formal and ceremonious language, as in the opening of an epistle, R. 1. 7 ἀπὸ θεοῖ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰ. Χρ., 1 Th. 1. 1 ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ Ἰ. Χρ., 1 Tim. 1. 1 ἀπόστολος ... κατ' ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν (cp. § 46, 11, note 3); similarly κύριος (§ 46, 6) is used in apposition to Ἰησ. Χρ., though not often except in an opening clause (Ph. 3. 20).—In ὁ ἀντίδικος ἡμῶν διάβολος 1 P. 5. 8 ἀντίδ. is treated as an adjective; Jo. 8. 44 ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἔστε must mean ‘you are descended from your father (cp. 38) the devil’; but the first article is apparently spurious (and πατρός is predicative, supra 6). On Mt. 12. 24 see § 46, 9.

11. Where several substantives are connected by καὶ the article may be carried over from the first of them to the one or more substantives that follow, especially if they are of the same gender and number as the first, but occasionally too where the gender is different: Col. 2. 22 κατὰ τὰ ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, L. 14. 23 εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ φραγμούς, 1. 6, Mc. 12. 33 v.l. (Winer, § 19, 3). Inversely there are a number of instances where with the same gender and number the repetition of the article is necessary or more appropriate: A. 26. 30 ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ ἡγεμών (different persons), 1 C. 3. 8 ὁ φυτεύων καὶ ὁ ποτίζων ἐν εἰσιν (ditto), Jo. 19. 6 οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ ἵπηρέται (whereas ἀρχ. with πρεσβύτεροι or γραμματεῖς may dispense with a repetition of the art., Mt. 16. 21 etc.), μεταξὺ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου L. 11. 51 (Mt. 23. 35). Also in the case of τε καὶ repetition generally takes place, though in A. 14. 6 we have τῶν ἔθνων τε καὶ (τῶν add. D) Ἰουδαίων. There is frequently a variety of readings, but the alteration in the sense is for the most part unimportant. The article appears to be dropped, not unnaturally, between two clauses in apposition connected by καὶ, in Tit. 2. 13 (τῆν) ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλον θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χρ., cp. 2 P. 1. 1 (but & here reads κυρίου for θεοῦ, probably rightly, cp. 11, 2. 20, 3. 2, 18); however in Titus loc. cit. σωτῆρος ἡμ. Ἰ. Χρ. may be taken by itself and separated from the preceding, in which case cp. for the loss of the art. supra 10; Winer, § 19, 5, note 1.

## SYNTAX OF THE PRONOUNS.

## § 48. PERSONAL, REFLEXIVE, AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

1. The **nominatives of the personal pronouns**—*έγώ, σύ, ήμεις, ἡμεῖς*—are, as in classical Greek, not employed except for emphasis or contrast. Jo. 4. 10 σὺ ἀν γῆτος αὐτόν (not, vice versa, I thee), A. 4. 7 ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει ἐποιήσατε τοῦτο ὑμεῖς; (people like you, this miracle), Jo. 5. 44 πῶς δύνασθε ὑμεῖς πιστεῦσαι (persons like you), 39 ἡμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐν αὐτάῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχειν (you yourselves), 38 ὃν ἀπέστειλεν ἐκεῖνος, τούτῳ ὑμεῖς οὐ πιστεύετε (ἐκεῖνος — ὑμεῖς contrasted), 1. 30 ὑπὲρ οὗ ἔγὼ εἰπον (I myself), 42 σὺ εἰ Σίμων..., σὺ κληθήσῃ Κηφᾶς (cp. 49, this particular person as opposed to others), E. 5. 32 τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν ἔγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (subject and speaker contrasted).—As an equivalent for the third person in the N.T., especially in Luke (Mt., Mc.; also LXX.), *αὐτός* is used = ‘he’ with emphasis (besides ὁ in ὁ δέ, ὁ μὲν οὖν, § 46, 3)<sup>1</sup>, L. 2. 28 (the parents bring in the child Jesus) καὶ αὐτὸς (Simeon) ἐδέξατο αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ. (in Simeon’s own narration of the event it would run καὶ ἔγὼ ἐδέξαμην), 1. 22, 2. 50 (καὶ αὐτοί), 9. 36 (ditto), 11. 14 (καὶ αὐτὸς), L. 24. 21 ἡλπίζομεν ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ μέλλων λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ (here too ἔγὼ would be used if the story were told in the first person), Mc. 14. 44 ὃν ἀν φιλήσω, αὐτός ἐστιν (*he* is the man), A. 3. 10 ἐπεγίνωσκον δὲ αὐτόν, ὅτι αὐτὸς (BDEP οὗτος, cp. Jo. 9. 8 f.) ἦν ὁ ... καθήμενος (1st pers. ὅτι ἔγὼ ἦμην, cp. Jo. 9. 9), cp. Herm. Mand. vi. 2. 5 γίνωσκε ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ἐν σοί: Mt. 12. 50 (cp. with οὗτος Mc. 3. 35), 5. 4 ff. Also αὐτὸς δέ, Mc. 5. 40 (ὁ δὲ Α), L. 4. 30, 8. 37 etc. (even where the name is added, Mt. 3. 4 αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ [ὁ om. D] Ἰωάννης, ‘but he, John’; Mc. 6. 17 αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ [ὁ om. D] ‘Ηρό.); the feminine of αὐτὸς is not so used: αὐτῆ should be written in L. 2. 37, 7. 12, 8. 42 καὶ αὐτη (καὶ αὐτὸς is also a wrong reading in 8. 41 BD, and in 19. 2 where D reads οὗτος without καὶ). Classical Greek employs sometimes οὗτος, sometimes ἐκεῖνος (ὁ), § 49, 2 and 3; in modern Greek αὐτός has become a demonstrative pronoun and dropped the meaning of ‘self’ (for which δότος is used). Of the oblique cases, the genitive alone is used with emphasis in this way (class. ἐκείνου etc.): L. 24. 31 αὐτῶν δὲ διηγούχθησαν οἱ δόθαλμοι, Mt. 5. 3, 10, cp. infra 7 (Herm. Sim. v. 7. 3 αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐστιν πᾶσα ἐξουσία, viii. 7. 1 ἄκουε καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν).

2. A prominent feature in the Greek of the N.T. (and still more in that of the LXX.) is the extraordinary frequency of the oblique cases of the **personal pronouns** used without emphasis. The reason for this is the dependence of the language on Semitic speech, where

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Buttmann, p. 93 ff. (Winer, § 22, note 4). The use is an old one, though foreign to Attic writers: Hom. Il. iii. 282 αὐτὸς ἐπειθ' Ἐλένην ἔχετω ... ἡμεῖς δέ, ‘he ... we.’

these pronouns are easily and conveniently attached as suffixes to substantival and verbal forms, and are therefore everywhere employed, where the full expression of the thought requires them. The case is different with classical Greek, which has separate words for them, of which some indeed are enclitic, but those for the 3rd person and for the plural are dissyllables, and therefore it expresses these words only so far as they are essential to the lucidity of the sense, while in other cases it leaves them to be understood. The tendency of the N.T., then, is to express the pronoun in each case with every verb which is joined with other verbs in a sentence, and not, according to the classical method, to write it once and leave it to be supplied in the other instances; again, the possessive genitives *μον*, *σον*, *αὐτοῦ* etc. are used with a quite peculiar and tiresome frequency, being employed, to take a special instance, with reference to the subject of the sentence, in which connection the simple pronoun cannot possibly stand in classical Greek, but the reflexive is used instead, vide infra 6. Still no rule can be laid down, the practice depends on the pleasure of the writer, and superfluous pronouns are often omitted by the better MSS. As in classical Greek 'my father' may be expressed at the option of the writer by ὁ πατέρ μον (ὁ ἐμὸς π.) or ὁ πατέρ, so also in John's Gospel Christ speaks of God as ὁ πατέρ μον, and more often as ὁ πατέρ, 8. 38 ἐγὼ ἀ ἔόρακα παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ (μον add. ΚΕ al.) λαλῶ, καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἀ ἡκουστάτε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς (so without ἡμῶν BLT) ποιεῖτε: Mt. 27. 24 ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας. The pronoun is omitted in other cases or connections: A. 16. 15 παρεκάλεσεν (sc. ἡμᾶς) λέγοντα (without ἡμῖν), 19 ἐπιλαβόμενοι τὸν Παῦλον καὶ τὸν Σιλᾶν εἴλκυσαν κ.τ.λ. (instead of ἐπιλαβ. τοῦ Π. ... εἴλκ. αὐτούς). On the other hand we have 22. 17 ἐγένετο μοι ὑποστρέψαντι—προσευχομένου μον—γενέσθαι με (§ 74, 5), 7. 21 ἐκτεθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἀνείλατο αὐτὸν—καὶ ἔξεθρέψατο αὐτόν (vide ibid.; also for combinations such as Mt. 6. 3 σον ποιοῦντος ... μὴ γνώτω ἡ ἀριστερά σον, Mt. 8. 1, v.l. ἔξελθόντι αὐτῷ ... ἡκολούθησαν αὐτῷ). On the acc. and inf. instead of the inf. see § 72, 2 and 3; on αὐτοῦ etc. after the relative § 50, 4.

3. The longer and unenclitic forms of the **pronoun of the 1st pers. sing.**—ἐμοῦ, ἐμοί, ἐμέ—are employed as in classical Greek to give emphasis or to mark a contrast; they are generally used after a preposition (even ἐνεκεν), except after πρός: Mt. 25. 36 (Κ ἐμέ), Mc. 9. 19 (do.), A. 22. 10 (do.: in 8 ἐμέ Κ\*AB); with πρός the short forms are used even where there is a contrast, Mt. 3. 14 ἐγὼ χρείαν ἔχω ἵνδ σον βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ σὺ ἔρχῃ πρός με (where Tisch. writes πρὸς μέ; the classical language certainly knows nothing of an accented μέ); only in Jo. 6. 37 πρὸς ἐμέ is read by nearly all MSS., in the next clause πρὸς ἐμέ is read by ΚΕ al., πρός με ABD al. (we also find ἐνώπιόν μον in several MSS. in Lc. 4. 7). Cp. Kühner Gr. i.<sup>3</sup>, i. 347. It follows that in the case of the second person, the forms σοῦ etc. after prepositions other than πρός should be accented. Of the strengthened Attic forms ἔγωγε, ἔμοιγε there are no instances in the N.T.

4. There is a wide-spread tendency among Greek writers, when they speak of themselves, to say *ήμεις* instead of *έγω*. The same meaning is often attributed to many instances of the 1st pers. plur. in St. Paul; in his letters, however, there are usually several persons from whom, as is shown in the opening clause, the letter proceeds, and where this is not the case (Pastoral Epp.; Romans, Ephesians), no such plurals are found: cp. e.g. Col. 1. 3 *εὐχαριστοῦμεν* with E. 1. 15 *κάγῳ ... οὐ πανόμαι εὐχαριστῶν*. In R. 1. 5 δι' οὐ ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ ἀποστολὴν κ.τ.λ. while the language clearly applies to Paul himself (*ἀποστ.*), yet the words are not limited to him (*χάριν*), but the persons addressed, and indeed all Christians (cp. just before, 4 *τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν*), are fellow-partakers in the *χάρις*; so that *ἔλαβον χάριν* would not have been suitable. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, however (an epistle, moreover, which has no introduction at all with the name of the writer), appears really to use the plur. and sing. without distinction, 5. 11, 6. 1, 3, 9, 11 etc., 13. 18 f. (plur. – sing.), 22 f. (*ἐπέστειλα, ἡμῶν*): and even in those Pauline Epistles, which are indited in the name of several persons, it is not always possible appropriately to refer the plural to these different persons, e.g. in 2 C. 10. 11 ff. Similarly in 1 John 1. 4 *γράφομεν* is apparently identical in meaning with *γράψω* (2. 1 and elsewhere).—Quite different is such a plural as we meet with in Mc. 4. 30 *πῶς ὅμοιώσωμεν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ*, where in a way that is not unknown to us the audience are represented as taking part in the deliberation.

5. The pronoun of the 3rd person *αὐτοῦ* etc. is very frequently used with a **disregard to formal agreement**, where there is no noun of the same gender and number to which it may refer. The occurrence of the name of a place is sufficient ground for denoting the inhabitants of it by *αὐτῶν*: A. 8. 5 *Φίλιππος κατελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας ἐκήρυξεν αὐτοῖς τὸν χριστόν*, 16. 10, 20. 2, 2 C. 2. 12 f. etc.; in the same way *κόσμος ... αὐτοῖς* ibid. 5. 19, *πᾶν ... αὐτοῖς* (¶\**αὐτῷ*) Jo. 17. 2, see § 32, 1 (classical usage is similar). Further we have L. 23. 50 f. *βούλευτῆς ... αὐτῶν*, i.e. the members of the high council (the reference being understood from the preceding narrative); R. 2. 26 *ἐὰν ἡ ἀκροβυντία τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου φυλάσσῃ*, i.e. ὁ ἀκροβυντίαν *ἔχων*, and therefore followed by *αὐτοῦ*; 1 P. 3. 14 *τὸν φόβον αὐτῶν*, the persecutors, who are understood from the sense and context, E. 5. 12 *ὑπ' αὐτῶν*, those who belong to the *σκότος* of verse 11, etc. To these must be added instances of *constructio ad sensum* (§ 31, 4) such as Mc. 5. 41 *κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ παιδίου λέγει αὐτῷ*, and on the other hand cases where the subject referred to is obvious without further explanation, as in Jo. 20. 15 *αὐτόν*, 1 Jo. 2. 12 *αὐτοῦ*.<sup>1</sup> Cp. Buttmann, p. 92 f., Winer, § 22, 3. The relative pronoun is sometimes used in a similar way: G. 4. 19 *τεκνία μον, οὐσ,* Jo. 6. 9 *παιδάριον, οἱς* (v.l. *ὅ*), Ph. 2. 15 *γενέας σκολιᾶς, ἐν οἷς*; also A. 15. 36 *κατὰ πάσαν πόλιν, ἐν αἷς*, 2 P. 3. 1 *δευτέραν ἥδη ἐπιστολὴν, ἐν αἷς* (i.e. *ταῖς δυσὶν ἐπιστ.*) etc.

6. The **reflexive pronouns**—*ἐμαυτοῦ, σεαυτοῦ, έαυτοῦ*, with plural

<sup>1</sup> In Jo. 8. 44 (ὁ *πατὴρ*) *αὐτοῦ* (§ 47, 3) may be referred without difficulty through *ψεύστης* to *ὅταν λαλῇ τὸ ψεῦδος*.

for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons ἑαυτῶν (§ 13, 1)<sup>1</sup>—have in the N.T. been to some extent displaced by the simple personal pronoun; but a more noticeable fact is that they have had no share at all in the extended use which the personal pronouns acquired (*supra* 2). When the pronoun is employed as a direct complement to the verb, referring back to the subject, no other than the reflexive form is found in all (or nearly all) authors; but if the pronoun is governed by a preposition, there are at least in Matthew numerous instances of the simple pronoun being used; finally, if a substantive governing the pronoun is interposed, and the pronoun has no emphasis at all (so that classical writers would omit it altogether, *supra* 2), then the reflexive form is never employed. Thus, in proportion as the number and the independent character of the words interposed between the pronoun and the subject becomes greater, the rarer becomes the use of the reflexive. (For instances of this in classical writers, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 489, 494.) Direct complement: Mt. 6. 19 f. θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυρὸν (instead of ἑαυτοῖς).<sup>2</sup> After a preposition: Mt. 5. 29 f., 18. 8 f. βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ, 6. 2 μὴ σαλπίσῃς ἐμπροσθέν σου, 11. 29 ἀρατε τὸν ἔνγον μον ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, 13. 13 παράλαβε μετὰ σοῦ BDI (σεαυτοῦ ΚΛΜ). The simple form is still more frequent where two pronouns are connected: 18. 15 ἐλεγξον ... μεταξὺ σοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ, 17. 27 δὸς ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ. (In Semitic speech, where the reflexive is expressed by a periphrasis with ְשׁוֹבֵן<sup>3</sup>, there can be no question of this kind of expression in these cases.) Yet even Mt. has εἶπον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς (9. 3, 21), μερισθένσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς (12. 25), 15. 30 ἔχοντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, etc.—In the case of a possessive genitive attached to a substantive, the MS. evidence is often conflicting, not however in the case of ἐμαυτοῦ or σεαυτοῦ, but only with ἑαυτοῦ. The only instance with ἐμαυτοῦ is 1 C. 10. 33 τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ συμφέρον (of σεαυτοῦ there is no example); then with ἑαυτῶν = 2nd pers. we have H. 10. 25 τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν ἑαυτῶν, with ἑαυτοῦ, -ῆς, -ῶν between the art. and the noun (infra 7) we have Mc. 8. 35 v.l., L. 11. 21 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αὐλὴν (D. τ. a. αὐτοῦ), 13. 34 τὴν ἑαυτῆς νοσσιὰν (τὰ νοσσία αὐτῆς D), 14. 26 (ἑαυτοῦ stands after the noun in 8B), 33 (αὐτοῦ D al.), also 16. 8 εἰς τὴν γενεὰν τὴν ἑαυτῶν; frequent in the Pauline Epp., e.g. R. 4. 19, 5. 8, 16. 4, 18. On the other hand, the simple pronoun is also used e.g. in A. 28. 19 τοῦ ἔθνους μον, ibid. β text τὴν ψυχήν μον, G. 1. 14 μον

<sup>1</sup> The corresponding use of ἑαυτοῦ for (ἐμαυτοῦ or) σεαυτοῦ, which is far from being established for classical prose, rests even in the N.T. on doubtful authority: Jo. 18. 34 ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ σὺ τοῦτο λέγεις, but ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ NBC\*L: R. 13. 9 = G. 5. 14 O.T. ὡς ἑαυτόν read by FGLP and FGLN\*P in the respective passages; cp. Herm. Vis. iv. 1. 5 ἡρξάμην λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ (Ν\* as; ἐμαυτ. Ν°), Sim. ii. 1 τῇ σὺ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ζητεῖς (Ν is wanting), ix. 2. 5: Clem. Hom. xiv. 10, xvii. 18 for ἐμαυτοῦ. Buttm. 99. On ὑμῶν αὐτῶν 1 C. 5. 13 vide infra 10.

<sup>2</sup> We also have ἔδοξα ἑαυτῷ with inf. in A. 26. 9, whereas classical Greek in a case like this where no stress is laid on the reflexive, says δοκῶ μοι. On ἑαυτόν as subj. of the accus. and inf. see § 72, 2; Buttm. 236 (αὐτόν for ἑαυτόν A. 25. 21).

<sup>3</sup> Hence in translating from Semitic the reflexive is interchangeable with τὴν ψυχήν αὐτοῦ: cp. L. 9. 25 ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἀπολέσας ή ζημιώθεις with 24 ἀπολέση τὴν ψ. αὐτοῦ. Cp. Winer § 22, 7 note 3.

bis, 16 τὸν νιὸν αὐτοῦ, etc.; on ἐμός σός, vide infra 7.—Other instances of reflexives: Mt. 12. 45 πονηρότερα ἑαυτοῦ (DE\* αὐτοῦ), Mc. 5. 26 τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῆς (αὐτῆς ABL), L. 24. 27 τὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ (αὐτοῦ DEL al.); on the other hand, Ph. 2. 23 ἀφίδω τὰ περὶ ἐμέ, R. 1. 15 τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμος sc. εἰμι (§ 42, 2). A loose but intelligible use is 1 C. 10. 29 λέγω οὐχὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ.—The mode of strengthening the reflexive by means of αὐτός, frequent in Attic, appears in a few instances (from the literary language): 2 C. 10. 12 αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἑαυτοὶ μετροῦντες, 1. 9, A. 5. 36 D κατελύθη αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτοῦ (αὐτοῦ D); but in Jo. 9. 21 the pronouns must not be connected: αὐτὸς (he himself) περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λαλήσει (cp. R. 8. 23).—On ἑαυτῶν for ἀλλήλων, vide infra 9.

7. The possessives ἐμός, σός, ἡμέτερος, ὑμέτερος are employed in classical Greek to represent the emphasized genitives ἐμοῦ, σοῦ etc., whereas if there is no emphasis on the pronoun possession is denoted by the genitives μον, σον, ἡμῶν, ὑμῶν; the position of the latter, as of the corresponding αὐτοῦ, -ῆς, -ῶν of the 3rd pers., if the subst. takes the article, is after the substantive (and the article is not repeated), or even before the article, as in Mt. 8. 8 ἵνα μον ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην, 1 Th. 3. 10 ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον, 13 στηρίξαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας, or lastly, if the subst. has an attribute before it, the position of the pronoun is after the attribute: 2 C. 4. 16 ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος, Mt. 27. 60 ἐν τῷ καινῷ αὐτοῦ μνημεῖῳ, 1 P. 1. 3, 2. 9, 5. 10 etc. (Buttmann, p. 101). On the other hand, the possessives take the position of the attributes, as in classical Greek is the case with emphasized genitives like ἐμαυτοῦ, σεαυτοῦ, ἑαυτοῦ, τούτου, ἐκείνου (= his). The noticeable point in the N.T. is that while ἐμοῦ and σοῦ are not used as possessives (except in connection with another gen., R. 16. 13 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμοῦ, 1. 12), the emphatic ὑμῶν (in the Pauline Epp., Buttmann 102) undoubtedly is so used (in the position of the attribute; cp. Soph. Oed. R. 1458 ἡ μὲν ἡμῶν μοῖρα), and hence it happens that the words ἡμέτερος and ὑμέτερος are by no means represented in all the N.T. writings (there are not ten instances of each, none at all e.g. in Mt., Mc.): 1 C. 16. 18 τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὑμῶν, 2 C. 1. 6 ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως (object. gen., which however may equally well be expressed by the possessive: R. 11. 31 τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἐλεεῖ, 1 C. 11. 24 τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, W. § 22, 7, cp. for class. exx. Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 486, note 11), 2 C. 9. 2 τὸ ὑμῶν (v.l. ἔξ ὑμ.). ξῆλος, 1 C. 16. 17 τὸ ὑμῶν (ὑμέτερον BCD al.) ὑστέρημα, 1 Th. 3. 7, Clem. Hom. x. 15 τῷ ὑμῶν (reflex.) παραδείγματι. Still the possessive is also found in another position in ὑμῶν γάρ τὸ πολίτευμα Ph. 3. 20 (stronger emphasis, for which τὸ γάρ ὑμ. πολ. was not sufficient), and there are similar exceptions in the case of reflexive genitives: τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν ἑαυτῶν H. 10. 25 (i.e. ὑμῶν αὐτῶν), A. 21. 11 δῆσας ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς πόδας (there is a wrong reading αὐτοῦ, which would refer to Paul), G. 6. 4 τὸ ἔργον ἑαυτοῦ, ibid. 8 εἰς τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ (αὐτοῦ D\*FG, cp. the v.l. in E. 4. 16, Mt. 21. 8, 23. 37; Herm. Vis. iii. 11. 3 ἑαυτῶν [2nd pers.] τὰς μερίμνας, Sim. iv. 5 τὸν κύριον ἑαυτῶν [3rd pers.], v. 4. 3; in general, according to what has been said above [see 6] αὐτοῦ deserves the preference). Emphatic αὐτοῦ = his is found in the position of the attribute: Tit. 3. 5 κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος (opposed to preceding ἡμεῖς; τὸ ἔλ. αὐτοῦ

D\*EFG), H. 2. 4 κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ θέλησιν, R. 11. 11 τῷ αὐτῶν παραπτώματι ἡ σωτηρία τοῖς ἔθνεσιν 3. 24, 1 Th. 2. 19, Ja. 1. 18 (v.l. ἑαυτοῦ); cp. supra 1 (in R. 3. 25 ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἷματι the gen. is from αὐτός ‘self’).<sup>1</sup> For this classical Greek uses ἑκείνου (which may even have reflexive force, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 559, 12); the latter appears in the correct position (that of the attribute), in Jo. 5. 47, 2 C. 8. 9, 14, 2 Tim. 2. 26 etc. (exception R. 6. 21 τὸ τέλος ἑκείνων); cp. with τούτου etc., R. 11. 30, 2 P. 1. 15 (but contrary to rule are A. 13. 23 τούτου δὲ θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος, cp. on Ph. 3. 20 above; Ap. 18. 15 οἱ ἐμποροὶ τούτων; H. 13. 11).—Ἐμός is very frequent in John, not very frequent in the remaining writers (*σός* besides its use in Gospels and Acts occurs only three times in Paul); ἐμός (like *σός*) is also used **reflexively** for ἑμαντοῦ (*σεαντοῦ*), Philem. 19, Mt. 7. 3 (3 Jo. 4), Herm. Sim. i. 11 τὸ σὸν ἔργον ἔργαζου (also occasionally in class. Greek, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 494a).—The possessives are also used **predicatively** (without an art.): Mt. 20. 23 = Mc. 10. 40 οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν τοῦτο δοῦναι (for which we have in the plur. ὑμῶν ἔστιν 1 C. 3. 21 f., cp. supra § 35, 2); with a subst. inserted ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἔστιν ἵνα κ.τ.λ. Jo. 4. 34, 13. 35; under other circumstances also the art. may be dropped: Ph. 3. 9 μὴ ἔχων ἔργην δικαιοσύνην (‘a righteousness of my own’) τὴν ἑκάποτε νόμου (cp. § 47, 6), as with *iδιος*, infra 8, and with ἑαυτοῦ L. 19. 13 δέκα δούλους ἑαυτοῦ (‘of his’).

8. A common possessive pronoun is *ἴδιος*, which in classical Greek is opposed to *κοινός* or *δημόσιος*, while in modern Greek the new possessive δὲ ἔδικός μου, σου etc. has been fully developed (with the N.T. and LXX. use agree also Philo, Josephus, Plutarch etc., W. Schmidt Jos. elocut. 369). It is opposed to *κοινός* A. 4. 32 (H. 7. 27); or means ‘peculiar,’ ‘corresponding to the particular condition’ of a person or thing, 1 C. 3. 8, 7. 7 etc. (class.); but generally means simply ‘own,’ = *ἑαυτοῦ* etc. (like class. *οἰκεῖος*): Jo. 1. 11 εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἥλθεν, καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον, 42 εὐρίσκει τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἴδιον Σίμωνα, Mt. 22. 5 εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἄγρόν (without emphasis = εἰς τ. ἀ. αὐτοῦ), 25. 14; with v.l. *ἑαυτοῦ* L. 2. 3. It is joined with the gen. *αὐτοῦ* etc. (a use which in itself is classical) in Mc. 15. 20 (v.l. without *αὐτοῦ*, D also omits *ἴδια*) A. 1. 19, 24. 23, Tit. 1. 12, 2 P. 3. 3, 16. *Kat’ idíav* is frequent = class. *καθ’ ἑαυτόν* ‘by Himself,’ Mt. 14. 13 etc.; *idíq* ἐκάστῳ 1 C. 12. 11 is classical.—It is not surprising that the article is occasionally dropped, cp. supra 7 ad fin. (1 C. 15. 38, a v.l. inserts *τό*; Tit. 1. 12); in Tit. 2. 9 δούλους δεσπότας *ἴδιοις* ὑποτάσσεσθαι there is a kind of assimilation to the anarthrous δούλους (somewhat as in H. 12. 7, § 46, 7); 2 P. 2. 16 ἔλεγξιν *ἴδιας παρανομίας* is due to Hebrew usage like *παρ. αὐτοῦ* (§ 46, 9).—On the periphrasis for the possess. gen. with *κατά* see § 42, 2.

9. ‘*Ἔαυτῶν* is found (as previously in classical Greek) for the

<sup>1</sup> In H. 7. 18 διὰ τὸ αὐτῆς ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀνωφελές there is no emphasis on the pronoun, but here there is no substantive: *τὴν αὐτῆς ἀσθένειαν* would scarcely be written. (Still in Herm. Mand. vi. 2. 2 we have *τὰς αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας* without emphasis, cp. Clem. Hom. xiv. 7, 10.)

reciprocal ἀλλήλων in 1 C. 6. 7, Col. 3. 13, 16, etc., and often in conjunction with it for the sake of variety : L. 23. 12 ἀλλήλων ... πρὸς ἔαντούς with v.l. in κBLT πρὸς αὐτούς, a use of the simple pronoun which here appears to be inadmissible. The individual persons are kept separate in ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον A. 2. 12 = πρὸς ἀλλήλους ; cp. εἰς τὸν ἔνα for ἀλλήλους (Semitic) § 45, 2.

10. *Aὐτός* ‘self’ has its classical usages (usually followed by an article, which however does not belong to *αὐτός*, and is therefore sometimes omitted, as in *αὐτὸς* Ἰησοῦς Jo. 2. 24, according to § 46, 10) ; it is naturally found also in connection with the personal pronoun, where it is to be sharply distinguished from the reflexive : ἐξ ὑμῶν *αὐτῶν* A. 20. 30, like *αὐτὸς* ἐγώ, *αὐτὸς* ὑμεῖς (in the 3rd pers. it is of course not repeated) : *ἴνα αὐτοὺς ξηλούντε* G. 4. 17, ‘the men themselves’) ; even in 1 C. 5. 13 ἐξάρατε τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν *αὐτῶν* the words *v. a.* are not reflexive, although this quotation is taken from Deut. 17. 7 ἐξαρεῖτε τὸν π. ἐξ ὑμῶν *αὐτῶν*, where *ἔαντων* could not be used because of the singular ἐξαρεῖτε. — For *αὐτὸς οὗτος* (*ἐκεῖνος*) Luke uses *αὐτός* in the phrases *ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ ὥρᾳ, ημέρᾳ* L. 12. 12, 13. 31, 20. 19, A. 22. 13 etc., *ἐν α. τῷ καιρῷ* L. 13. 1 (cp. ἐξ *αὐτῆς*, § 44, 1) ; so also *ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ οἰκίᾳ* 10. 7.

### § 49. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

1. The demonstrative pronouns of the N.T. are : *οὗτος, ἐκεῖνος*, and *αὐτός*, which is beginning to be so used, see § 48, 1, remnants of δ, ή, τό, § 46, 1-3, remnants also of οἵ, § 12, 2, which is not even used correctly in all cases (*τάδε λέγει* to introduce some information is correct in A. 21. 11, Ap. 2. 1 etc.), just because it belonged to the language of literature and not to the living language : L. 10. 39 καὶ τῇδε ἦν ἀδελφὴ κ.τ.λ. instead of *ταύτῃ* (Ja. 4. 13 πορευσόμεθα εἰς τήνδε τὴν πόλιν appears to mean ‘such and such a city,’ Attic *τὴν καὶ τὴν*, as in Plat. Leg. 4. 721B *τῇ καὶ τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ*<sup>1</sup>; the passage in James is followed by 15 ποιήσομεν τοῦτο ή ἐκεῖνο with the same meaning). *Τοιᾶσδε* for *τοιαύτης* (correctly introducing some information following) only occurs in 2 P. 1. 17.

2. The uses of *οὗτος* and *ἐκεῖνος* are quite clearly distinguished. *Οὗτος* refers to persons or things actually present : Mt. 3. 17 οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ νιός μου etc.; to persons or things mentioned, = one who continues to be the subject of conversation, as e.g. in Mt. 3. 3 οὗτος (John, verse 1 f.) γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ρήθεις κ.τ.λ., especially used after a preliminary description of a person to introduce what has to be narrated of him, Mt. 27. 57 f. ἀνθρωπὸς πλούσιος ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας ... οὗτος προσελθὼν κ.τ.λ., L. 23. 50 ff., Ja. 3. 2, 4. 47, A. 1. 18 οὗτος μὲν οὖν κ.τ.λ., etc.; somewhat different is καὶ οὗτος in Luke in the continuation of a description, L. 2. 25 f. καὶ οἶδον ἀνθρωπὸς ήν ... φόνομα Σινμεών, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος δίκαιος κ.τ.λ., cp. 17. 7. 12, 8. 41 (with a wrong reading *αὐτός*, see § 48, 1), 19. 2 (the same v.l.; only D has

<sup>1</sup>With this is rightly compared *τήνδε τὴν ημέραν* in Plut. Qu. conviv. i. 6. 1.

οὗτος); cp. also καὶ τῷδε (sup. 1), 10. 39. Slight ambiguities (where several substantives precede) must be cleared up by the sense: A. 8. 26 αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔργμος, referring to η̄ ὁδός, not to Γάξα; L. 16. 1 ἀνθρωπός τις η̄ πλούσιος ὃς εἰχεν οἰκονόμον, καὶ οὗτος (referring to οἰκ.) διεβλήθη αὐτῷ (to ἀνθ. πλ.). It very commonly stands in the apodosis, referring back to the protasis: Mt. 10. 22 ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται, R. 7. 15 οὐ γὰρ ὁ θέλω, τοῦτο πράσσω, ἀλλ’ ὁ μισῶ, τοῦτο ποιῶ; but τοῦτο is also found in the preceding principal clause, as a preliminary to a subordinate clause with ὅτι, ἵνα etc.; 1 Tim. 1. 9 εἰδὼς τοῦτο, ὅτι κ.τ.λ., 1 Jo. 2. 3 ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκομεν..., έαν κ.τ.λ.; also before an infinitive or substantive, 2 C. 2. 1 ἔκρινα ἐμαντῷ τοῦτο, τὸ μὴ πάλιν ... ἐλθεῖν, 2 C. 13. 9 τοῦτο καὶ εὐχόμεθα, τὴν ἴμων κατάρτισιν. St. Paul frequently also has αὐτὸν τοῦτο, just this (and nothing else), R. 9. 17 O.T., 13. 6, Ph. 1. 6 πεποιθὼς αὐτὸν τοῦτο (with reference to their endurance already emphasized in verse 5), also 2 P. 1. 5; an adverbial use (like τί) is τοῦτο αὐτό just for this reason 2 C. 2. 3, § 34, 7.<sup>1</sup> Another adverbial use is τοῦτο μὲν ... τοῦτο δὲ on the one hand ... on the other hand, both ... and H. 10. 33 (Attic; literary language). We further have καὶ τοῦτο idque 'and indeed' 1 C. 6. 8 (κ. ταῦτα CD<sup>b</sup>), 8 (ταῦτα L), R. 13. 11, E. 2. 8 (Att. καὶ ταῦτα, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 791); on καὶ ταῦτα with part. 'although' H. 11. 12 etc. see § 74, 2.—Οὗτος appears to be often used in a contemptuous way (like Latin *iste*) of a person who is present: L. 15. 30 ὁ νίος σου οὗτος, 18. 11 οὗτος ὁ τελώνης, A. 17. 18.—On οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας A. 1. 5 see § 42, 3.

3. The much rarer word ἐκεῖνος (most frequent, comparatively speaking, in St. John) may be used to denote persons who are absent, and are regarded in that light: ὑμεῖς – ἐκεῖνοι are opposed in Mt. 13. 11, Jo. 5. 39, A. 3. 13, 2 C. 8. 14, ὑμεῖς (ἐγώ) – ἐκ. in Jo. 3. 28, 30, 1 C. 9. 25, 10. 11, 15. 11; of course the conversation must have turned on the persons indicated, to make the pronoun intelligible at all.<sup>2</sup> It is never used in the N.T. in connection with, or in opposition to, οὗτος (Buttm. p. 91); but see Herm. Mand. iii. 5 ἐκεῖνα (the past) – ταῦτα (the present). Frequently in the N.T. ἐκείνη η̄ ἡμέρα is used of the last day, Mt. 7. 22, 2 Th. 1. 10. But it is especially used in narrative (even imaginary narrative) about something that has been previously mentioned, and that which is connected therewith. When thus used, it is distinguished from οὗτος, which refers to something which is still under immediate consideration. Thus confusion between the two pronouns is not often possible. Mt. 3. 1 ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις in the transition to a fresh narrative, cp. Mc. 1. 9, 8. 1, L. 2. 1; but Luke also uses ταύταις in this phrase, 1. 39, 6. 12 (D ἐκείναις), A. 1. 15, 6. 1 (v.l.

<sup>1</sup> 2 P. 1. 5 καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτο (v.l. κ. α. τοῦτο δὲ) σπουδὴν πᾶσαν παρεισενέγκαντες might be a corruption of κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτο.

<sup>2</sup> It is used contemptuously or invidiously of an absent person in Jo. 9. 28, cp. οὗτος, sup. 2; in A. 5. 28 D has τοῦ ἀνθρ. ἐκείνου for τ. ἀ. τούτου of the other mss. (the latter is due to ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ in the same verse).

ἐκείν.), 11. 27 (Β αὐταῖς, cp. § 48, 1): Mt. 7. 25, 27 τῷ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ (referring to 24 and 26; other subjects, namely the rain etc., have intervened), 8. 28 διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκείνης (where the possessed persons dwelt; the road itself has not previously been mentioned), 9. 22 ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης (when these words were spoken), 26, 31, 13. 44 τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐκείνον (referring to τῷ ἀγρῷ ibid., but again there has been interruption caused by other subjects intervening).<sup>1</sup>—In the apodosis (cp. οὗτος): Mc. 7. 20 τὸ ἔκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκπορευόμενον, ἐκείνο (that other thing) κοινοῖ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, Jo. 10. 1 (ἔκ, opposed to the speaker), similarly R. 14. 14, 2 C. 10. 18; with weakened force and indefinite reference ('he') Jo. 14. 21 ὁ ἔχων τὰς ἐντολάς μου ..., ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαπῶν με, cp. 6. 57, 2 C. 10. 18, Herm. Mand. vii. 5, etc.; even with reference to the speaker in Jo. 9. 37. It is not often followed by the word or clause referred to: Mt. 24. 23 ἐκείνο (that other thing, see 42) δὲ γινώσκετε ὅτι (R. 14. 15 ἐκείνον ... ὑπὲρ οὐ opposed to σὺ), Jo. 13. 26 'he', cp. supra. Its meaning is also weakened to 'he' ('they') in Jo. 10. 6 ταύτην τὴν παροιμίαν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησ., ἐκείνοι δὲ (for which οἱ δέ, αὐτοὶ δὲ are synonyms, §§ 46, 3; 48, 1), and so frequently in John in unbroken connection with the first mention, G. 9. 11, 25, 36; similarly 'Mc.' 16. 10 ff.<sup>2</sup>

4. The substantive that is connected with οὗτος or ἐκεῖνος takes the article as in classical Greek; it is only necessary to consider whether the words are really to be connected, or whether the substantive or the pronoun forms part of the predicate: Jo. 2. 11 ταύτην (obj.) ἐποίησεν ἀρχὴν τῶν σημείων, L. 2. 1 αὕτη (subj.) ἀπογραφὴ πρωτη ἐγένετο (on the agreement in gender see § 31, 2), A. 24. 21 μᾶς ταύτης φωνῆς ηὐ ἐκέραξα ὅτι = η φωνὴ η ἐγένετο ην μία αὕτη (predic.)—The position of the pronoun, either before the article or after the substantive, is quite optional: οὗτος (ἐκεῖνος) ὁ ἀνθρώπος or ὁ ἄ. οὗτος (ἐκεῖνος).

## § 50. RELATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

1. The relative of definite reference οἵ (by the ancients called ἄρθρον ὑποτακτικόν, § 46, 1) and that of indefinite reference οἵτις are no longer regularly distinguished in the N.T.; and with this is connected the fact that the latter is almost entirely limited to the nominative (§ 13, 3), although in this case it is used by nearly all

<sup>1</sup> See also Jo. 1. 6 ff. ἐγένετο ἀνθρώπος ... Ἰωάνης· οὗτος (vide sup. 2) ηλθεν εἰς μαρτυρίαν,—ἴνα πάντες πιστεύσωσιν δι' αὐτοῦ· οὐκ ηὐ ἐκεῖνος τὸ φῶς (the discourse passes from John to Jesus); 7. 45 ηλθον οὖν οἱ ὑπηρέται πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς, καὶ εἶπον αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι (those who were at a distance from the scene of action, and were previously mentioned in verse 32).

<sup>2</sup> The Johannine use of ἐκεῖνος is exhaustively discussed by Steitz and A. Buttmann in Stud. u. Kr. 1859, 497: 1860, 505: 1861, 267; see also Zeitschrift f. w. Th. 1862, 204 for the passage 19. 35 καὶ ἐκεῖνος οἶδεν κ.τ.λ. (i.e. the narrator, whose personality, however, is not prominently put forward, unless with Zahn we refer ἐκεῖνος to Christ). Nonnus (see his paraphrase) read κάκεινον οἴδαμεν ὅτι ἀλληνή η μαρτυρία ἐστιν· ἐγένετο δὲ κ.τ.λ.; the Latin codex e omits the verse, and has (like Nonnus) ἐγένετο δὲ in v. 36.

writers (least of all by John). A similar case is that of *ὅστις*, which, except in Hebrews, is used only in the nominative and accusative. Mt. uses *ὅστις* correctly in general statements, 5. 39, 41, 10. 33 etc., but also *οὐ* 10. 14, 23. 16, 18; esp. *πᾶς ὅστις* 7. 24, 10. 32, 19. 29; but *πᾶς οὐ* occurs in L. 14. 33, A. 2. 21 O.T., G. 3. 10 O.T., *παντὶ ϕ* L. 12. 48; Mt. also uses this phrase where a subst. is inserted, 12. 36 *πᾶν ρῆμα ἀργὸν οὐ*, 15. 13 *πᾶσα φυτείᾳ ην* (*πᾶσα ψυχὴ ητις* A. 3. 23 O.T.). "Οστις is also correctly used in connection with a subst. of indefinite reference: Mt. 7. 15 *τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν οὕτινες* (description follows), 24 *ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ ὅστις* etc. (but Lc. uses *οὐ*: 6. 48 *ἀνθρώπῳ οὐ*, 49 *οἰκίᾳν η*): and to denote a definite person in a case where the relative sentence expresses the general quality, Jo. 8. 53 *Ἄβραάμ, ὅστις ἀπέθανεν* (who was a man who died), A. 7. 53 *οὕτινες ἐλάβετε κ.τ.λ.* (people who); but these limits are often exceeded esp. by Luke, and *οὕτινες, ητις* are used = *οὐ*, *η*: Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην, *οὕτινες* A. 8. 15, *τὴν πύλην ητις* 12. 10, *πόλιν Δανίδην, ητις* L. 2. 4 (particularly where a participle follows, and the meaning of *οἱ, η* would not have been clear, A. 8. 15, 17. 10 *οὕτινες παραγενόμενοι*); Ap. 12. 13 *τὴν γυναικὰ ητις ἔτεκεν τὸν ἄρσενα*. This use of *ὅστις* for *οὐ* is very old in Ionic Greek, Kühner Gr. ii.<sup>2</sup> 906 (Herod. ii. 99 *πόλιν ητις νῦν Μέμφις καλεῖται*). In the Pauline Epistles this use cannot be established, since in R. 16. 3 ff. *οὐ* and *ὅστις* are alternately used, according as a mere statement of fact is made (*οὐ*), or a characteristic is given (*ἡ οὕτινές εἰσιν ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, οὐ καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ γέγοναν ἐν Χριστῷ*); also in G. 4. 24, 26 *ητις = ἡ τοιαύτη, ερ. 1 C. 3. 17, Ph. 1. 28, 1 Tim. 3. 15*.—As an instance of *οὐ* for *ὅστις* one may further note *οὐδεῖς (οὐ) ... οὐ* (for *ὅστις*) *οὐ*, § 75, 6.—*ὅστις* has been given up, § 13, 3.

2. The *ἄρθρον ὑποτακτικόν, οὐ, η, δ* justifies this appellation chiefly in the fact that, like the article (*ἄ. προτακτικόν*) which follows a substantive and introduces a further definition, its case is assimilated to that of the substantive, even though in conformity with the relative sentence it should have had another case, which is generally the accusative (**Attraction** or **Assimilation** of the relative).<sup>1</sup> In this peculiarity of Greek the N.T. (like the LXX.) is entirely in agreement with the classical language. Exceptions occur (as in classical Greek, Thuc. ii. 70. 5) where the relative clause is more sharply divided from the rest of the sentence (through the insertion of other defining words with the noun and through the importance of the contents of the relative sentence): H. 8. 2 *τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθευῆς, ην ἐπηξεν ὁ κύριος, οὐκ ἀνθρωπός*; but in other passages there is always a v.l., Mc. 13. 19 *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως, ην* (*ης AC<sup>2</sup> al., om. ην ἔκτ. δ. θ. D) ἐκτισεν δ. θεός, Jo. 2. 22 and 4. 50 *τῷ λόγῳ οὐ* (*ϕ AΔX al., DΔ al.), 4. 5 *χωρίου οὐ* (*οὐ C\*D al.*), 7. 39 (*οὐ ΚΔG al.*), Ap. 1. 20 (*οὐ B*); Tit. 3. 5 *οὐκ ἐξ ἐργων τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἀ (οὐ C\*D al.)* *ἐποιήσαμεν ημεῖς* is an instance of the case above-mentioned of separation through the insertion of defining words. (On A. 8. 32 f. see the author's commentary on that passage.) On the other hand**

<sup>1</sup>"Οστις, in N.T. as in classical Greek, is never assimilated.

it is not only the so-called accusative of the inner object (§ 34, 3) which is capable of assimilation (E. 4. 1 *τῆς κλήσεως ἡς ἐκλίθητε*, A. 24. 21, 26. 16, Jd. 15), but occasionally the dative is assimilated as well: A. 1. 22 *ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἡς ἀνελήμφθη* (cp. L. 1. 20 D, LXX. Lev. 23. 15, Bar. 1. 15), R. 4. 17 *κατέναντι οὐ ἐπίστευσεν θεοῦ*, i.e. *κ. τοῦ θ. φ. ἐπ.* (see below on the attraction of the substantive into the relative clause). In addition to this, the preposition which should be repeated before the relative may be omitted (class.): A. 1. 21 *ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ* (*sc. ἐν*) *φ.*, 13. 2 *εἰς τὸ ἔργον* (*sc. εἰς*) *ὁ*, 39 *ἀπὸ πάντων* (*sc. ἀπό*) *ὅν*, Herm. Sim. ix. 7. 3 *μετὰ πάντων* (*sc. μεθ'*) *ὅν* (but in the case of a sharper division of the relative clause, the preposition is repeated: A. 7. 4 *εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην*, *εἰς ἥν*, 20. 18 *ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας*, *ἀφ' ἥς*, Jo. 4. 53 (*ἐν*) *ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡρᾳ*, *ἐν* *ἥ*). It is readily intelligible that the Greek relative includes our demonstrative 'he' or 'that'; it is therefore used by assimilation in the case which would belong to the demonstrative: L. 9. 36 *οὐδὲν ὅν = τούτων ἄ*, Jo. 7. 31 *πλείονα ὅν* (do.), 17. 9 *περὶ ὅν = περὶ τούτων οὓς*; also *ἀθ’ ὅν = ἀτὶ τούτων ὅτι*, *ἐφ’ φ. = ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὅτι*, *διότι = διὰ τούτο ὅτι*; cp. adverbs of place § 76, 4. More noticeable is the occasional attraction of the noun into the relative clause, in which case the article belonging to the noun, being incompatible with the *ἀρθρ.* *ὑποτ.*, must be left out, while the noun itself is now assimilated to the case of the relative; of course even where there is no assimilation of the relative, a similar attraction of the noun into the relative clause, with the case of the relative, may take place (so in classical Greek, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 922: e.g. *φ. ἀνδρὶ πάντες εὗνοι ἦσαν, ἀπέθανεν*). But the noun is not placed immediately after the relative, except in the case of *ἡμέρα*: L. 1. 20 *ἄχρι ἣς ἡμέρας γένηται ταῦτα*, = *ἄ. τῆς ἡμ.* (*ἐν*) *ἥ* cp. supra, A. 1. 1, Mt. 24. 38 (same phrase).<sup>1</sup> On the other hand: L. 19. 37 *πασῶν ὅν εἴδον δυνάμεων*, 3. 19 *περὶ πάντων ὅν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν ὁ Ἡρῷδης (τῶν πον. ὅν οὐ\*)*, cp. A. 25. 18<sup>2</sup>, and with no assimilation of the relative: L. 24. 1 *φέρουσαι ἀ ήτομασταν ἀρώματα*, Jo. 6. 14 *ὁ ἐποίησεν σημεῖον*. The way in which the following exx. should be resolved is ambiguous: L. 1. 4 *περὶ ὅν κατηχήθης λόγων*, = either *περὶ τῶν λ. οὓς* or *τῶν λόγων περὶ ὅν* (in view of passages like A. 18. 25, 20. 24, 25. 26 the first is probably correct); R. 6. 17 *ὑπηκούσατε εἰς ὅν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς*, probably *τῷ τύπῳ εἰς ὅν*; with omission of a preposition A. 21. 16 (but not D) *ἄγοντες παρ' φ. ξενισθῶμεν Μνάσωνι = πρὸς Μνάσωνα, ἵνα ξει. παρ' αὐτῷ* (§ 65, 8).

3. If the noun is not attracted into the relative clause but stands in front of it, it is still occasionally assimilated to the case of the relative, a practice of which instances appear in classical authors (*attractio inversa*, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 918, 4): 1 C. 10. 16 *τὸν ἄρτον ὅν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ κουνωνία ... ἐστίν*; A. 10. 36 *τὸν λόγον ὅν ... οὗτός ἐστι*

<sup>1</sup> The regular phrase is *ἐν ἡμ.* *ἥ* Mt. 24. 50, L. 1. 25 (plur.), 12. 46, without the art., which is occasionally omitted in Hebrew before *נִמְלָא*, infra 3; without *ἐν* L. 17. 29 f. *ἥ ἡμέρᾳ* (in 30 D reads *ἐν τῇ ἡμ. – ἥ ἀποκαλυφθῇ*). *Ἡμ.* is separated from the rel. in Herm. Mand. iv. 4. 3 *ἀφ' ἥς μοι παρεδόθης ἡμέρας*.

<sup>2</sup> 2 C. 10. 13 *κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος, οὐ ἐμέρισεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεός μέτρου = τοῦ μέτρου οὐ*, although in this case the appositional clause has been very loosely annexed.

πάντων (*κύριος* should be removed)<sup>1</sup>, Herm. Sim. ix. 13. 3, L. 12. 48 παντὶ ὃ ἐδόθη πολύ, πολὺν ἥγησοντιν παρ' αὐτοῦ (in sentences of this kind the nominative is elsewhere used with anacoluthon, see § 79), Mt. 21. 42 τὸν λίθον δὲ κ.τ.λ. O.T.; peculiar is L. 1. 73 ὄρκον δὲ ὕμοσεν instead of τοῦ ὄρκου οὗ (not a case of ‘protasis,’ but a supplementary amplification; the passage is strongly Hebraic, § 46, 9; Hebr. נִשְׁר מִקְרָם Ges.-K. § 130, 3).—Attraction with a relative adverb: Mt. 25. 24 συνάγεις ὅθεν (= ἐκεῖθεν ὅπου) οὐδεσκόρπισας, cp. Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 915, note 6.

4. One piece of careless writing, which was specially suggested by Semitic usage (Hebr. נִשְׁר כֶּר; Aramaic has similar expressions with תַּ), though it is not quite unknown to the classical language<sup>2</sup>, is the **pleonastic use of the personal pronoun after the relative**. Mc. 7. 25 γυνή, ἣς εἰχεν τὸ θυγάτριον αὐτῆς (a. om. κD) πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, 1. 7 = L. 3. 16 οὐδ... αὐτοῦ, Ap. 7. 2 οἵς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς, 9, 3. 8, 13. 8, 20. 8, Clem. Cor. i. 21. 9 οὐδὴ πνοὴ αὐτοῦ (frequent in LXX., Winer, § 22, 4); with these exx. the following are quite in keeping: Ap. 12. 6, 14 ὅπου... ἐκεῖ (Μετὰ τὴν οὐδὲν), 17. 9 ὅπου... ἐπ' αὐτῶν, Mc. 13. 19 οἵα οὐ γέγονεν τοιαύτη (9. 3 οἵα... οὐ δύναται οὕτως λευκᾶναι): in G. 3. 1 ἐν ιψῶν after οἵς is merely a v.l.; but in 2. 10 δὲ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι there is a reason for the expression, since αὐτὸς in this sense (‘just’) cannot be joined to the relative, and therefore required to be supplemented by τοῦτο.<sup>3</sup>—Another quite different negligent usage, which is also unobjectionable in the classical language, is the linking on of a further subordinate clause to a relative clause by means of καὶ... αὐτοῦ: 1 C. 8. 6 ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτὸν (a second ex. in the same verse), Ap. 17. 2, 2 P. 2. 3 (Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 936).

5. **Relatives and interrogatives** become confused in Greek as in other languages. The relatives in particular, and as is only natural the indefinite δοτίς especially (but also δος, where it can conveniently be so used), are frequently employed in the classical language in **indirect questions** (beside the interrogatives), a usage which, however, is wanting in the N.T. (in A. 9. 6 the reading of κABC δοτί for τί must be rejected in view of the general practice elsewhere); δόποιος alone is employed as an indirect interrogative: 1 C. 3. 13, G. 2. 6 (δόποιοι ποτε), 1 Th. 1. 9, Ja. 1. 24 (elsewhere expressed by ποιός), cp. ὅπως L. 24. 20. The reverse use of the interrogative τίς instead of the relative δοτίς is Alexandrian (and dialectical), as e.g. in a saying of Ptolemy Euergetes ap. Athen. x. 438 fin. τίνι ἡ τύχη δίδωσι, λαβέτω.<sup>4</sup> In the N.T. we have A. 13. 25 τίνα με ὑπονοεῖτε εἶναι, οὐκ εἴμι ἐγώ,<sup>5</sup> cp. Mc. 14. 36 οὐ τί ἐγὼ θέλω, ἀλλὰ τί σύ (οὐχ δὲ ἀλλ' δ D), L. 17. 8 ἐτούμασον τί δειπνήσω, Ja. 3. 13 τίς σοφὸς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> See the author's edition of the Acts, and above § 35, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 937 (Hypereides Euxen. § 3 ὅν... τούτων).

<sup>3</sup> So (Kühner loc. cit. note 2) δος... δεύτερος οὗτος.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. O. Immisch Lpz. Stud. 1887, 309 ff.

<sup>5</sup> [W. H. txt. reads τί ἐμὲ ὑπονοεῖτε εἶναι; οὐκ εἴμι ἐγώ. Tr.]

ἐπιστήμων ἐν ὑμῖν, δειξάτω (or *tis* ... ὑμῖν; an interrogative sentence).<sup>1</sup> The employment of *ὅστις* or even of *ὅς* in a direct question is quite incredible, except that *ὅτι* appears to be used as an abbreviation for *τί ὅτι* ‘why’: Mc. 9. 11 ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες· ὅτι λέγουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς κ.τ.λ., 28 ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν· ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἡδυνθήμεν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό; (*διατί* ADKII), 2. 16 (*τί* ὅτι AC al., *διατί* ND): ep. LXX. 1 Chron. 17. 6 *ὅτι* = **πῶς** But Jo. 8. 25 τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν; means according to classical usage (a meaning, it is true, which cannot be paralleled from the N.T.): you ask, why (so in classical Greek A says *tis* ἔστιν; to which B replies *ὅστις*; sc. ἐρωτᾶς: you ask who he is?) do I speak to you at all? (τὴν ἀρχὴν = ὀλως): cp. for the direct question Clem. Hom. vi. 11 τί καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαλέγομαι; xix. 6 ἐπεὶ τί καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤητε; while in Mt. 26. 50 ἔταῆρε ἐφ' ὁ πάρει, ἔταῆρε must be a corruption either of *αἴρε* or *ἔταῆρε* *αἴρε*: ‘take what thou art come to fetch’ (D has *ἔταῆρε* after *πάρει*).<sup>2</sup>

6. It has already been remarked in § 13, 5 that the interrogative *tis* (both in direct and indirect questions, supra 5) is also used for *πότερος* ‘which of two?’: Mt. 21. 31 *tis* ἐκ τῶν δύο, 9. 5, L. 7. 42 etc. A stereotyped phrase is *πότερον ... ἢ utrum ... an* in indirect double questions, but found only in Jo. 7. 17 (Herm. Sim. ix. 28. 4). *Tis* is for the most part used substantively; beside the **adjectival** *tis* (*tis* βασιλεύς L. 14. 31, *tí σημεῖον* Jo. 2. 18, *tis* μετοχή etc. 2 C. 6. 14 ff.) *ποῖος* is also used with little distinction from it, as also in classical Greek—nowhere, however, in inquiries after persons, but in such phrases as ἐν ποίᾳ ἔξουσίᾳ, *ποίᾳ* ὄντοματι (A. 4. 7), *ποίᾳ* ὥρᾳ, ἐκ *ποίας* ἐπαρχίας (A. 23. 34), διὰ *ποίου* νόμου (R. 3. 27), *ποίᾳ* σώματι (the pron. having its strict sense, how constituted) 1 C. 15. 35, cp. Ja. 4. 14 *ποίᾳ* γὰρ ἡ (ἡ om. B) ξωὴ ὑμῶν (how miserably constituted; on the other hand it is not elsewhere found with an article, *tis* being used in that case: Mc. 6. 2 *tis* ἡ σοφία, whence coming, A. 10. 21 *tis* ἡ αἰτία, 17. 19 etc.); with an adj. *tí* is always used: *tí* ἀγαθόν, κακόν, περισσόν. The two words are united tautologically (for emphasis) in *εἰς τίνα* ἡ *ποίον* καιρόν 1 P. 1. 11; there is a diversity of reading in Mc. 4. 30 ἐν τίνι (*ποίᾳ* AC<sup>2</sup>D al.) *παραβολῇ*; the two are used interchangeably in A. 7. 49 *ποίον* οἴκον ... ἡ *tis* τόπος. In L. 24. 19 *ποῖα* stands by itself, referring to 18 τὰ γενόμενα. Beside *ποῖος* we have also the later *ποταπός* (old form *ποδαπός*, of what country by birth, like ἀλλοδαπός, ἡμεδαπός; for *ποτ.* = *ποῖος* Lob. Phryn. 56), the latter being used of persons as well as things: *ποταπός* ἔστιν οὗτος, ὃς κ.τ.λ., Mt. 8. 27 (= *tis* ἄρα Mc. 4. 41, L. 8. 25), *tis* καὶ *ποταπὴ* ἡ γυνή L. 7. 39, 2 P. 3. 11; of things Mc. 13. 1, L. 1. 29, 1 Jo. 3. 1 (how constituted, also how great or mighty; like *ποῖαι* = *τίνες* in Herm. Mand. viii. 3 *ποταπαὶ* εἴσιν αἱ πονηρίαι).

<sup>1</sup> In Mt. 26. 62 = Mc. 14. 60 οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνῃ; τι οὗτοι σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν; it is impossible to unite the words in a single sentence, because ἀποκρίνεσθαι would require a πρός, Mt. 27. 14. In the passage of James one may adduce 5. 13 in favour of separating the clauses: κακοπαθεῖ *tis*; προσευχέσθω, cp. § 82.

<sup>2</sup> [Many commentators supply *ποιησον* ‘do that for which thou art come.’ Tr.]

7. The neuter *τι* is used as predicate to *ταῦτα* (as in class. Greek, Krüger Gr. § 61, 8, 2) in *τί (ἄν) εἴη ταῦτα* L. 15. 26 (*τί θέλει τοῦτο εἶναι* D), A. 17. 20 DEHL (v.l. *τίνα*), Herm. Vis. iv. 3. 1; it is necessary in Jo. 6. 9 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα *τί ἔστιν* (of what use are they) *εἰς τοσούτους*; further we have ἄνδρες, *τί ταῦτα ποιεῖτε* A. 14. 15, as in Demosth. 55. 5 *Τεισία, τί ταῦτα ποιεῖς* (what are you doing there?), cp. with a singular demonstr. pron. L. 16. 2 *τί τοῦτο ἀκούω περὶ σοῦ*; (*τί* *predic.*).<sup>1</sup> In the passage of Acts *τί* might also be understood in its very common meaning of ‘why?’ (class.), Mt. 6. 28, L. 2. 48 etc.; to express this meaning besides *διὰ τί* we have also *ἴνα τί* (*sc. γένηται*), A. 7. 25 O.T. *ἴνα τί (ίνατί) ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη* etc. (found in Attic), and *τί ὅ, τι (ὅτι)*, written fully in *τί γέγονεν ὅτι ἡμῶν μέλλεις ἐμφανίζειν σεαυτόν* Jo. 14. 22 (where *ὅτι = δι'* *ὅ, τι*, just as *τί = διὰ τί*), A. 5. 4, 9, L. 2. 49, v.l. in Mc. 2. 16, vide supra 5 (also LXX.). A. 12. 18 *τί ἄρα ὁ Πέτρος ἐγένετο*, ‘what was become of him’, is like Attic *τί γένωμαι*<sup>2</sup>; so L. 1. 66 *τί ἄρα τὸ παῖδιον ἔσται*; A. 5. 24 *τί ἀν γένοιτο τοῦτο*, ‘what would be likely to happen in the matter’, ‘how it would turn out’ (*τί* *predic.*); in an abbreviated form *οὐτος δὲ τί* Jo. 21. 21, ‘what will become of him?’ *Tί ‘how’ = Hebr. נַא* (Win. § 21, 3, note 3), Mt. 7. 14 *τί στενή* (v.l. *ὅτι*), L. 12. 49 *τί θέλω* (LXX.).—*Tί πρὸς ἡμᾶς* (*sc. ἔστι*), ‘what does it concern us?’ Mt. 27. 4: *τί πρὸς σέ* Jo. 21. 22 (cp. § 30, 3; Attic has also *τί ταῦτη ἐμοί*; Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 365, and so 1 C. 5. 12 *τί γάρ μοι τοὺς ἔχω κρίνειν*; where it takes the inf. as in Epict. Diss. ii. 17. 14, Win.); *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ* (*sc. ἔστιν*, Kühner 364; but also a Hebrew phrase as in 2 Kings 3. 13) Mt. 8. 29 etc., § 30, 3; St. Paul has *τί γάρ* R. 3. 3, Ph. 1. 18 (what matters it? or what difference is it?) and *τί οὖν* (*sc. ἐροῦμεν*) R. 6. 15. The masc. is used predicatively in *ἐγώ τίς ἡμην* A. 11. 17, cp. 2 Kings 8. 13.—Neut. and masc. pronouns are combined (as in class. Greek) in *τίς τί ἄρη* Mc. 15. 24, *τίς τί διεπραγματεύσατο* (what each man had etc., but BDL read *τί διεπραγματεύσαντο*), L. 19. 15 (Herm. Vis. iii. 8. 6, Mand. vi. 1. 1).

## § 51. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS; PRONOMINAL WORDS.

1. *Τις, τι*, as in classical Greek, is both substantival and adjectival; when used in the latter way, its position is unrestricted, so that it may even stand before its substantive, so long as there is another word in front of it, *καὶ τις ἀνήρ* A. 3. 2, *ἴνα τι μεταδῷ χάρισμα* R. 1. 11; *τινὲς* stands at the beginning of the sentence in contrasts: *τινὲς (μὲν) ... τ. δὲ* 1 Tim. 5. 24, Ph. 1. 15 (Demosth. 9. 56), and even where there is no contrasted clause: *τινὲς δὲ* A. 17. 18, 19. 31, Jo. 7. 44 etc. (Demosth. 18. 44).—Special usages: Ja. 1. 18 *ἀπαρχήν τινα τῶν αὐτῶν κτισμάτων*, softening the metaphorical expression ('so to

<sup>1</sup> Also Mt. 26. 62=Mc. 14. 60 (sup. 5, note 1) *τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν* resolves itself into *τι ἔστιν δούτοις κ.*

<sup>2</sup> Joseph. de vita sua, § 296, *οἱ εἰκοσι χρυσοῖ τι γεγνασιν*; Xenoph. Hell. ii. 3. 17 *τι ἔστοι ή πολιτεῖα* (W.-Gr.).

speak,' 'a kind of first fruits'); with numbers in classical Greek it has the effect of making them indefinite, 'about,' but in A. 23. 23 (cp. Herm. Vis. i. 4. 3) we have *τινὰς δύο* 'a certain pair' (to which corresponds *εἴς τις* L. 22. 50, Jo. 11. 49; cp. § 45, 2); with an adjective (frequent in class. Greek) *φοβερά τις ἐκδοχή* H. 10. 27, it has an intensifying force like *quidam*, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 570 f. (*ὑπερηφανία πολλή τις*, Herm. Mand. vi. 2. 5); but in A. 8. 9 *εἰναί τινα ἑαντὸν μέγαν*, *μέγαν* appears to be an interpolation, and *τινα* to be used emphatically, a person of importance, cp. 5. 35, Kühner 571 note 1; so *εἰναί τι* 'to be something important' G. 2. 6 (*δοκούντων εἰναί τι*, = Plat. Gorg. 472 A, Gercke), 6. 3.—*Tiſ* is used for 'each' in Herm. Sim. viii. 2. 5 *καθὼς ἄξιός ἔστι τις κατοικεῖν*, cp. 4. 2 (A. 15. 2 according to the Syriac).—On *tiſ* to be supplied with a partitive word see § 35, 4.

2. 'No one,' 'nobody' is *οὐδείς* or *μηδείς* (on -θείς, see § 6, 7 fin.; *οὐθέτερος* Clem. Hom. xix. 12); in addition to these we have the Hebraic *oū* (*μη*) ... *πᾶς*, where the verb becomes closely attached to the *oū* (or *μη*): Mt. 24. 22 *οὐκ ἀν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σάρξ*, like Hebr. נֹכַח ... נֹכַח, R. 3. 20 (cp. Ps. 142. 2), L. 1. 37 *οὐκ ἀδυνατήσει παρὰ τῷ θεῷ πᾶν ρῆμα* (=nothing), Ap. (7. 16, 9. 4) 21. 27, A. 10. 14 *οὐδέποτε ἔφαγον πᾶν κοινόν* (on the other hand *oū πᾶς* with no words intervening = 'not everyone,' as in class. Greek, Mt. 7. 21, 1 C. 15. 39); *πᾶς* ... *oū* (also Hebraic נֹכַח ... נֹכַח) has the same meaning, but is less harsh than the other, Ap. 18. 22, 22. 3, E. 4. 29, 5. 5, 2 P. 1. 20, 1 Jo. 2. 21, 3. 15; this use is excusable, where a positive clause with *ἀλλά* follows, containing the principal point of the sentence, Jo. 3. 16 *ἴνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων μη ἀπόληται, ἀλλὰ ἔχῃ κ.τ.λ.*, 6. 39, or where such a clause is clearly to be supplied as in 12. 46.<sup>1</sup> *Eīs* ... *oū* is stronger than *οὐδείς*, Mt. 10. 29 *ἐν ... οὐ πεσεῖται*, 5. 18, L. 11. 46 etc., as in Demosth. 30. 33 *ἡ γυνὴ μίαν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἔχειρεντεν* (Krüger, § 24, 2, 2); the same is true of the divided *οὐδὲ εἴς* A. 4. 32, Mt. 27. 14, Jo. 1. 3 (*\*D οὐδέν*), R. 3. 10 O.T. (*οὐ ... οὐδὲ εἴς*, cp. § 75, 6; ibid. 12 O.T. *οὐκ ἔστιν ἔως ἐνός*, Buttm. p. 106, 1).

3. The **generalizing relatives** *ὅστισοῦν*, *ὅστις δήποτε* etc. do not appear either as relatives or (with a verb to be supplied) as indefinite pronouns ('someone or other'); *οἴη δηποτοῦν* with v.l. φ δήποτε (relat.) is found in an interpolated passage 'Jo.' 5. 4. In A. 19. 26 after Παῦλος D adds *τις τοτε*, which should be corrected to *τις ποτε* = Lat. *nescio quis*; so Clem. Hom. v. 27 *τις ποτε Ἰουδαῖος* 'some Jew or other,' *τι ποτε* 'something' (modern Greek uses *τίποτε* for 'something' or 'nothing') xi. 28, xvii. 8 (*τις* for *ὅστις*, § 50, 5<sup>2</sup>; cp. the adverb *διπώς ποτέ* 'somehow' Clem. Hom. ii. 22, where *ἔστι* is to be supplied): Attic uses *ὅστις ἔστιν* or *ἄν γε*, Eurip. Bacch. 247, Demosth. iv. 27, the latter being used by St. Paul in G. 5. 10.

4. On the **derived correlatives** *οἷος*, *ὅσος*, *τοιοῦτος*, *τοσοῦτος* etc. (§ 12, 4) the following points may be noticed. In exclamations (direct or indirect; originally indirect, 'see how,' 'I marvel how')

<sup>1</sup> On 1 C. 15. 51 *οὐ πάντες*, as also on *οὐ πάντως*, *πάντως οὐ*, see § 75, 7.

<sup>2</sup> So also *τινοσοῦν* (according to the ms. p) for *ἥστινοσοῦν* Clem. Hom. x. 20.

the forms *οὗτος*, *όστος*, *ἱλίκος* should strictly be used, as in classical Greek, because some definite thing before one is indicated (so that *όποῖος* etc. are excluded); but here too we sometimes have the interrogative forms as in indirect questions: Mc. 15. 4 *ἴδε πόσα κ.τ.λ.*, Mt. 27. 13 (B\* *όσα*), A. 21. 20, 2 C. 7. 11 (direct), *ἴδετε πηλίκους κ.τ.λ.* G. 6. 11, H. 7. 14; but *οὗτος* is correctly used in 1 Th. 1. 5, 2 Tim. 3. 11 (in L. 9. 55 D is right with *ποίουν*),<sup>1</sup> cp. *πῶς*, § 76, 3.—In correlative clauses we have *τοιούτους* ... *όποῖος* A. 26. 29 (*qualis-cunque*); *τοσούτῳ* ... *όσῳ* H. 1. 4; but as *όσοι*=*πάντες οἱ*, it has frequently to be followed by *οὗτοι*, as in R. 8. 14; peculiar is *τὸν αὐτὸν* ... *οἶν* Ph. 1. 30.—On *ὁ τοιοῦτος* see § 47, 9; it is weakened into a more indefinite term for *οὗτος* in 2 C. 12. 2, 3, 5, 1 C. 5. 5, 2 C. 2. 6 f.—R. 9. 6 *οὐχ οἶν δὲ ὅτι ἐκπέπτωκεν* is to be explained (according to Lob. Phryn. 372, Buttm. 319) as for *οὐ δήποτε ἐκπεπτεῖται*, cp. *οὐχ ὅτι*, § 81.—With H. 10. 37 O.T. *ἔτι μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον* (cp. LXX. Is. 26. 20) and L. 5. 3 D *ἐπαναγαγεῖν ὅσον ὅσον* (for *ὅλιγον* of the other MSS.) i.e. a trifle, compare Aristoph. Vesp. 213.

5. ‘Each’ *ἕκαστος* (without the art. § 47, 9; ibid. for the distinction between it and *πᾶς*; for *τις* ‘each’ supra 1) is intensified as *εἷς ἕκαστος*; it is added to a plural subject without affecting the construction (class.), Winer § 58, 4; Jo. 16. 32 etc. In addition to *ἕκαστος* there has been developed out of the distributive *κατά* (or *ἀνά*, § 45, 3) the peculiar and grossly incorrect *καθ’ (ἀνὰ) εἷς*, since *καθ’ ἔνα* *ἕκαστον* became stereotyped as *καθένα ἕκ.*, and this called forth a corresponding nominative; so in modern Greek ‘each’ is *καθένας*. Still there are not many instances as yet in the N.T. of this vulgarism, and the amalgamation of the two words into one has not yet been carried out: Mc. 14. 19 *εἷς κατὰ (καθ’ AD al.) εἷς* (C *εἷς ἕκαστος*), ‘Jo.’ 8. 9 *εἷς καθ’ εἷς*, R. 12. 5 *τὸ δὲ καθ’ εἷς* severally, with reference to each individual, Ap. 21. 21 *ἀνὰ εἷς ἕκαστος*. (Herm. Sim. ix. 3. 4, 6. 3 *κατὰ ἔνα=ἕκαστον*, forming the whole object.)

6. “*Ἐτερος* and *ἄλλος*. “*Ἐτερος* is beside *ἀμφότεροι* the single surviving dual pronominal word, § 13, 5; in modern Greek it likewise has disappeared, and even in the N.T. instances of its use cannot be quoted from all writers (never in Mc. [16. 12 is spurious], the Apocalypse, or Peter, never in John except in 19. 37, used principally by Lc. and to some extent by Mt. and Paul). Moreover, the way in which it is employed is no longer always correct: Mt. 16. 14 *οἱ μὲν ... ἄλλοι δὲ ... ἐτεροι δὲ* (in the last two clauses Mc. 8. 28, L. 9. 19 have *ἄλλοι* twice; *ἐτεροι* could have stood correctly in the second clause=a second section), L. 8. 6 ff. *καὶ ἐτερον* three times (D *ἄλλο*, as in Mt. 13. 5 ff., Mc. 4. 5 ff.), 9. 59, 61, 1 C. 12. 9 f. (*ψ μὲν ... ἄλλῳ δὲ ... ἐτέρῳ*—then four times *ἄλλῳ δὲ ... ἐτέρῳ ... ἄλλῳ δὲ*), H. 11. 36. The use at the close of enumerations of *καὶ ἐτέρους πολλούς* Mt. 15. 30 (cp. L. 3. 18, R. 8. 39, 13. 4, 1 Tim. 1. 10) may be paralleled from Attic writers (Dem. 18. 208, 219, 19. 297): others, different from those named (the latter being conceived of as a unit);

<sup>1</sup> Also passages like A. 9. 16 *ὑποδείξω αὐτῷ*, *ὅσα δεῖ παθεῖν αὐτὸν* may be so taken, but the explanation of *ὅσα*=*πάντα* *ἅ* is more natural (so 14. 27 etc.).

but no Attic author ever said *ταῖς ἔτεραις πόλεσιν*, ‘the remaining cities’ L. 4. 3, for ὁ ἔτερος is restricted to a definite division into two parts; hence Mt. 10. 23 is also incorrect, *ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ... εἰς τὴν ἔτεραν* (sB; ἀλλην CE rell., with which the article is still more unusual; no doubt ‘the next city’ is what is meant<sup>1</sup>). Ph. 2. 4 *τὰ τῶν* (add. D\*FG) ἔτερων opposed to *τὰ ἑαυτῶν* is correct, cp. 1 C. 10. 24 al.—In the case of ἄλλος the most striking encroachment on the province of ἔτερος is that ὁ ἄλλος is written where there is only a division into two parts: Mt. 5. 39 (L. 6. 29) *στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην (σιαγόνα)*, 12. 13, Jo. 18. 16, 19. 32, 20. 3 f. etc.; but also in the case of ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ μαρτυρῶν Jo. 5. 32 (opposed to ἡγώ) ἔτερος should have been used, whereas in Mt. 25. 16 etc. ἄλλα πέντε τάλαντα may be illustrated from classical authors (Plato Leg. v. 745 A ἄλλο *τοσοῦτον μέρος*).—Ἐτεροι is used pleonastically (like ἄλλοι in class. Greek, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 245, note 1) in L. 23. 32 καὶ ἔτεροι δύο κακούργοι = two others besides Him, malefactors; on the other hand, ἄλλος is absent in many places where we insert ‘other’: A. 5. 29 Πέτρος καὶ οἱ (sc. ἄλλοι) ἀπόστολοι; 2. 14 Π. σὺν τοῖς (sc. λοιποῖς) ἔνδεκα; cp. in classical Greek “Ἐκτορὶ καὶ Τρώεσσι Hom. Il. 17. 291.—Ἄλλοι ἄλλο (τι) are united with the meaning ‘one one thing—one another’ (classical) in A. 19. 32, 21. 34.<sup>2</sup>

## SYNTAX OF THE VERB.

### § 52. THE VOICES OF THE VERB.

The system of three voices of the verb—active (transitive), passive (intransitive), and middle (*i.e.* transitive with reference to the subject)—remains on the whole the same in the N.T. as in the classical language. In the former, as in the latter, it frequently happens in the case of individual verbs that by a certain arbitrariness of the language this or that voice becomes the established and recognized form for a particular meaning, to the exclusion of another voice, which might perhaps appear more appropriate to this meaning. It is therefore a difficult matter to arrive at any general conception for each of the voices, which when applied to particular cases is not bound at once to become subject to limitation or even contradiction. The active does not in all cases denote an action, but may equally well denote a state, or even being affected in some way or other—ideas which would be more appropriately expressed by the passive. Χαίρω

<sup>1</sup> The fuller (and certainly original) form of expression in D al. has an additional clause: *κανέναν ἐν τῇ ἔτερᾳ (ἄλλῃ D) διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην* (once more into the next).

<sup>2</sup> Hermas almost always uses ἔτερος for ‘other,’ even with the article as in Vis. iii. 7. 1, 3 *τοὺς δὲ ἔτερους (λίθους)*, Sim. viii. 1. 7-18; but ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος for ‘differing in each instance,’ or ‘in each individual,’ Sim., ix. 1. 4, 10 (cp. Xenoph. Cyrop. iv. 1. 15 ‘always fresh’).

means 'I rejoice,' but the opposite is *λυποῦμαι*; accordingly in the aorist *ἐχάρην* we actually have the passive form as in *ἐλυπήθην*. In *θαυμάζω*, 'I am astonished' (wonder), the active voice is at most only correct with the meaning 'to see with astonishment'; it has a middle future *θαυμάσομαι*, cp. *θεῶμαι θεάσομαι*; but the verb of similar meaning *ἄγαμαι* has *ἴγασθην* and accordingly (as a verb expressing emotion) is passive, and the later language creates the corresponding forms *θαυμάζομαι* depon., and aor. *ἐθαυμάσθην*, § 20, 1. We may therefore assert that the active voice is quite unlimited in the meanings which may be attached to it, except where a passive (or middle) voice exists beside it, as in *τύπτω - τύπτομαι*. It must further be added that certain verbal forms unite an active formation with a passive (intransitive) meaning, particularly the 1st and 2nd aorists passive in *-θην*, *-ην*, and frequently perfects in *-α*, *-κα* (*ἀπόλωλα*, *ἔστηκα*). On the other hand, the **middle** can be only imperfectly differentiated from the passive, with which in the forms of the tenses, with the exception of aorist and future, it entirely coincides. We may adhere to the rule of giving the name of middle only to those forms which share the transitive meaning of the active, as *ἴσταμαι ἐστησάμην* beside *ἴστημι ἐστησα*; but if no active form exists, or if the meaning of the active form does not correspond to that of the passive or middle, then it is difficult to distinguish between the two last-mentioned voices. *Ἀποκρίνομαι*, 'answer,' is a deponent verb when it has this meaning; since it is transitive, in classical Greek it takes the forms *ἀπεκρινάμην*, *ἀποκρινόμαι*; the later language, however, regardless of the meaning which elsewhere attaches to aorists in *-θην*, regularly uses *ἀπεκρίθην*, *ἀποκριθήσομαι*. *Θαυμάσομαι* from *θαυμάζω* should be called middle, since it is transitive, and the classical language possesses the additional form *θαυμασθήσομαι* with a passive meaning; the same applies to *τέξομαι* from *τίκτω* and many other such futures; but *ἀποθανόμαι* from *ἀποθνήσκω*, *θρέξομαι* from *τρέχω* (*δραμοῦμαι* from *ἔδραμον*), being intransitive, and having no additional future forms, must certainly be classed as passives in the same category with the later *θαυμασθήσομαι*,<sup>1</sup> if the conception of the passive is extended, as it must be, so that it becomes equivalent to intransitive. It is, in fact, quite a rare occurrence for the language to draw a distinction between intransitive and passive, such as in Attic is drawn between *ἔστην* 'placed myself' and *ἔστάθην* 'was placed,' or between *στήσομαι* 'shall place myself' and *σταθήσομαι* 'shall be placed.' In the language of poetry and in the later language this distinction hardly exists at all: there *ἔστάθην* is equivalent to *ἔστην* and *φαύνθην* to *ἔφάνην* (while in Attic *ἔφάνην* means 'appeared,' *ἔφάνθην* 'was informed against' [juridical term]).

### § 53. ACTIVE VOICE.

1. Some active verbs, which were originally transitive, subsequently developed an additional intransitive (or reflexive) meaning.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἐθαυμάσθην* Ap. 13. 3, *θαυμασθήσονται* 17. 8 have ceased to be used transitively.

Ἄγω ‘lead,’ besides the stereotyped phrase ἄγε (=class.), is also used intransitively in ἀγομεν ‘let us go’ Mt. 26. 46 etc.; and still more frequently in composition: thus we have ὑπάγω, a vulgar word for ‘to go,’ esp. common in the forms ὑπαγε, -ετε, but also found in other forms of the present stem, e.g. ὑπάγει Jo. 3. 8 (the word is most frequent in this writer), but never in other tenses, cp. § 24 (the word is previously used in classical Greek, ὑπάγεθ ὑμείς τῆς ὁδοῦ Aristoph. Ran. 174, ὑπάγομε τῷ ἄν Av. 1017, but with a more clearly defined meaning); παράγειν ‘to pass by’<sup>1</sup>, Mt. 20. 30, Mc. 15. 21 etc. (cp. Polyb. v. 18, 4): met. ‘to disappear’ 1 C. 7. 31, for which 1 Jo. 2. 8, 17 uses παράγεται; περιάγειν Mt. 4. 23, A. 13. 11 etc. ‘to go about,’ with accus. of the district traversed, cp. § 34, 1 (not so in class. Greek<sup>2</sup>). Also προάγειν besides the meaning ‘to bring before’ acquires that of ‘to go before anyone (*τινα*)’ (in class. Greek we have Plat. Phaed. 90 A σοῦ προάγοντος ἐγώ ἐφεσπόμην, but this is different to the N.T. use; the common phrase is προηγεῖσθαι τινι, which like ἡγεῖσθαι is never so used in the N.T.), Mt. 2. 9 and passim; but ἀνάγεσθαι ἀνήχθην.—Βάλλειν ‘to rush’ A. 27. 14 (the use can hardly be paralleled, but cp. βίπτειν); ἐπιβ. ‘to rush upon’ (as already in class. Greek) Mc. 4. 37; ibid. 14. 72 the phrase ἐπιβαλών ἔκλαιειν is obscure (it is explained by ἀρξάμενος; D has ἥρξατο κλαίειν; cp. A. 11. 4 ἀρξάμενος ἔξεπιθετο).—Βρέχειν trans. means ‘to water’; intrans. and impers. (§ 30, 4) it stands for class. θεῖν (which nowhere appears) as in modern Greek; we also have ἐβρεχε πῦρ καὶ θεῖον L. 17. 29, after Gen. 19. 24, where κύριος is inserted as the subject.—Εχειν ‘to be in such and such circumstances’ as in class. Greek; similarly ὑπερέχειν ‘to excel’ (also trans. ‘to surpass’ Ph. 4. 7); ἀπέχειν ‘to be distant’ (with accus. of the distance); ἐνέχειν (sc. χόλον) ‘to be angry’ Mc. 6. 19 (L. 11. 53); ἐπέχειν ‘to observe anything’ L. 14. 7 etc. (similarly in class. Greek), also ‘to stay,’ ‘tarry’ A. 19. 22 (ditto); προσέχειν ‘to take heed,’ ‘to listen to anyone’ (never with the original supplement τὸν νοῦν, which is often inserted in Attic): also with and without ἔαντω = *cavere* (Mt. 6. 1, L. 17. 2 etc.).<sup>3</sup>—Ἀνακάμπτειν ‘to turn round,’ ‘come back’ as in Attic.—Κλίνειν ‘to decline’ of the day L. 9. 12, 24. 29 (similarly in Polyb.); ἔκκλίνειν ‘to turn aside’ R. 16. 17 etc. (class.).—Ρίπτειν: ἀπορίψαντας is intrans. in A. 27. 43 (so βίπτ. in poetry and late writers).—Στρέφειν: the simple verb is intrans. in A. 7. 42? as is often the case with its compounds with ἐπι-, ἀπο-, ἀνα-, ὑπο-, A. 3. 19 etc., not without classical precedent; ὑποστρέφεσθαι is never found (in class. Greek it is used as well as -ειν);

<sup>1</sup> The explanation that it means *discedere* arises from Mt. 9. 27 παράγοντι ἐκεῖθεν, where ὑπάγοντι would be the correct word; in 9. 9 ἐκεῖθεν should probably be omitted with N<sup>o</sup>L.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. 42. 5 περιαγαγών (to lead about) τὴν ἐσχατιάν; also in Cebes Tab. 6 περιάγονται is the reading now adopted.

<sup>3</sup> Περιέχειν ‘to contain’ (of a written document) is in the first instance transitive: περιέχουσαν τάδε A. 15. 23 D: περιέχ. (ἔχουσαν N<sup>o</sup>B) τὸν τύπον τοῦτον 23. 25; but we also have the phrases π. τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον or οὕτως, worded in this way (Joseph.), and in 1 P. 2. 6 περιέχει ἐν (τῷ) γραφῇ (ἢ γραφῇ C), ‘stands written.’

ἐπιστρέφειν ‘to turn round,’ ‘be converted’ (for which we have -εστράφητε in 1 P. 2. 25, but C reads -έψατε), so esp. frequent in this sense in Polybius: pass. ‘to turn oneself round,’ look round’ (Att.); ἀναστρ. ‘to turn round,’ often used transitively as well (it appears intransitively in Attic as a military expression): pass. ‘to live,’ ‘sojourn’ (Att.); ἀποστρ. is intr. in A. 3. 26 (for which Att. generally has the pass.), more often trans.; pass. with τινά ‘to turn away from,’ ‘avoid’ (Att.).—Cp. ἐγέρειν, καθίζειν in § 24; and further, technical expressions like αἱρεῖν (sc. τὴν ναῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς) ‘to set sail’ A. 27. 13, etc.

2. The intransitive employment of δύειν and φύειν is based upon an old variation in the usage of these words, see § 24; that of αἰχάνειν upon the usage of the Hellenistic language, ibid. Beside the deponent εὐαγγελίζεσθαι (Att.) there is also found the form -ζειν in Ap. 10. 7, 14. 6 (elsewhere the Ap. also uses -ξεσθαι), as occasionally in the LXX., 1 Sam. 31. 9 (Dio Cass. 61. 13). The new words θριαμβεύειν and μαθητεύειν in other writers are intrans. (to celebrate a triumph, to be a disciple)—corresponding to the ordinary meaning of the termination -εύειν), in the N.T. they are in (nearly) all cases transitive, to lead in triumph, to make disciples, see § 34, 1.—'Αναφάναντες τὴν Κύπρον A. 21. 3 (there is a wrong reading -έντες) means ‘made it visible to ourselves,’ viz. by approaching it; it must have been a nautical expression, as ἀποκρύπτειν (Lat. abscondere) is used to express the opposite meaning.

3. **Active for middle.**—If emphasis is laid on the reference to the subject, then the middle is never employed, but the active with a reflexive pronoun takes its place: ἀπέκτεινεν ἑαυτόν (on the other hand ἀπάγχατο is used, because ἀπάγχειν τινά, i.e. someone else, is unusual, the reflexive action being in this instance far the commoner of the two). So we say ‘he killed himself’ [tödtete sich selbst]. Elsewhere the reflexive reference which is suggested by the context remains unexpressed, as in the case of (κατα-)δονλοῦν (which Attic also uses beside -οῦσθαι): 2 C. 11. 20 εἴ τις ἴμᾶς καταδονλοῖ, cp. G. 2. 4 (so too ἀναφάναντες, supra 2). Inversely, the reflexive may be expressed twice over, by the middle and by a pronoun; διεμερίσαντο ἑαυτοῖς Jo. 19. 24 O.T., cp. A. 7. 21 (as in Attic). With the following verbs the use of the active instead of the middle is contrary to Attic usage: (πειράζειν for πειράσθαι, see § 24); εὑρίσκειν ‘to obtain’ the usual form, except in H. 9. 12 (Attic uses the middle, poets have the act. as well); καθήψειν τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ A. 28. 3 instead of καθήψατο which C reads (but τόξον καθάψαι is also cited by Pollux i. 164); λῦσον τὸ ὑπόδημα τῶν ποδῶν σου A. 7. 33 O.T. (LXX. λῦσαι). For παρέχειν see § 55, 1. Ποιεῖν is used (with μονὴν Jo. 14. 23 only in AEGH al.) (with ὁδόν Mc. 2. 23, BGH have ὁδοποιεῖν), with τὴν ἐκδίκησιν L. 18. 7 f., τὸ ἔλεος μετ' αὐτοῦ a Hebraic phrase (Gen. 24. 12) L. 10. 37, 1. 72, with ἐνέδραν A. 25. 3? κοτετόν 8. 2 (-σαντο EHP), κρίσιν Jo. 5. 27, Jude 15, πόλεμον Ap. 11. 7 etc., συμβούλιον Mc. 3. 6 (BL ἐδίδων), 15. 1 (v.l. ἐτοιμάσαντες), (with συνωμοσίαν A. 23. 13 only in HP), with συστροφήν ibid. 12; in all

which cases the active is incorrect because the *ποιοῦντες* are at the same time the very persons who carry out the action which is expressed by the verbal substantive. We also have elsewhere in the N.T. *ποιεῖσθαι λόγον*, *ἀναβολήν*, *πορείαν*, *σπουδήν* etc. *Σπάσασθαι τὴν μάχαιραν* is correctly written in Mc. 14. 47, A. 16. 27, but in Mt. 26. 51 we have *ἀπέσπασεν τ. μ. αὐτοῦ*, in which case Attic Greek must certainly have omitted the *αὐτοῦ* and expressed the reflexive force by means of the middle; similarly in 26. 65 *διέρρηξεν τὰ ἵματα αὐτοῦ*, but in this case the use of the active is also classical (Aesch. Pers. 199 *πέπλους ρήγγυνσιν*, cp. 1030).

### § 54. PASSIVE VOICE.

1. Even **deponent verbs** with a transitive meaning can (as in Attic) have a **passive**, the forms of which are for the most part identical with those of the deponent. *Λογίζεται* ‘is reckoned’ R. 4. 4 f. (therefore even the present of this vb. occasionally has a passive meaning: the instances of this in classical writers are not numerous, but cp. Hdt. 3. 95 *λογιζόμενον*). *Ίῶντο* A. 5. 16 D: *ἴσται* perf. Mc. 5. 29; *έργαζομένη* Herm. Sim. v. 3. 8. But the passive sense is frequent in the case of the aorist, where the passive and deponent forms are distinguishable: *έλογισθην*, *ιάθην*, *έχαρισθην*, *έρρυσθην* etc. (fut. *λογισθήσομαι* R. 2. 26, *ιαθήσ*. Mt. 8. 8, *ἀπαρνηθήσ*. [§ 20, 1] L. 12. 9).

2. While in Attic Greek the **passives** of some **ordinary verbs** are regularly **represented** by the **actives** of other verbs,—e.g. *ἀποκτείνειν* takes for passive *ἀποθνήσκειν*, *εὗ* (*κακῶς*) *ποιεῖν* pass. *εὗ* (*κακῶς*) *πάσχειν*, *εὗ* (*κακ.*) *λέγειν* pass. *εὗ* (*κακ.*) *ἀκούειν*, and *ὑπό* is used with these verbs as the connecting particle as it is elsewhere with true passives—there are but few traces of this usage in the N.T. (*ἐκπίπτειν* A. 27. 17, 26, 29 = *ἐκβάλλεσθαι*, but does not take *ἵπο*: on the other hand *ἐκβάλλεσθαι* is used in Mt. 8. 12 etc., though this form is also found in Attic; *πάσχειν* *ὑπό* Mt. 17. 12, where *ἐποίησαν* has preceded, Mc. 5. 26, 1 Th. 2. 14); still the instances of the contrary usage are also not numerous: *ἀποκτανθῆναι* Mc. 9. 31 etc. The passive of *ποιεῖν*, with the exception of H. 12. 27 is entirely unrepresented.

3. As in Attic, a **passive** verb may have a **person** for its subject even in a case where in the **active** this person is expressed by the **genitive or dative**; the accusative of the thing remains the same with the passive as with the active verb. The N.T. instances cannot indeed be directly illustrated from the classical language, but they are perfectly analogous to the classical instances. They are *διακονηθῆναι* Mc. 10. 45 (*διακονεῖν τινι*); *ἔγκαλεσθαι* to be accused (*ἔγκαλεῖν τινι*) A. 19. 40 etc.; *εὐαρεστείσθαι* (act. with *τινί*) H. 3. 16 (Diod. Sic.); *κατεγνωσμένος* G. 2. 11 (act. *τινός*), so Diod. Sic.; *κατηγορείσθαι* (act. *τινός*) with acc. of the thing Mt. 27. 12, A. 22. 30, 25. 16; *μαρτυρείσθαι* (act. *τινί*) to have a (good) testimonial (late writers) A. 6. 3 etc., 1 Tim. 5. 10, H. 7. 8 etc. (but in 3 Jo. 12 *Δημητρίψ μεμαρτύρηται*);

*πονεῖσθαι τι* 'to have something enured to one' (*πονεῖσθαι τινί τι*) R. 3. 2 etc. (Polyb.); also (without an object) 'to find credit,' I. Th. 3. 16 *ἴωττείθη* (Χρυστός) *αἱ μητέραι* (acc. *τινί* or *τινα*), cp. 2 Th. 1. 10 (so previously in Attic); *χρηματίζεσθαι* 'to receive instructions' (from God; acc. *τινί*) Mt. 2. 12 etc.; only in L. 2. 26 do we have *ἡ αἵτινας οὐ πραγματίζειν* (D. *οὐ, πραγματίζειν* *ην*).—Quite distinct from this is the use of the passive with a thing for its subject: 2 C. 1. 11 *δια τοῦ προσώπου εἰ*, *παρατητήσῃ τοῦ προσώπου τι* Herm. Sim. viii. 5; in the N.T. the acc. takes *εἰ*, *πεπί* etc., and its use where an infinitive or a *ὅτι* clause may be regarded as the subject, *παρατητῆσαι τοῦ... λέγει* A. 26. 1, 1 C. 14. 32, as also the impersonal passive, § 30, 4.

4. The passives of *ἰπάν*, *γνωρίζειν*, *ἐπιλέγειν* have a certain independent position as compared with their actives, since they assume a purely narrative meaning, and are followed by the dative of the person concerned, instead of making use of *τινό*, see § 37, 4. A frequent instance is *εἰπούσαι τινα* (an old use), *apparere, supervenire*, with the new present *εἰπάσθαι* A. 1. 3 (§ 24). *Γνωσθῆναι* 'to become known' A. 9. 24 etc., cp. *γνωρίσθαι τινί* 'to be known,' in Eur. Cyc. 567, Xenoph. Cyr. vii. 1. 44; but 'to be recognized' is expressed by the pass. with *τινό* in 1 C. 5. 3. *Εἰπεθῆναι* in R. 10. 20 O.T. (v.l. with *εἰ*), is used along with *ἰπάσθαι γνωρίσθαι* (on 2 P. 3. 14; see § 37, 5). *Θεάσθαι* is used like *δεῖσθαι* in Mt. 6. 1, 23. 5; *φάίσθαι τινα* dates from the earliest stage of the language.

5. The passive must occasionally be rendered by 'to let oneself' be etc. *Ἄθετείσθαι* 1 C. 6. 7 'let yourselves be wronged' (in the sense of allowing it to take place, so in the same verse *ἐποτείσθαι*. *Βαπτίζεσθαι* 'to let oneself be baptized' (aor. *ἰβαπτίσθη*, but see § 55, 2). Cp. *ἀποτίθεσθαι* A. 21. 24, 26, *ἀπογάγεσθαι* L. 2. 1, *γαπίζεσθαι* (§ 24), *ἐργατίζεσθαι* 'to let precepts be made for one' Col. 2. 20, *τετίθεσθαι* passim. On the other hand, 'to let' in the sense of occasioning some result is expressed by the middle voice, § 55, 2.

## § 55. MIDDLE VOICE.

1. As the active is used in place of the middle, so the middle often stands for the active which would naturally be expected. *Ἀπίνεσθαι* 'to assist' = the Attic *ἀπίνειν* in A. 7. 24 (the word occurs here only). For *ἀπελεόθαι* see § 24. *Ἀπεκδυσάμενος τὰς ἀργάς* is found in Col. 2. 15, whereas in Attic *ἀπεκδυθεῖν* is 'to undress oneself.' *Ὕποσάπτειν* *ιπάσθαι δρῆ* 2 C. 11. 2 'betrothed' is for *ἱπποσάπτειν* (the word here only). (*Ἐργεῖσθαι* is wrongly quoted in this connection: in the following passages R. 7. 5, 2 C. 1. 6, 4. 12, G. 5. 6, E. 3. 20, Col. 1. 29, 1 Th. 2. 13, 2 Th. 2. 7, Ja. 5. 16 it is everywhere intransitive, and never applied to God, of whom the active is used; the fact that the active appears in Mt. 14. 2, Mc. 6. 14 with *ἀνάπτειν* as subject, causes *ἐργεῖσθαι* to appear equivalent to *ἐργεῖσθαι*). The middle *ἐκλέγεσθαι* is always found, meaning 'to choose out for oneself'; and it is only in A. 6. 5, 15. 22, 25 that it is not

absolutely necessary to mentally supply ‘for oneself’). (‘Επιδείκνυσθαι A. 9. 39 [elsewhere N.T. has the act.] may mean ‘to display on their own persons.’) Καταλαμβάνεσθαι ‘to perceive’ A. 4. 13 etc. (Att. -ειν, but Dionys. Hal. also has the middle). Παρατηρέσθαι L. 14. 1 al. (used as well as -τηρεῖν; the simple verb only takes the active form). Πληροῦσθαι E. 1. 23 ‘to fill’ is equivalent to the act. in 4. 10. Προβλέπεσθαι H. 11. 40 is modelled on προορᾶσθαι (βλέπειν for ὄφαν § 24); περιβλέπεσθαι is the invariable form of the verb (Polyb.; Attic uses the act.). Τίθεσθαι ἐν φυλακῇ and similar phrases, ‘to put in prison’ A. 4. 3 etc. (always the middle verb) are in accordance with classical usage (καταθησόμενος εἰς τὸ οἴκημα Demosth. 56, 4); but the middle is also used with the meaning ‘to appoint as’ or ‘to’, ἀποστόλους 1 C. 12. 28, εἰς ὄργην 1 Th. 5. 9 = Att. ποιῆσαι, καταστῆσαι, Ionic θεῖναι (H. 1. 2 δν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον).—Συγκαλεῖν and -σθαι (‘to call to oneself’) are correctly distinguished, if συγκαλεῖται is read instead of συγκαλεῖ with DF in L. 15. 6 and with ADEG al. in verse 9.—Between αἰτεῖν and αἰτεῖσθαι old grammarians draw the distinction, that a man who asks for something to be given him, intending to give it back again, αἰτεῖται; but αἰτεῖσθαι is applied generally to requests in business transactions, and this is its regular use in the N.T. Mt. 27. 20, 58, Mc. 15 (6), 8, 43,<sup>1</sup> L. 23. 23, 25, 52, A. 3. 14, 9. 2, 12. 20, 13. 28, 25. 3, 15; the active is the usual form for requests from God, but the middle is used in A. 7. 46,<sup>2</sup> and there is an arbitrary interchange of mid. and act. in Ja. 4. 2 f., 1 Jo. 5. 14 f. etc.; the request of a beggar, a son etc. is naturally αἰτεῖν, A. 3. 2, Mt. 7. 9 f. (cp. A. 16. 29, 1 C. 1. 22). Ἀπαιτεῖν, παραιτεῖσθαι are the Attic forms; ἔξηγήσατο L. 22. 31 (Attic uses both -εῖν and -εῖσθαι).—Παρεχόμενος σεαυτὸν τύπον Tit. 2. 7 is contrary to classical usage (παρέχων), but Col. 4. 1 τὴν ἰσότητα τοῖς δούλοις παρέχεσθε is not (C reads -ετε), nor is παρέξῃ L. 7. 4, but the active is certainly unclassical in παρείχον φιλανθρωπίαν A. 28. 2, ἐργασίαν 16. 16 (-ετο C; in 19. 24 A\*DE read -χε, -χετο is the usual reading: the passage appears to be corrupt), although Homer uses φιλότητα παρασχεῖν.—On the whole the conclusion arrived at must be that the New Testament writers were perfectly capable of preserving the distinction between the active and middle.

2. The middle must occasionally be rendered by ‘to let oneself,’ cp. § 54, 4 for the pass., in the sense of occasioning some result, not of allowing something to take place. Κείρασθαι, ξύρασθαι 1 C. 11. 6; ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται G. 5. 12 ‘have themselves castrated,’ as in Deut. 23. 1, whereas περιτέμνεσθαι is treated as a passive (let in the sense of allow). Ἐβαπτισάμην in A. 22. 16 βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπόλονται (1 C. 6. 11 ἀπελούσασθε) may be explained in the sense of ‘occa-

<sup>1</sup> In Mc. 6. 22 αἰτησον (Ν. -σαι), 23 αἰτήσῃς, 24 αἰτήσωμαι, 25 γῆγαστο (D εἶπεν), there is a nice distinction, since the daughter of Herodias, after the king’s declaration, stands in a kind of business relation towards him. Cp. Mt. 20. 20, 22, Mc. 10. 35, 38.

<sup>2</sup> A. 13. 21 γῆγαντο βασιλέα, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς κ.τ.λ. probably does not come under this head. Cp. 1 Sam. 8. 5.

sioning'; but in 1 C. 10. 2 *-ισαντο* of BKLP appears to be wrong and *-ισθησαν* to be the only right reading. In L. 11. 38 one minuscule codex (700 Greg., 604 Scriv.) exhibits the correct *ἐβαπτίσατο* instead of *-σθη*.

### § 56. THE TENSES. PRESENT TENSE.

1. It was shown in a previous discussion in § 14, 1 that every tense has generally speaking a double function to perform, at least in the indicative: it expresses at once an **action** (continuance, completion, continuance in completion), and a **time-relation** (present, past, future), and the latter **absolutely**, i.e. with reference to the stand-point of the speaker or narrator, not **relatively**, i.e. with reference to something else which occurs in the speech or narrative. In the case of the **future**, however, the function of defining action has disappeared from the Greek of the N.T., and the **moods** of this tense (including the infinitive and participle) were originally formed to denote a **relative** time-relation (with reference to the principal action of the sentence), and only in so far as they were necessary for this purpose: hence it happens that a future conjunctive<sup>1</sup> and imperative never existed. The **moods**, with the exception just mentioned, are not used to express the time-relation but only the character of the action.

2. The **present** denotes therefore an action (1) as viewed in its **duration** (its progress), (2) as taking place in **present** time. In the latter case the present may be regarded as a point of time, with the addition of the time immediately preceding and succeeding it, as in *γράφω* 'I am writing (now)', or again the time included on either side of the present moment may be extended more and more, until it finally embraces all time, as in *δὲ θεὸς ἔστιν*. Again, the idea of **repetition** may be added to, or substituted for, that of duration, so that what in itself is not continuous, is yet in virtue of its repetition viewed as in a certain measure continuous: this is more clearly seen in the case of past time: *ἔβαλεν* 'he struck,' *ἔβαλλεν* 'he struck repeatedly or continuously.' A distinction between the present strictly so called, denoting something which really takes place at the present moment, and the wider use, can only be made by means of a periphrasis, *τυγχάνω ὡν* (this however is not found in the N.T., § 73, 4).

3. Since the opposite to duration is **completion** (expressed by the aorist), the present may be used with sufficient clearness to denote, as such, an action which has **not yet reached completion**, where we have recourse to the auxiliary verb 'will.' Jo. 10. 32 *διὰ ποῖον αὐτῶν ἔργον ἔμε λιθάξετε* ('will ye stone me?'): G. 5. 4 *οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε* 'would be justified': Jo. 13. 6 *νίπτεις*. The imperfect more often has this (**conative**) meaning.

<sup>1</sup> It is true that instances of it are found in the mss. of the N.T., e.g. 1 C. 13. 3 *κανθήσωμαι* CK.

4. Since in the case of actions viewed as completed, there exists for obvious reasons no form to express present time (equivalent to a present of the aorist), the present tense must also in certain cases take over this function as well (**aoristic present**, Burton, N.T. Moods and Tenses p. 9). If Peter in A. 9. 34 says to Aeneas *ἰάται σε* 'Ιησοῦς Χριστός, the meaning is not, 'He is engaged in healing thee,' but 'He completes the cure at this moment, as I herewith announce to thee': under the same category comes *παραγγέλλω σοι κ.τ.λ.* in A. 16. 18 (the expulsion of a demon), where in a similar way an action is denoted from the stand-point of the actor and speaker as being completed in the present, which the narrator from his own point of view would have expressed by the aorist as completed in the past, *παρήγγειλεν*.<sup>1</sup> With this belongs *ἀσπάζεται* 'sends greeting': to which the corresponding term is always *ἀσπάσασθε* 'greet.'

5. The present also habitually takes an aoristic meaning, where an interchange of times takes place, and it is used in lively, realistic narrative as the **historic present**. This usage is frequent, as it is in classical authors, in the New Testament writers of narrative, except in Luke's writings, where we seldom meet with it. Jo. 1. 29 *τῇ ἐπαύριον βλέπει ... καὶ λέγει ...*; 35 *τῇ ἐπαύριον πάλιν εἰστήκει* (pluperf. = impf. 'was standing')... 36 *καὶ ... λέγει ...*; 44 *τῇ ἐπαύριον ιθέλησεν ἔξελθεῖν ... καὶ εὑρίσκει*; thus the tendency appears to be for the circumstances to be denoted by past tenses, and the principal actions (which take place under the circumstances described<sup>2</sup>) by the present, while the final results are again expressed by the aorist, because there realistic narrative would be unnatural: 40 *ἡλθαν οὖν καὶ εἶδαν ... καὶ ... ἔμειναν*. Even apart from narrative the present is used in a similar way: ibid. 15 *Τιώνης μαρτυρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ κέκραγεν* (= *κράζει*).

6. "Hκω, as is well known, has a **perfect** meaning (L. 15. 27 etc.); (*πάρεισιν* 'are come hither' A. 17. 6 is a present used for the perfect of *another* verb [Burton, p. 10], as *ἀπέχω* is used for *ἀπέληφα* in Mt. 6. 2). Further *ἀκούω* is 'I hear' in the sense of 'I have heard' (L. 9. 9, 1 C. 11. 18, 2 Th. 3. 11, as in classical Greek; an equivalent for it would be *λέγεται*, where the use of the present is no more remarkable than in *ἀκούεται* 1 C. 5. 1). 'Αδικῶ in A. 25. 11 beside *ἄξιον θανάτου πέπραχά τι* (and following *οὐδὲν ἡδύκηκα* in verse 10)<sup>3</sup> means 'I am guilty,' 'am a criminal' as in Attic (this use occurs here only; in Mt. 20. 13 the word has the ordinary meaning of the

<sup>1</sup> Burton quotes in this connection (besides A. 26. 1 *ἐπιτρέπεται* etc.) *ἀφίενται σον αἱ ἀμαρτίαι* Mc. 2. 5, Mt. 9. 2 etc., and rightly, at least if this reading is to be trusted (cp. § 23, 7).

<sup>2</sup> Rodemeyer, Diss. inaug. Basel 1889 (Präs. histor. bei Herodot. u. Thukyd.) endeavours to show that the historic present expresses something which takes place at or directly after a point of time already indicated: this theory holds good up to a certain point. Mt. 2. 13 *ἀναχωρησάντων αἵτων ίδον ἄγγελος κυρίου φαίνεται* (Win.); Herm. Vis. i. 1. 3 *διαβάς ἡλθον ... καὶ τιθῶ τὰ γύνατα*.

<sup>3</sup> Thus it appears that the perfect remains where there is a reference to particular trespasses; the present is only used of the general result.

pres.); also ὁ νικῶν in Ap. 2. 7 etc. may remind one of the Attic use of νικῶ for 'I am a conqueror,' while πράσσει in A. 26. 31 refers to Paul's whole manner of life and his Christianity in particular. Throughout these remarks we are concerned only with the special usage of individual verbs, and not with the general syntactical employment of the present.

7. Presents such as those in L. 15. 29 τοσαῦτα ἔτη δούλευώ σοι (cp. 13. 7 ἴδοὺ τρία ἔτη ἀφ' οὐ ἐρχομαι, Jo. 8. 58 εἰμί, 15. 27 ἔστε, and many others) are by no means used for perfects: on the contrary, no other form was possible, because the continuance or the recurrence of the action in the present had to be included in the expression.

8. **Present for future.**—The classical language is also acquainted with a (lively and imaginative) present for future in the case of prophecies (*e.g.* in an oracle in Herodot. vii. 140 f.), and this present—a sort of counterpart to the historic present—is very frequent in the predictions of the N.T. It is not attached to any definite verbs, and it is purely by accident that ἐρχομαι appears with special frequency in this sense: Jo. 19. 3 ἐὰν ἐτοιμάσω τόπον ὑμῖν, πάλιν ἐρχομαι καὶ παραλίμψομαι ὑμᾶς; so esp. ὁ ἐρχόμενος 'He who is to come' (the Messiah) Mt. 11. 3, cp. 11. 14 Ἡλίας ὁ μέλλων ἐρχεσθαι, 17. 11 Ἡλ. ἐρχεται. But we find equally well: Mc. 9. 31 ὁ νιὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται (= μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι Mt. 17. 22)..., καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτόν, Mt. 27. 63 μετὰ τρεις ἡμέρας ἐγείρομαι: Herm. Vis. ii. 2. 4 ἀφίενται. The present is also used without any idea of prophecy, if the matter is mentioned as something that is certain to take place, so that μέλλει (*ἐρχεσθαι*) could have been used: *e.g.* in Jo. 4. 35 ἔτι τετράμηνός ἔστι καὶ ὁ θερισμὸς ἐρχεται, Mt. 24. 43 ποίᾳ φυλακῇ ὁ κλέπτης ἐρχεται, and repeatedly in ἔως ἐρχομαι (-εται), see § 65, 10; in other cases ἐλεύσομαι is necessary, Mt. 24. 5, Mc. 12. 9, 13. 6 etc. But verbs of going and coming when used in the present also have the meaning of being in course of going (or coming), in which case the arrival at the goal still lies in the future: Jo. 3. 8 πόθεν ἐρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει, almost = is about to go, 8. 14 πόθεν ἥλθον καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγω ... πόθεν ἐρχομαι καὶ ποῦ ὑπ.; so ποῦ ὑπάγω -εις in Jo. 14. 4 f., πορεύομαι ibid. 2, 12, A. 20. 22: ἀναβαίνομεν Mt. 20. 18, Jo. 20. 17 (but in Jo. 7. 8 οὐκ ἀναβαίνω the present is used for future).

9. **Present used to express relative time** (cp. 1).—It is a well-known fact that when the speech of another person is directly repeated the tenses refer to the points of time of the speech itself, and that in the classical language the form of oratio obliqua is frequently assimilated in this respect to that of direct speech. In the N.T. the use of oratio obliqua is certainly not favoured, and that of oratio recta predominates; but it is noteworthy that subordinate sentences after verbs of perception and belief are assimilated to oratio recta, and the tenses therefore have a relative meaning. Thus Mt. 2. 22 ἀκούσας ὅτι Ἀρχέλαος βασιλεύει: Jo. 6. 24 εἶδεν ὁ ὄχλος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ. This practice also appears in the classical language, but not as a general rule, whereas in the

N.T. the rule is so far established that the imperfect in such sentences must in most cases be rendered by the pluperfect, since it refers to an earlier time than that spoken of, § 57, 6. Still we have Jo. 16. 19 ἔγνω ὅτι ἥθελον (v.l. ἥμελλον) αὐτὸν ἐρωτᾶν, with which cp. the instances of pluperf. for the usual perf. in § 59, 6; 18. 32 ἥμελλεν after σημαίνω, cp. § 61, 2 (A. 22. 2 ἀκούσαντες ὅτι προσεφώνει, but the better reading is προσφωνεῖ DEH). The aorist however may be used: Mc. 12. 12 ἔγνωσαν ὅτι εἶπεν (Mt. 21. 45 has ὅτι λέγει = ἔλεγε).

### § 57. IMPERFECT AND AORIST INDICATIVE.

1. The distinction between continuous and completed action is most sharply marked in the case of the imperfect and aorist indicative, and moreover this distinction is observed with the same accuracy in the N.T. as in classical Greek.

2. Repetition, as such, is regarded as continuous action, and expressed by the imperfect (cp. § 56, 2), as also is action left uncompleted (Imperf. de conatu, cp. § 56, 3). Exx.: (a) A. 2. 45 τὰ κτήματα ἐπίπρασκον καὶ διεμέριζον αὐτὰ πάσιν; this frequently happened, although it is not stated that it took place or was carried into effect in every case (aorist), cp. 4. 34, 18. 8, Mc. 12. 41; (b) A. 7. 26 συνήλλασσεν αὐτοὺς εἰς εἰρήνην, 'sought to reconcile,' 26. 11 ἡνάγκασον βλασφημεῖν, where however the imperf. also expresses repetition (like ἐδίωκον ibid.), L. 1. 59 ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν Ζαχαρίαν 'wished to call him Z.', Mt. 3. 14 διεκώλυεν 'wished or tried to prevent Him' (A. 27. 41 ἐλύετο 'began to be broken up').

3. The action is further regarded as continuous if the manner of it is vividly portrayed. H. 11. 17 πίστει προσενήνοχεν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν Ἰσαάκ ..., καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ προσέφερεν κ.τ.λ., a supplementary characterization of the peculiar feature of this instance. A. 5. 26 ἦγεν αὐτὸς οὐ μετὰ βίας, cp. 27 ἀγαγόντες δὲ (conclusion of the act) αὐτὸς ἔστησαν; 41 ἐπορεύοντο χαίροντες ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ συνεδρίου (it was here unnecessary to denote the conclusion of the act); 15. 3 διήρχοντο ... ἐκδιηγούμενοι τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ἐποίουν (everywhere) χαρὰν μεγάλην ... (conclusion given in 4 παραγενόμενοι δέ); 15. 41 is similar; on the other hand, we have in 16. 6 διῆλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν (where there is no description). See also 21. 3 ἐπλέομεν εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ κατήλθομεν εἰς Τύρον, where (as in 18. 22, 21. 15) the description consists in the statement of the direction (εἰς ...); cp. 21. 30 εἴλκον ἔξω τοῦ ιεροῦ, καὶ εὐθέως ἐκλείσθησαν αἱ θύραι (i.e. after the first action had been completed, so that there is an indirect indication of its completion), whereas in 14. 19 the reading ἔσυραν (instead of ἔσυρον) ἔξω τῆς πόλεως is preferable, as otherwise the completion of the act, which certainly was carried out, would be in no way indicated. Occasionally, however, we do find an imperfect contrasted with a subsequent verb denoting completion, where the descriptive clause has not previously been expressed: 21. 20 ἐδόξαξον τὸν θεόν, εἰπόν τε ('they glorified God for a long time and in various ways, till finally

they said'); 18. 19 διελέγετο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις (D, the other MSS. wrongly read -λέξατο or -λέχθη), the conclusion is given in 20 f. (but in 17. 2 [διελέγετο HLP is the right reading, see § 20, 1] the descriptive clause is present, and repetition is also expressed by the imperf.). The most striking instance is 27. 1 f. παρεδίδονν ... ἐπιβάντες δὲ, where the aorist (*Lat. tradidit*) must be considered to be required by the sense.—In the Pauline Epistles cp. 1 C. 10. 4 ἔπιον (the fact), ἔπιον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς πέτρας (the manner), 10. 11 ταῦτα τυπικῶς συνέβαινεν (manner), cp. with 6 ταῦτα τύποι ήμῶν ἐγενήθησαν (result).

4. There are certain **verbs** in Attic, which in virtue of their **special meaning** to some extent prefer the form of incompleted action: that is to say, the action in question finds its true end and aim in the act of another person, without which it remains incomplete and without result, and the imperfect is used according as this fact requires to be noticed. To this category belong κελεύειν, ἀξιοῦν, παρακελεύεσθαι, ἐρωτᾶν, πέμπειν, ἀποστέλλειν and many others. In the N.T. κελεύειν like προστάτειν and παραγγέλλειν always denotes an authoritative command, the accomplishment of which is understood as a matter of course: hence we have ἐκέλευσεν (as in Attic in this instance) like προσέταξεν, παρήγγειλεν;<sup>1</sup> likewise always ἐπεμψεν, ἀπέστειλεν; on the other hand, ἡρώτα (ἐπηρ.), with the meanings 'questioned' and 'besought,' is found as well as ἡρώτησεν (ἐπηρ.), and παρεκάλει (for Att. παρεκελεύετο, which does not appear) as well as παρεκάλεσεν (παρήνει A. 27. 9, literary language, ἡξίον 15. 38, ditto), but used in such a way that the choice of the one tense or the other on each occasion can generally be satisfactorily accounted for. Thus in A. 10. 48 ἡρώτησαν is necessary, because the fulfilment of the request which did take place is only indicated by means of this aorist, 23. 18 is similar, whereas ἡρώτα 'besought' in 3. 3 is used quite in the manner above indicated; 'asking a question' is generally expressed by ἡρώτησεν (as it is in Attic or by ἡρέτο), but in Mc. 8. 5 by ἡρώτα, 23 ἐπηρώτα, 29 ditto (which might also be employed in other places where the aorist is found, e.g. 9. 16); παρεκάλεσαν Mt. 8. 34 of the Gergesenes who besought Jesus to depart (L. 8. 37 has ἡρώτησαν and Mc. 5. 17 ἡρξαντο παρακαλεῖν, but D παρεκάλουν), where the fulfilment of the request necessarily followed; Mt. 18. 32 ἀφῆκά σοι, ἐπειδὴ παρεκάλεσάς με (the mere request was sufficient), 26. 53 παρακαλέσαι τὸν πατέρα (ditto), A. 8. 31 παρεκάλεσεν ἀναβάντα καθίσαι (the fulfilment is not mentioned as self-evident); on the other hand παρεκάλει appears in A. 27. 33, L. 8. 41 etc.<sup>2</sup> In Jo. 4. 52 ἐπύθητο is incorrectly used, and the correct form ἐπυνθάνετο has weak attestation (in 13. 24 πυνθέσθαι [which should strictly be πυνθάνεσθαι] is only read by AD al., while

<sup>1</sup> Ἐκέλευον (ῥαβδίζειν) only occurs in A. 16. 22 (of magistrates), probably to express repetition and a longer continuance of the action, which also accounts for the present ραβδίζειν, cp. § 58, 3; the conclusion is given in 23 πολλὰς δὲ ἐπιβάντες πληγάς. For παρήγγελεν L. 8. 29, cp. infra 5.

<sup>2</sup> Also in A. 16. 5 παρεκάλει might have been expected, since the issue is expressly mentioned in καὶ παρεβίασατο ήμᾶς. In verse 39 also the imperf. might have been used.

other MSS. have a quite different reading). On the other hand ἐπυνθάνετο is found correctly in Mt. 2. 4, L. 15. 24, 18. 36, A. 4. 7, 10. 18 (BC ἐπύθοντο), 21. 33, 23. 19 f.—(Another instance of the aorist in John's Gospel, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν 4. 3, is at least remarkable, since the aorist denotes the journey as completed, whereas in verses 4 ff. we have an account of what happened on the way, and the arrival in Galilee is not reached till verse 45. With this may be compared A. 28. 14 ἡλθαμέν, cp. 15, 16.)—With verbs of requesting is associated προσκυνεῖν, which when it has this meaning is used as regularly in the imperfect (Mt. 8. 2, 9. 18, 15. 25 &<sup>n\*</sup>BDM), as it is in the aorist with the meaning of 'to do homage' (Mt. 2. 11, 14. 33 etc.).

5. For the interchange of ἔλεγεν (-ov) and εἶπεν (-av, -ov) the following rules may be laid down. The individual utterance of an individual person is principally denoted by the aorist; on the other hand, the utterances of an indefinite number of persons are regularly expressed by the imperfect, which may also be thought to look forward to the conclusion given by the speech of the leading person, which is subsequently appended: A. 2. 13 with which cp. 14.<sup>1</sup> Ἐλεγεν is sometimes used before speeches of greater length, as in L. 6. 20 before the Sermon on the Mount, after a series of descriptive clauses in the imperf. in verses 18 and 19 (Mt. 5. 2 introduces this Sermon with the words ἐδίδασκεν λέγων); again there is a tendency to link on additional remarks to the preceding narrative by means of καὶ ἔλεγεν or ἦλ. δέ, Mc. 4. 21, 24, 26, 30, 7. 9, 20, L. 5. 36, 6. 5, 9. 23 and passim, while in other passages εἶπεν is used, L. 6. 39, 15. 11 etc. The words introduced by this verb may always be looked at in two ways: they may be viewed as a sentence which has been delivered or a speech that is being delivered, and so Thucydides introduces his speeches sometimes with ἔλεγεν, sometimes with ἔλεξε. Cp. also the use of λέγων (not εἰπών), so frequently added to another *verbum dicendi*.

6. The imperfect in statements after verbs of perception (and believing) is generally relative in so far as it refers to a time previous to the time of perception, and must consequently be rendered by the pluperfect; synchronism (of the thing perceived and the perception of it) is similarly expressed by the present, § 56, 9. It is evident that the imperfect here still preserves its sense of continuous action. Mc. 11. 32 εἶχον τὸν Ἰωάννην ὅτι προφήτης ἦν, had been; A. 3. 10 ἐπεγίνωσκον ὅτι ἦν ὁ καθήμενος; 15. 3 ἥδεσαν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ (who was dead) ὅτι Ἐλλην ὑπῆρχεν. In Jo. 6. 22 ἰδὼν (v.l. εἶδον) ὅτι οὐκ ἦν and 9. 8 οἱ θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν τὸ πρότερον ὅτι προσαίτης ἦν, the words ἰδεῖν and θεωρεῖν themselves refer back to the same previous time to which the dependent clause refers; as this time remains unexpressed in the participles, it had to be expressed in the dependent clause by the imperfect.—For exceptions, see § 56, 9.

<sup>1</sup> Jo. 11. 37 τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶπον (after Ἐλεγον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι 36; ΑΚΠ also have Ἐλεγον in 37).

7. The aorist, which denotes completion, may also express the entering upon a state or condition, when it is known as the ‘*ingressive* aorist’; strictly speaking, verbs of this class contain in themselves an inchoative meaning besides that denoting the state: the former meaning becomes prominent in the aorist, and the latter mainly in the present (the former meaning also, though rarely, appears in the present, as in *γηράσκω* ‘become old’ beside *γηράω* ‘be old’: in Latin these inceptive presents are wide-spread). Thus ἐσίγησεν A. 15. 12 ‘became silent,’ ἐπτώχευσεν 2 C. 8. 9 ‘became poor,’ R. 14. 9 ἐξῆσεν ‘became alive.’

8. An action which the use of the aorist shows to have been completed (to have taken place), need not by any means have been a momentary action, but may have actually extended, and even be expressly stated to have extended, over any length of time, provided that it is only the **completion** and the **conclusion** of it which is emphasized, this being just the force of the aorist. Ἐβίω πολλὰ ἔτη, but then he died. Ἐτη δύο ἤρξε, but then he was deposed. It is different with *κακῶς ἔζη* (where the manner of life is emphasized: the conclusion is left out of consideration); and *δικαίως ἤρχε* (*δικ.* ἤρξε would be in most cases ingressive, ‘he came by his office honestly’). The same explanation applies to A. 28. 30 ἐμεινεν διετίαν δλην ἐν ίδιῳ μισθώματι (but then this condition of things came to an end), 14. 3 *ικανὸν χρόνον διέτριψαν* (until the end of their stay, narrated in verses 5 and 6, the length of which is summarily indicated in verse 3),<sup>1</sup> 18. 11 ἐκάθισεν (Paul ‘sat’ i.e. stayed in Corinth) ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας ἔξ (until his departure). In all these cases the only reason for the aorist is to be found in the added note of the length of the stay, which necessarily suggests the end of the particular state of things; Luke even says (A. 11. 26) ἐγένετο αὐτοὺς ἐνιαυτὸν δλον συναχθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, although *συνάγεσθαι* (‘to assemble themselves’) is certainly no continuous action, but only something repeated at regular intervals. But repeated actions, if summed up and limited to a certain number of times, may also be expressed by an aorist, as in *τρὶς ἐραβδίσθην* 2 C. 11. 25, and this tense may likewise be used where the separate actions of different persons are comprehended in a single word, *πάντες γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ περιστεύοντος αὐτοὺς ἐβαλον* Mc. 12. 44, since in a comprehensive statement of this kind the idea of the individual actions which succeed each other becomes lost (previously in 41 we have *πολλοὶ πλούσιοι ἐβαλλον πολλά*).—If the aorist of a verb like *μένεν* is used without any statement of the duration of time, then it denotes merely the fact that the stay took place, as opposed to departure: Jo. 7. 9 ἐμεινεν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ = οὐκ ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, 10. 40 ἐμεινεν ἐκεῖ ‘He settled down there,’ without (for the present) returning to Judaea (B ἐμενεν).

9. The meaning of past time, which generally attaches itself to the aorist, is lost in the case of the so-called *gnomic aorist*, which

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, we have in 14. 28 διέτριψον χρόνον οὐκ δλίγον, where there is no reference to a definite length of time; cp. 16. 12, 25. 14.

has greater emphasis in a general statement than the present which is equally possible. The latter, since it only calls attention to the repetition of an event on all occasions, neglects to express the fact of its completion: the aorist, referring to the individual case, neglects to express the general applicability of the statement to each occasion, which, however, is easily understood. This usage, however, is very rare in the N.T., and only found in comparisons or in connection with comparisons (Kühner, p. 138): Jo. 15. 6 ἐὰν μή τις μένη ἐν ἐμοὶ, ἐβλήθη ἔξω ὡς τὸ κλῆμα καὶ ἐξηράνθη, καὶ συνάγοντιν αὐτὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ πῦρ βάλλοντιν, καὶ καίεται (all that precedes the collecting and the burning is expressed by the aorist; so Hermas in a simile has Vis. iii. 12. 2 κατελείφθη ... ἔξηγέρθη ... ἐνεδύσατο ... οὐκέτι ἀνάκειται ἀλλ' ἔστηκεν κ.τ.λ.: 13. 2 ἐπελάθετο ... προσδέχεται κ.τ.λ.). We have it also in similes in Mt. 13. 48, Ja. 1. 11, 24, 1 P. 1. 24 from LXX. Is. 40. 7. (The case is different with Herm. Mand. iii. 2, v. 1. 7, Sim. ix. 26. 2, where the aorist in the first place stands for a perfect [§ 59, 3], and the latter is a more vigorous mode of expressing something still future, but certain to happen, Kühner, p. 129, 142.)

10. The aorist in **epistolary style**, referring to something simultaneous with the writing and sending of the letter, does not cease to refer to a moment of past time, as the time in question actually is past to the mind of the recipient and reader of the letter. In the N.T. the only instance of this use is ἐπεμψα in A. 23. 30, Ph. 2. 28, Col. 4. 8, Philem. 11 etc.; on the other hand we always have ἀσπάζεται and γράφω (in 1 C. 5. 11 ἔγραψα refers to an earlier letter, and in R. 15. 15 and elsewhere to an earlier portion of the same letter).

### § 58. MOODS OF THE PRESENT AND THE AORIST.

1. Between the moods (including the infinitive and participle) of the present and the aorist there exists essentially the same relation as that which prevails in the indicative between the imperfect and aorist. They have a **single function** (§ 56, 1), since they express the kind of action only and not a time-relation. As the optative is rare in the N.T., and the conjunctive, except where it is related in meaning to the imperative, does not offer any special difficulties for discussion at this point, we treat the moods in this order: Imperative (Conjunct.), Infinitive, Participle.

2. **Present and aorist imperative (pres. and aor. conj.).**—The present imperative (with which must be taken the hortatory conjunctive, 1st pers. plur.), both positive and negated by μή, is used in general precepts (even to individuals) on conduct and action; on the other hand the aorist imperative (or conjunctive) is used in (the much less common) injunctions about action in **individual cases**. (1) If the aorist is used in the first case, then it must either express the entering upon a state of conduct which is in contrast with the conduct hitherto shown, or it is used comprehensively (cp. § 57, 8)

to denote conduct up to a final point, or again the general rule is specialized so as to refer to an individual case. Exx.: (a) Ja. 4. 9 *ταλαιπωρήσατε καὶ πενθήσατε καὶ κλαύσατε ... μεταστραφήτω ...*, 10 *ταπεινώθητε*, ‘become sorrowful’ etc.<sup>1</sup> (b) Ja. 5. 7 *μακροθυμήσατε ἐώς τῆς παροντίας τοῦ κυρίου*, which however may also be referred to (a), cp. 8 *μακροθυμήσατε καὶ ὑμέis, στηρίξατε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν*. 1 Tim. 6. 20 (2 Tim. 1. 14) *τὴν παραθήκην φύλαξον* (cp. 1 Tim. 5. 21 *ἴνα ταῦτα φυλάξῃς*, 2 Tim. 1. 12 *φυλάξαι*, 1 Jo. 5. 21 *φυλάξατε ἔαντα ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων*, 1 Tim. 6. 14 *τηρήσαι ... μέχρι κ.τ.λ.*, 1 Th. 5. 23), ‘up till the end,’ to a definite point, whereas we have 1 Tim. 5. 22 *σεαυτὸν ἄγνον τήρει* (in all things, continuously), cp. Ja. 1. 27 *ἄσπιλον ἔαντὸν τηρεῖν* the true mode of θρησκεία. Cp. also 2 Tim. 4. 2, 5 *κήρυξον ἐπίστηθι ἐλεγξον κ.τ.λ.*: *κακοπάθησον ποίησον πληροφόρησον*, i.e. ‘up till the end,’ with reference to the coming of Christ, cp. verses 1, 5, 6.<sup>2</sup> (c) Mt. 7. 6 *μὴ δώτε τὸ ἄγιον τοῖς κυνίν*, *μηδὲ βάλητε κ.τ.λ.*; 6. 34 *μὴ μεριμνήσητε εἰς τὴν αὔριον* (but without this additional phrase we have in 25 *μὴ μεριμνᾶτε*, cp. 31, 10. 19, L. 11. 22, 29); 5. 39 *ὅστις σε ῥάπιζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα σου, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην*, similarly in 40 and again in 42 *τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δός*, *καὶ τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆς*. That the present is also allowable in such cases is shown by L. 6. 29 f.: *τῷ τύποντί σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ... παντὶ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαύτει*.—(2) An injunction about an individual

<sup>1</sup> So also R. 13. 13 ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ εὐσχημόνως περιπατήσωμεν with reference to the beginning and the entrance upon this state of things, cp. 12, 14. *Περιπατῶν* (and *στοιχεῖν*) when used in exhortations usually appears in the present (1 C. 7. 17, G. 5. 16, E. 4. 17, 5. 2, 8, Col. 2. 6, 4. 5, 1 Th. 4. 12, G. 5. 25, Ph. 3. 16); but when the subject of discourse is the new life of the Christian answering to his heavenly calling, which produces a fresh beginning, then the aorist is introduced: R. 6. 4 *ἴνα ἐν καυτήτῃ ωῆς περιπατήσωμεν*, E. 2. 10, 4. 1, Col. 1. 10 (in the similar passage 1 Th. 2. 12 the readings vary between *περιπατῶν* and -*ῆσαι*).—The force of the aorist is clear in *φοβηθῶμεν οὖν τὸν θεόν* (which we hitherto have not done: just before we have *ὑρῶ γάρ τυντα ἀτελεῖς τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν φόβῳ πλεῖστα ἀμαρτάνωντας*) Clem. Hom. xvii. 12 (elsewhere in that work, e.g. in chap. 11, we nearly always find *φοβεῖσθαι* etc.). In the N.T. cp. H. 4. 1 *φοβηθῶμεν οὖν κ.τ.λ.* ‘let us lay hold on fear,’ Ap. 14. 7; in Hermas, Mand. vii. 1 ff. *φοβήθητι τὸν κύριον καὶ φίλασσε τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ—τὸν δὲ διάβολον μὴ φοβηθῆς—φοβήθητι δὲ τὸ ἔργα τοῦ διαβόλου*, the aor. in all cases being used of the fundamental position taken up: but then in 4 we have *ἔαν* (so *passim*) *θελεῖς τὸ πονηρὸν ἔργασασθαι, φοβοῦ τὸν κύριον*, and then again: *φοβήθητι οὖν τὸν κύριον καὶ ξῆση αὐτῷ, καὶ δοσ ἀν φοβηθῶσι αὐτὸν—ξῆσονται*; Mand. i. 2 *πιστευσον αὐτῷ καὶ φοβήθητι αὐτῷ, φοβηθεῖς δὲ ἔγκρατευσοι*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Cor. ii. 8. 4 *τηρήσατε τὴν σάρκα ἀγρήν ... , ίνα τὴν ζωὴν ἀπολάβωμεν*, cp. 4 *τηρήσατε ... ληψόμεθα ζωὴν*. Herm. Mand. viii. 2 has first *τὸ πονηρὸν ἔγκρατεύον*, then *ἔγκρατευονται ἀπὸ πονηρας πάστης*, comprehensively: the present again in 3 ff. up to 6 *ἔγκρατευσαι ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων*, cp. 12 *ἔαν τὸ πονηρὸν μὴ ποιῆσαι καὶ ἔγκρατεύσῃς ἀπ' αὐτῶν*. So also ix. 12 *δούλευε τῇ πλοτεῖ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δύψυχλας ἀπόσχου*. We have the aorist of the hypothetical conjunctive in Vis. v. 7 *ἔαν αὐτὰς φυλάξῃς καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς πορευθῆτε* (cp. the last note on *περιπατεῖν*) *καὶ ἔργασησθε αὐτάς ... , ἀπολημψεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου κ.τ.λ.* So too the striking uses of the aorist in 1 Peter must be explained by the instances in (a) or (b) given above: 1. 13 *τελείως ἐλπίσατε ‘lay hold on hope’*, 22 *ἀγαπήσατε ‘lay hold on love’*; 1. 17 *ἀναστράφητε ‘up to the end’*, 5. 1 *ποιμάνατε until Christ's appearing*; 2. 17 *πάντας τιμήσατε ‘give everyone his due honour’*, which is expanded in the presents following *τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπᾶτε* etc.

case is expressed by the present, if no definite aim or end for the action is in prospect, or if the manner or character of the action is taken into account, or again, in the case of a prohibition, if the thing forbidden is already in existence. Exx.: (a) Mt. 26. 38 = Mc. 14. 34 *μείνατε ὥδε* ('go not away,' § 57, 8) *καὶ γρηγορεῖτε μετ' ἐμοῦ*, L. 22. 40, 46 *προσεύχεσθε μὴ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς πειρασμόν*. Frequently we have *ὑπαγεῖ*, or *πορεύονται*, which indeed are often found even where the aim or end is stated: A. 22. 10 *ἀναστὰς πορεύον* ('go forth') *εἰς Δαμασκὸν* ('as far as D.'), *κάκει κ.τ.λ.*, cp. 8. 26, 10. 20; Mt. 25. 9 *πορεύεσθε πρὸς τὸν πωλοῦντα* (in this and that direction, where you may find a seller) *καὶ ἀγοράσατε* (aim) *έανταῖς*, cp. 25. 41 (where one should place a comma after *κατηραμένοι*); L. 5. 24 *πορεύονται εἰς τὸν οἴκον σου* (expressing rather direction than aim; whether he reaches his house or not, is beside the question), Jo. 20. 17. On the other hand, we have *πορεύθητε* in Mt. 8. 9 = L. 7. 8 (*πορεύον* in LDX; a general's command to his soldiers; the goal or end is omitted through abbreviation),<sup>1</sup> A. 9. 11, 28. 26 O.T. (b) 1 P. 4. 15 *μή τις ἴμων πασχέτω ὡς φονεὺς κ.τ.λ.*; 1 C. 7. 36 *εἴ δέ τις ἀσχημονεῖν ... νομίζει ..., δ θέλει ποιεῖτω οὐχ ἀμαρτάνει· γαμίζωσαν*, cp. in the contrasted case in 37 *τηρεῖν*, and 38 ὁ *γαμίζων ... καλῶς ποιεῖ καὶ ὁ μὴ γαμίζων κρείσσον ποιήσει*. In this passage the quality of the proceedings is in question: unseemly or seemly—sinful or not sinful—good, better. (c) L. 8. 52 *ἔκλαιον ... ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· μὴ κλαίετε*, Jo. 20. 17 *μὴ μον ἀπτον* (a thing which has therefore already taken place or been attempted). Frequently *μὴ φοβοῦ*, *φοβεῖσθε*, L. 5. 10, 8. 50, Mc. 5. 36, 6. 50 etc. (Mt. 1. 20 *μὴ φοβηθῆς παραλαβεῖν* is different, 'do not abstain from fear'); Ja. 1. 7 *μὴ οἴεσθω* (cp. Jo. 5. 45 *μὴ δοκεῖτε*; but in 2 C. 11. 16 we have *μή τις με δόξῃ*, where the opinion certainly cannot yet have been entertained; cp. Mt. 3. 9, 5. 17, 10. 34 'do not let the thought arise').<sup>2</sup>—*Ασπάσασθε* is the form always used in greetings (even in 3 Jo. 15 according to §); the aorist is found in all the petitions of the Lord's Prayer, partly to express the desire for complete fulfilment, partly with reference to the particular occasion of the petition and the requirement for the time being: only in L. 11. 3 do we have *τὸν ἄρτον ... δίδου* (D wrongly read δὸς as in Mt.) *ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν* (D *σήμερον* as in Mt.).

3. **Present and aorist infinitive.**—In the infinitive the distinction between the two forms is on the whole easy to comprehend. *Θελεῖν* is generally followed by the aorist infinitive, as is the corresponding

<sup>1</sup> In the corresponding passage in Mt. and Lc. *ἔρχον* must mean 'go with me,' not 'come hither,' which is expressed by *ἔλθε* in Mt. 14. 29, Jo. 4. 16 (and in the use made of the passage Mt. 8. 9 in Clem. Hom. ix. 21): cp. Jo. 1. 47 *ἔρχον καὶ λέε* 'go with me,' 1. 49, 11. 34.

<sup>2</sup> A special instance is *φέρε*, *φέρετε* 'bring' (the pres. imperat. is always found with the simple verb, except in Jo. 21. 10 *ἐνέγκατε*), which as in classical Greek is used for the aorist as well, there being no aorist derived from this stem. But in the compound verb a distinction was made: Mt. 8. 4 *προσένεγκε τὸ δῶρον* (injunction as to what ought to be done), 5. 24 *διαλλάγηθι ... καὶ τότε πρόσφερε τὸ δῶρόν σου* (injunction as to the manner and circumstances in which it may be done).

Attic word *βούλεσθαι*, and naturally so, as the wish usually looks on to the fulfilment; exceptions such as *θέλω εἶναι, τί θέλετε πάλιν ἀκούειν* (D. -οῦσαι) Jo. 9. 27 ('to hear the same thing perpetually'), are easily explained. In the same way the aorist inf. is the predominant form after *δίνασθαι, δυνατός, κελεύειν* etc. (ἐκελευνον ῥαβδίζειν A. 16. 22 expresses duration, cp. § 57, 4, note 1). **Μέλλειν**, on the other hand, in the N.T. as in classical Greek only rarely takes the aorist inf.: (A. 12. 6 AB), R. 8. 16 and G. 3. 23 μέλλουσαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι (but ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι 1 P. 5. 1), Ap. 3. 2, 16, 12. 4, where the aorist is obviously correctly employed, while the present if used in this connection goes beyond the proper sphere of that tense. In classical Greek the most frequent construction of *μέλλειν* is that with the future inf., which in the active and middle voices usually has a neutral meaning so far as the kind of action is concerned; but since the vulgar language abandoned this form of expression (*μέλλειν* with a fut. inf. occurs only in the Acts, see § 61, 3), it allowed the present inf. to be used with the same range as the fut. inf. had previously possessed: *μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι* Mt. 17. 22, for which we have also merely *παραδίδοται*, see § 56, 8.<sup>1</sup>—**Ἐλπίζειν** in the N.T. takes the aorist inf. (instead of the fut.), correctly so far as the action is concerned; cp. § 61, 3. Elsewhere too the infinitives keep their proper force: R. 14. 21 καλὸν τὸ μὴ φαγεῖν κρέα μηδὲ πιεῖν οὖν μηδὲ ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἀδελφός σου προσκόπτει means, 'it is a good thing at times not to eat meat, if offence is given thereby,' and the passage is not to be understood of continual abstinence.

**4. Present and aorist participle.**—A participle used in connection with a finite verb generally at first sight appears to denote relative time, namely, the aorist participle to denote a past event, and the present participle a simultaneous event, especially as the future participle (like the fut. infin. and optat.) does really express something relatively future. Actually, however, the aorist participle contains no more than the idea of completion; if therefore the participle is followed by a finite verb, the sequence of events usually is, that the first-mentioned action was accomplished when the latter took place, just as the same sequence of events is expressed, if instead of a participle and a finite verb two finite verbs connected by *καὶ* are employed. This temporal relation, however, is not necessarily implied in either case: the phrase *προσευξάμενοι εἶπαν* A. 1. 24 = *προσεύξαντο καὶ εἶπαν = προσεύξαντο εἰπόντες* (cp. Mc. 14. 39) denotes not merely simultaneous, but identical actions. If the participle stands in the second place, as in Mt. 27. 4 ἡμαρτον παραδόντες αἷμα ἀθῷον, or Mc. 1. 31 ἥγειρεν αὐτὴν κρατήσας τῆς χειρός, it may happen, as in the second of these instances, that the true sequence of time is not expressed, though in reality it is self-evident. Still in spite of this the reading of the majority of the MSS. in Acts 25. 13 is not Greek, *Ἄγριππας καὶ Βερνίκη κατῆλθον εἰς Καισάρειαν ἀσπασάμενοι τὸν Φῆστον* (since the participle always, as such, expresses an accom-

<sup>1</sup> Also in Jo. 16. 19 ἡμελλον (as Η has for Ηθελον) ἐρωτᾶν (D. ἐπερωτήσαι περὶ τούτου) appears to be the better reading.

panying circumstance, which in this passage, where the arrival is being narrated, cannot yet be regarded as concluded): the other reading *ἀσπασόμενοι* is the correct one.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the present participle is occasionally used after the main verb, since the future participle is so rarely found (see § 61, 4), to denote an action which at least in its complete fulfilment is subsequent to the action of the main verb: A. 18. 23 ἔξηλθεν (from Antioch) διερχόμενος τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν (*i.e.* καὶ διέρχετο), 14. 21 f. ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν Λύστραν ... ἐπιστηρίζοντες τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν μαθητῶν: 21. 2 ἐνρόντες πλοῖον διαπερῶν εἰς Φουνίκην, 3 ἐκείνε τὸ πλοῖον ἦν ἀποφορτιζόμενον τὸν γόμον. In these last two passages the pres. part. clearly takes the place of *μέλλων* with the inf., *e.g.* ἐμελλεν ἀποφορτίξεσθαι, so that they are to be compared with ὁ ἐρχόμενος = ὁ μέλλων ἐρχεσθαι and *παραδίδοται* = *μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι* § 56, 8; in the first two passages the participle is tacked on as it were to a finite verb instead of a second finite verb, to denote a subsequent action which in view of the actors' designs and preparations is regarded as already beginning to take place. In the following passages the fut. part. could have been used: A. 15. 27 ἀπεστάλκαμεν ἀπαγγέλλοντας (but cp. Thucyd. vii. 26. 9 ἐπεμψαν ἀγγέλλοντας Kühner ii. 121 f.), 21. 16 συνῆλθον ... ἀγοντες.—The present participle when it stands before the main verb may denote something that is already past: E. 4. 28 ὁ κλέπτων (he who stole hitherto) μηκέτι κλεπτέτω, Ap. 20. 10 ὁ πλανῶν = ὁς ἐπλάνα; also Mt. 27. 40 ὁ καταλύων ... καὶ οἴκοδομῶν = ὁς κατέλυνες κ.τ.λ. ('wouldest destroy'), since it is obvious that the pres. part. like the pres. indic. may have a *conative* force (Mt. 23. 13 τὸν εἰσερχομένους).

### § 59. THE PERFECT.

1. The **perfect** (as also the pluperfect) unites in itself as it were present and aorist, since it expresses the **continuance of completed action**: before the form *καθέστακα* for 'I have placed' arose, this meaning was expressed by ἔχω (pres.) *καταστήσας* (aor.),<sup>2</sup> and a perfect like *πεπληρώκατε* in Acts 5. 28 may be resolved into ἐπληρώσατε καὶ νῦν πλήρης ἔστι. In the N.T. this form of the verb is still constantly employed, and in a manner corresponding almost entirely to its classical uses: although at a subsequent period the popular language abandoned the old perfect, and let these forms, while they still continued in existence, do duty for the aorist.

2. The **present** meaning so entirely preponderates with certain verbs (as in classical Greek), that the aoristic meaning disappears altogether: *e.g.* in *κέκραγεν* Jo. 1. 15 a word borrowed from the literary language in place of the Hellenistic *κράξει*, cp. § 56, 5;

<sup>1</sup> The use of the aor. in John 11. 2 is noteworthy, *ἥν δὲ Μαριάμ ἡ ἀλείψασα τὸν κύριον μύρῳ*, 'who as is well known (cp. Mt. 26. 13) did (or, has done) this,' although this story belongs to a later time and is told at a later point in the narrative, 12. 1 ff.; so too Mt. 10. 4 'Ιούδας ὁ καὶ παραδός αὐτὸν,—ὅς καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν Mc. 3. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. xix. 288.

έστηκα (cp. 3), πέποιθα, μέμνημαι (*μιμήστκομαι* is almost unrepresented, only in H. 2. 6, 13. 3)<sup>1</sup>; also τέθνηκα ‘I am dead,’ ηλπικα εἰς τινα Jo. 5. 45 etc. ‘I have set my hope upon,’ = I hope, but a stronger form than ἐλπίω, because the continuance of the hope which has been formed is expressed by the perfect; similarly πέπεισμαι ‘I am convinced’ R. 8. 38 etc.; ηγημαι ‘I believe’ or ‘reckon’ (class.) A. 26. 2 in Paul’s speech before Agrippa (but in Ph. 3. 7 with its ordinary meaning ‘I have reckoned’).

3. Inversely, the aoristic meaning of the perfect may be brought into prominence and the other be made subordinate, without affecting the correctness of the employment of this tense. This happens in 2 Tim. 4. 7 τὸν καλὸν ἀγώνα ηγώνυμαι, τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα, τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα, viz. up till now, and the existing result inferred from this is stated in verse 8: λοιπὸν ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιουσύνης στέφανος. In the well-known phrase ἡ γέγραφα γέγραφα the first perfect has more of an aoristic, the second more of a present meaning. In the following passages the aorist and perfect are clearly distinguished: A. 21. 28 Ἐλληνας εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ κεκοίνωκεν τὸν ἄγιον τόπον, the introduction of these persons that took place has produced a lasting effect of pollution; 1 C. 15. 3 f. ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ... καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ; A. 22. 15 ἔσῃ μάρτυς ... δὲν ἐώρακας καὶ ἤκουσας, the fact that Paul has seen the Lord is that which permanently gives him his consecration as an Apostle (hence Paul himself says in 1 C. 9. 1 οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀπόστολος; οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν ... ἐώρακα); whereas the hearing (verses 7 ff.) is far less essential.<sup>2</sup> Only it must be borne in mind that the perfect is not used in all cases where it might have been used, i.e. where there is an actually existing result at the present time: the aorist has extended its province at the expense of the perfect, and here there is certainly a distinction between the language of the New Testament and the classical language. Thus Mt. 23. 2 ἐπὶ τῆς Μωϋσέως καθέδρας ἐκάθισαν οἱ γραμματεῖς, though they still sit thereon: cp. H. 1. 3, 8. 1, 10. 12 for ἐκάθισεν: κεκάθικεν only appears in 12. 2<sup>3</sup>; Mc. 3. 21 ἐλεγον ὅτι ἐξέστη (he is beside himself), where D\* has ἐξέσταται; 2 C. 5. 13 ἐξέστημεν opposed to σωφρονοῦμεν; ἐστηκα had acquired too much of a present sense to be able to lend itself still to a true perfect meaning, and it is for this reason that ‘He is risen’ is never expressed by ἀνέστηκεν (but by ἡγέρθη, which is another instance of aorist for perfect, and ἐγήγερται Mc. 6. 14, Paul in 1 C. 15. passim, 2 Tim. 2. 8). Cp. § 57, 9 (even classical Greek has some similar instances of the aorist for perfect, as

<sup>1</sup> Κέκτημαι does not appear in the N.T., but only κτήσασθαι and κτᾶσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> Also Jo. 3. 32 δὲ ἐώρακε καὶ ἤκουσε, where likewise the principal emphasis is laid on the seeing, but in 5. 37, 1 Jo. 1. 1, 3 we have ἐώρακαμεν and ἀκηκόαμεν in close connection, where the hearing is regarded as equally essential. ἐώρακα also appears in L. 24. 23, Jo. 19. 35, 20. 18 and passim; ἀκήκοα is rare and nowhere found in Mt., Mc., or Luke.

<sup>3</sup> It is preceded by ὑπέμεινε σταυρὸν (*Ιησοῦς*), and followed in verse 3 by ἀναλογίσασθε τὸν τοιαύτην ὑπομεμνηκότα ... ἀντίλογαν, the perfect being due to the abiding example which He offers us.

in the saying of Euripides: *τίς ολδεν εἰ τὸ ἡῆν μὲν ἔστι κατθανεῖν [=τεθνάναι], τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ἡῆν κάτω νομίζεται;*).

4. The use of the perfect instead of the aorist, in consequence of the popular intermixture of the two tenses (vide supra 1), appears undoubtedly in the Apocalypse: 5. 7 ἥλθε καὶ εἴληφε, cp. 8. 5, 7. 14 εἵρηκα (B εἴτον), cp. 19. 3: in forms, therefore, in which the reduplication is not clearly marked. The following perfects have an equally certain aoristic sense: Herm. Vis. i. 1. 1 πέπρακεν, iii. 1. 2 ὥπται καὶ (as ὥφθη), Clem. Hom. ii. 53 ἐγήγερται, Gospel of Peter 23 δεδώκαστι, cp. 31. Instances in the Pauline Epistles: 2 C. 2. 13 ἔσχηκα in historical narrative, whereas 7. 5 ἔσχηκεν (B al. ἔσχεν) and 1. 9 ἔσχήκαμεν may be explained as true perfects; ἀπέσταλκα in 12. 17 does not seem right, coming as it does in the middle of nothing but aorists (*ἔπεμψα* is read by DE, ἀπέστειλα by some cursive scribes): the same perfect appears in A. 7. 35 τοῦτον (Moses) ὁ θεὸς ἀρχοντα ἀπέσταλκε, most probably a wrong reading for ἀπέστειλεν of CHP al. Also in 2 C. 11. 25 νυχθύμερον ἐν τῷ βυθῷ πεποίηκα stands in connection with aorists only and without an adequate reason for the perfect. But H. 11. 28 πίστει πεποίηκεν τὸ πάσχα is explained by the abiding institution, cp. verse 3 (*ἐγκεκαίνισται* 9. 18), while 17 προσενήνοχεν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν Ἰσαάκ can indeed only be understood as referring to the abiding example offered to us. Lastly, γέγονεν is used for ἐγένετο in Mt. (and Apoc. Pet. 11; Burton, p. 43) in 25. 6 (B has ἐγένετο). (In 1. 22 = 21. 4 the perfect could be accounted for, although John uses ἐγένετο in an analogous passage, 19. 36: there is still greater reason for γέγονεν in Mt. 26. 56 of Christ's passion.)

5. In general statements or imaginary examples the perfect is only rarely used, as also in Attic it is rare in these cases. In Mt. 13. 46 πέπρακεν (*ἐπώλησεν* D) πάντα καὶ ἤγόρασεν αὐτὸν the suspicion of an incorrect confusion with the aorist is obvious (no aorist from πιπράσκα existed), cp. Herm. Vis. i. 1. 1, supra 4; the same applies to Ja. 1. 24 κατενόσησεν καὶ ἀπελήνυθεν καὶ εὐθέως ἐπελάθετο. But passages like 1 Jo. 2. 5 ὃς ἂν τηρῇ ... τετελέσται, Ja. 2. 10 ὅστις τηρήσῃ ... γέγονεν (cp. 11), R. 14. 23 etc. are perfectly correct and in accordance with classical usage (Aristoph. Lys. 545 ὁ μὲν ἦκων γάρ, καὶ γὰρ πολιός, ταχὺ ... γεγάμηκεν).

6. The perfect is used relatively, instead of the pluperfect, in the same way as the present is used for the imperfect after verbs of perception (cp. § 56, 9): Mc. 5. 33 εἰδῦνα ὁ γέγονεν αὐτῷ, Lc. 20. 19 D ἐγνωσαν ὅτι εἵρηκεν (al. εἴπεν = Mc. 12. 12); similarly after a verb expressing emotion in A. 10. 45 ἐξέστησαν ὅτι ἐκκέχυται. So also in L. 9. 36 we have οὐδενὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οὐδὲν ἀντὶ ἑωράκασιν (D ἐθεάσαντο), on the analogy of the equivalent phrase οὐδὲ. ἀπήγγ. ὅτι ταῦτα ἑωράκασιν. Still we have Mc. 15. 10 ἐγίνωσκεν ὅτι παραδεδώκεισαν (but DHS read παρέδωκαν as in Mt. 27. 18, AE al. παρεδώκεισαν), A. 19. 32 οὐκ ὢδεισαν τίνος ἔνεκεν συνεληγένθεισαν.

7. On the moods of the perfect it may be noticed that the imperative, apart from ἔρρωστο ἔρρωσθε (formulas in A. 15. 29, 23. 30,

but not in all the MSS.) and the periphrasis with *εἰμί* (§ 62, 1), only appears in the vigorous prohibition *πεφίμωσο* Mc. 4. 39 (cp. *τέθναθι* in Homer).

### § 60. PLUPERFECT.

1. The pluperfect, which naturally did not outlive the perfect in the Greek language, is still, like the perfect, a current, though not a largely employed, form with the New Testament writers; even in classical Greek, however, it is far rarer than the Latin or the German pluperfect, just because it is not used relatively as these latter are used. If an action has taken place, without leaving behind it an effect still permanent in subsequent past time, then the aorist must be employed, since the pluperfect = aorist + imperfect (cp. the perf. § 59, 1). L. 16. 20 Λάζαρος ἐβέβλητο πρὸς τὸν πυλῶνα αὐτοῦ, ‘was thrown down and lay’: Jo. 11. 44 ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ σουδαρίῳ περιεδέδετο, 9. 22 ἥδη γὰρ συνετέθειντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, the stipulation even at that early date was made. Cp. also Acts 14. 23 πεπιστεύκεισαν (—σιν D, § 59, 6), 26 ἥσαν παραδεδομένοι: but ibid. ἐπλήρωσαν, 27 ἐποίησαν = ‘had fulfilled,’ ‘had done.’

2. The usages of the pluperfect, which vary with the particular verb and the context, correspond to those of the perfect; the aoristic meaning preponderates, e.g. in A. 4. 22 ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐφ' ὃν γεγόνει τὸ σημεῖον, although the other meaning is present as well, and generally speaking an encroachment of the pluperfect into the province of the aorist can by no means take place.—A. 9. 21 ὅδε εἰς τοῦτο ἐληλύθει (i.e. Paul to Damascus, the words are spoken by the Jews) is explained by the fact that this intention of the Apostle had now come to an end, and therefore the perfect was no longer admissible.

### § 61. FUTURE.

1. The future, as was remarked above (§ 56, 1), is the one tense which does not express action but simply a time-relation, so that completed and continuous action are not differentiated. The synthetic future has become extinct in modern Greek; in the N.T. it is still largely used in the indicative, and is not limited to any considerable extent either by periphrasis (§ 62, 1, 2, 4) or by the use of the present (§ 56, 8). On the modal functions of the future indicative see §§ 64, 65; it is occasionally used in a gnomic sense (as in classical Greek), to express what may be expected to take place under certain circumstances, as in R. 5. 7 μόλις ὑπὲρ δικαίου τις ἀποθανεῖται, cp. 7. 3 χρηματίσει ἐὰν γένηται: so the first of these passages is an abbreviated form of ἐὰν δίκαιος γένηται.

2. The future is used relatively in statements after verbs of believing, to denote a time subsequent to the time when the belief was entertained: Mt. 20. 10 ἐνόμισαν ὅτι λήψονται (=μέλλουσι λαμβάνειν); cp. the present § 56, 9: imperf. § 57, 6: perf. § 59, 6. In this case, however, another mode of expression was scarcely

possible, and the only difference in the classical language is that classical Greek uses the future infinitive, which regularly has a relative meaning, after *νομίζειν*, instead of *ὅτι* with the indicative. (After *σημαίνων* in Jo. 18. 32 we have *ἵμελλεν ἀποθνήσκειν*, instead of which *μέλλει* might here be expected, § 56, 9, or the fut. as in 21. 19 *δοξάσει*.)

3. The future **infinitive**, which like the participle and the optative of the future, expresses the time-notion relatively with reference to the principal action, has disappeared from the popular language, and is found only in the Acts and the Epistle to the Hebrews: after *μέλλειν* in A. 11. 28, 23. 30, 24. 15, 27. 10, after *ἐλπίζειν* 26. 7 B (the other MSS. have the aorist), after *ὅμνύαι* H. 3. 18. After *μέλλειν* the place of the fut. inf. is taken by the pres. inf., cp. § 58, 3, rarely by the aor. inf.; after *ἐλπίζειν*<sup>1</sup>, *προκαταγέλλειν* (A. 3. 18), *ὅμνύαι* (2. 30), *προσδοκᾶν* (3. 3), *όμολογεῖν* 'to promise' (Mt. 14. 7), the aorist infinitive is used, which preserves the nature of the action correctly, but surrenders the expression of the time-relation.

4. The future **participle**, used as the complement of the principal verb (to express the aim or object) is likewise rare and almost limited to the Acts: 8. 27 *ἐλλέγθει προσκυνήσων*, 22. 5, 24. 17, H. 13. 17 *ἀγρυπνοῦσιν ὡς λόγον ἀποδώσοντες*; Mt. 27. 49 *ἔρχεται σώσων*, but Η\* has *σῶσαι*, D *καὶ σώσει*. Its place is frequently taken by the pres. part., cp. § 58, 4; elsewhere by the infinitive (1 C. 16. 3), a relative sentence (*ibid.* 4. 17) or some other phrase (Viteau § 288). Scarcely more widely extended is the use of the fut. part. in a more independent position (cp. § 62, 4): 1 C. 15. 37 *τὸ σῶμα τὸ γενητόμενον* (also probably R. 8. 34 *ὅ κατακρινῶν*), A. 20. 22 *τὰ συναντήσοντα*, 2 P. 2. 13 *κομιούμενοι μισθὸν ἀδικίας* (almost certainly corrupt; Η\*BP read *ἀδικούμενοι*), *τίς ὁ κακώσων ὑμᾶς (= ὁ κακώσει)* 1 P. 3. 13, *τὸ ἐσόμενον* L. 22. 49, *ὁ παραδώσων* Jo. 6. 64, but there D is doubtless correct in reading *παραδίδοντος* (*μέλλων παραδίδονται* Η, as in Jo. 12. 4), H. 3. 5 *τῶν λαληθησομένων* (a unique instance of the fut. part. pass.).

## § 62. PERIPHRASTIC CONJUGATION.

1. The classical language had already made use of *εἴμι* with the perfect participle as a periphrasis for the perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect, active and passive, which under certain circumstances was necessary, but the usage was extended far beyond the cases where that necessity existed. In the N.T. the cases where periphrasis is necessary include the future perfect and the perfect conjunctive (or optative), excluding of course *οἶδα εἰδὼ*; in other cases it is practically indifferent, whether one writes *ἐπεγέγραπτο* (A. 17. 23) or *ἡν γεγραμμένον* (Jo. 19. 19 f.), *γέγραπται* (very frequent) or *γεγραμμένον ἔστι* (Jo. 6. 31, 20. 30; in the next verse 31 we have

<sup>1</sup> *Ἐλπίζω πεφανερῶσθαι* 2 C. 5. 11 shows the deflection of the idea of 'hope' into that of 'think,' which is also in vogue in German (as in classical Greek).

*ταῦτα δὲ γέγραπται*); cp. Herm. Sim. ix. 4. Ι ὑποδεδύκεισαν – ὑποδεδύκναις ἥσαν. (Periphrasis in the active is less common, as in A. 21. 29 ἥσαν προεωρακότες.) Even where the aoristic meaning of the perfect (§ 59, 3) predominates, periphrasis may be introduced: οὐ γάρ ἔστιν ἐν γωνίᾳ πεπραγμένον τοῦτο (A. 26. 26). It occasionally serves to produce a more forcible and rhetorical expression: A. 25. 10 (**\*B**) ἔστως ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος Καίσαρός εἴμι, which is better than ἔστηκα ἐπὶ ... ορ ἐπὶ τοῦ ... ἔστηκα. An example of the pluperfect is L. 2. 26 ἦν αὐτῷ κεχρηματισμένον; fut. perf. L. 12. 52 ἔσονται διαμεμερισμένοι, H. 2. 12 ἔσομαι πεποιθώς O.T.; conjunct. Jo. 16. 24 ὃ πεπληρωμένη; imperat. L. 12. 35 ἔστωσαν περιεξωσμέναι; even the participle itself is written peripherastically in E. 4. 18, Col. 1. 21 ὄντες (-as) ἀπῆλλοτριωμένοι (-ous), here clearly to express still more forcibly the idea of persistence in the new condition of things (in the passage of Colossians καὶ ἔχθρούς is appended; cp. Aristoph. Ran. 721 οὐσιν οὐ κεκιβδηλευμένοις, ἀλλὰ καλλίστοις κ.τ.λ.). A cognate instance is ἦν κείμενος L. 23. 53, = τεθειμένος (§ 23, 6).

2. *Εἰμι*<sup>1</sup> is further used to a large extent in the N.T. in connection with the **present participle** to form a periphrasis for the **imperfect** (ἦν), the **future** (ἔσομαι), rarely the **present indic.** (εἰμί), and occasionally the **present infinitive** and **imperative** (εἰναι, ὕσθι); this use is indeed especially frequent in the narrative style of Mark and Luke, in whose writings the periphrasis mentioned in the previous paragraph (1) also finds the greatest number of instances (Buttmann p. 268). Many examples of this periphrasis may be quoted as parallels from the classical language (Kühner ii. 35, note 3), and it may be argued that this method of expression is analogous to that mentioned in 1, and that at least in the case of the future it offered the advantage of distinguishing continuous from momentary action; still, in view of the absence of an analogous development in the Hellenistic language, one cannot fail to recognize, especially in the case of the imperfect, the influence of Aramaic (W. Schmid Atticismus iii. 113 f.), since that language made an extensive use of periphrases of this kind.<sup>2</sup> One cannot adduce in this connection instances such as R. 3. 12 O.T. οὐκ ἔστιν ('there is no-one') ποιῶν χρηστότητα, A. 21. 23 εἰσὶν ἄνδρες ('there are persons here') εὑχὴν ἔχοντες ('who have a vow'); L. 2. 8 is also different, καὶ ποιμένες ἥσαν ... ἀγρανλοῦντες καὶ φυλάσσοντες, since the existence of these shepherds had first to be noticed, and then their occupation (cp. A. 19. 14, 24). But even after deducting all the examples, where the imperfect of the principal verb could not have been used or would not have had the

<sup>1</sup> Not *ὑπάρχω*, which only occurs in A. 8. 16, 19. 36 in connection with a perfect participle.

<sup>2</sup> In the case of the following writings—(Mt.), Mc., Luke's Gospel, and the first half of the Acts—this is no doubt due to their being direct translations from Aramaic originals. In John's Gospel in most passages (1. 9, 28, 2. 6, 3. 23) ἦν has a certain independence of its own (ὅπου ἦν – βαπτίζων, 'where he stayed and baptized'); ἦν κακὸν ποιῶν in 18. 30 seems to be a wrong reading for ἦν κακοποίος. In Mt. cp. 7. 29, 19. 22 etc.—In St. Paul, G. 1. 22 f. ημην ἀγνοούμενος ... ἀκούοντες ἥσαν.

same meaning, the number of instances even in the Acts is considerably large: e.g. 1. 10 ἀτενίζοντες ἥσαν, 13 ἥσαν καταμένοντες, 14 ἥσαν προσκαρτεροῦντες, 2. 2 ἥσαν καθήμενοι etc. A periphrastic future appears in 6. 4 D ἐσόμεθα προσκαρτεροῦντες. (But from chapter 13 of the Acts onwards the only further instances are: 16. 12 ἥμεν ἐν τῷ πόλει διατρίβοντες, cp. 14. 7, note 2 on p. 203: 18. 7 ἡ οἰκία ἦν συνομορύσα [an easily intelligible use]: 21. 3 ἦν ἀποφορτιζόμενον, see § 58, 4, ἀπεφορτίζετο could not have been used: 22. 19 ἥμην φυλακίων<sup>1</sup>).

Instances of the pres. indic. being written periphrastically: 2 C. 9. 12 ἡ διακονία οὐ μόνον ἔστιν προσαναπληροῦσα ..., ἀλλὰ καὶ περιστενόνσα; G. 4. 24, Col. 2. 23<sup>2</sup>, Ja. 1. 17, 3. 15, Herm. Vis. i. 2. 4 ἔστιν μὲν οὖν ... ἡ τουαίτη βουλὴ ... ἐπιφέρουσα a periphrasis for the sake of emphasis, somewhat like Demosth. 20. 18 ἔστι δὲ ... ἔχον; Mt. 27. 33 is most probably corrupt (λεγόμενος om. κ<sup>a</sup>D); the phrase ὁ ἔστιν ('means') μεθερμηνεύμενον does not come under this head. The periphrases of the impersonal verbs must be given a place to themselves, since they are not only common in Hellenistic Greek (Schmid Atticism. iii. 114), but are also found previously in Attic (ἔστι προσῆκον Dem. 3. 24): A. 19. 36 δέον ἔστιν (cp. 1 P. 1. 6 δέον [ἔστι]; Clem. Cor. i. 34. 2): ἔξον (sc. ἔστι) A. 2. 29, 2 C. 12. 4.—Infinitive: L. 9. 18=11. 1 ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν προσευχόμενον. Imperative: Mt. 5. 25 ἵσθι εὐνόῶν (the verb is not elsewhere used in the N.T.), L. 19. 17 ἵσθι ἔξοντάν ἔχων: Clem. Hom. Ep. ad Jac. 3 εὖ ἵσθι εἰδώς. Of the periphrastic conjunctive there is no instance.—Future expressing continuance: Mt. 10. 22 ἔστεσθε μισούμενοι, Mc. 13. 25 οἱ ἀστέρες ἔσονται πίπτοντες, L. 5. 10 ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ξωγρῶν, 1 C. 14. 11 ἔστεσθε εἰς δέρα λαλοῦντες, Herm. Mand. v. 2. 8 ἔσῃ εὑρισκόμενος, Sim. ix. 13. 2 ἔσῃ φορῶν; in these instances the reason for using the periphrasis can be recognized (cp. the periphrastic fut. perf.), see Buttmann p. 266 f.

3. *Γίνομαι* is also occasionally employed in an analogous way to denote the beginning of a state. 2 C. 6. 14 μὴ γίνεσθε ἐτεροχρυσοῦντες ἀπίστοις ('do not give yourselves up to it'), Col. 1. 18, H. 5. 12, Ap. 3. 2, 16. 10, Mc. 9. 3 (7): the different tenses of *γίνομαι* are joined with the pres. or perf. participle.—The combination of *εἶναι* with the aorist participle, which is not unknown to the language of classical poetry, is only found in L. 23. 19 BLT ὅστις ἦν...βληθεὶς (om. κ<sup>a</sup>\*, the other MSS. have βεβλημένος) ἐν τῷ φυλακῇ, where the reading is therefore quite untrustworthy.<sup>3</sup>

4. Another way of expressing **imminence**, besides the future, is by μέλλω with the infinitive, a periphrasis with which the classical

<sup>1</sup> This speech of Paul was delivered τῷ ἐβραῖον φωνῇ. Cp. the author's edition of Luke's Gospel, p. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> "Ατινά ἔστιν λόγον μὲν ἔχοντα σοφίας; cp. Demosth. 31. 11 οὐδὲ λόγον τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἔχον ἔστι and other similar passages with ἔχων (Rehdantz Ind. Demosth. ii. Partic.).

<sup>3</sup> In the Gospel of Peter 23 θεασάμενος ἦν, 51 ἦν τεθεὶς, this combination is due to a confusion between perfect and aorist; cp. 23 δεδώκαστ for ἔδωκαν. Clem. Cor. ii. 17. 7 must be emended to ἔσονται δόξαν <δι>δόντες.

language is acquainted and which offers this advantage, that it presents a mode of indicating imminence in past time, e.g. L. 7. 2 ἡμελλε τελευτᾶν and passim; also a conjunctive can be formed in this way, Mc. 13. 4 ὅταν μέλλῃ συντελεῖσθαι; and it serves to replace the fut. inf. and the fut. part. which are going out of use, and periphrasis is therefore generally employed in these cases, e.g. μέλλειν πίμπρασθαι A. 28. 6, ὁ τοῦτο μέλλων πράσσειν L. 22. 36. In the case of a participle, however, the periphrastic form is of wider application than the simple form, since the latter (as a relative indication of time) can never be employed in the genitive absolute, and nowhere at all except where it is definitely connected with a finite verb: periphrasis is therefore necessary in A. 18. 14 μέλλοντος ἀνοίγειν gen. abs., 20. 3 γενομένης ἐπιβούλῆς αὐτῷ μέλλοντι ἀνάγεσθαι, Jo. 12. 4 Ἰούδας, ὁ μέλλων αὐτὸν παραδιδόναται (but in 6. 64 τίς ἔστιν ὁ παραδώσων ABC al., cp. § 61, 4).

### § 63. THE MOODS. INDICATIVE OF UNREALITY (AND REPETITION).

1. With regard to the use of the **moods** the distinction between the language of the New Testament and the classical language is considerably greater than it is with regard to the tenses, if only for the reason that the optative which was disappearing (§ 14, 1) had to be replaced.

2. The **indicative** in Greek, besides its primary function of making assertions about real or actual events (to which in all languages is attached its use in negative or interrogative sentences), has the further function of denoting **unreality** as such, by means of the tenses expressive of past time (since the form of the verb which is used to express that which *no longer* exists acquires the general notion of non-existence). The indicative, however, is not used in this way in the principal clause without the addition of the particle *ἄν*, which differentiates such sentences from unqualified assertions about past time, whereas in the accompanying conditional and subordinate clauses, and in the kindred clauses expressing a wish, the indicative is used alone.

3. In the N.T. the indicative has not only kept the whole of this sphere of its use, but has also enlarged it at the expense of the optative. In the first place in **hypothetical sentences**, where unreality is expressed, the indicative is used both in the protasis and the apodosis; in the latter the insertion of *ἄν* is not obligatory. Jo. 15. 24 εἰ τὰ ἔργα μὴ ἐποίησα ἐν αὐτοῖς..., ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ εἴχοσταν, cp. 19. 11 (where κΑ etc. have the wrong reading ἔχεις for εἴχεις of B etc.), 8. 39, G. 4. 15 (*ἄν* is added by κΩΝΕΚΛΠ); on the other hand *ἄν* is inserted in Jo. 18. 30 εἰ μὴ ἦν..., οὐκ ἄν σοι παρεδώκαμεν, and this is the case in the majority of instances. The position of *ἄν* is as near the beginning of the sentence as possible: οὐκ ἄν passim,

οἱ ὑπηρέται ἀν οἱ ἐμοὶ ἤγωνίζοντο (Jo. 18. 36).<sup>1</sup> The tense (imperf. or aor.; pluperf. in 1 Jo. 2. 19) keeps the ordinary meaning of its action; the imperfect in other connections is ambiguous (in the passage above quoted ἤγωνίζεις ἀν is ‘would have fought,’ which was meant to be regarded as a continuous or incomplete action, since accomplishment and result were uncertain).

4. The **imperfect indicative without ἀν** is used in classical Greek for expressions of **necessity, obligation, duty, possibility** etc., when one requires to indicate the fact that in reality the opposite is taking place or has taken place: while the present indicative asserts something about present time, as it always does, and accordingly an appeal is contained in such presents as χρή, προσήκει etc. In the former case we employ the conjunctive, it should or could be so, or where the possibility of anything happening is past, it should or could have been—a distinction which cannot be made in Greek; the indicative is logically correct, since even in the case of the verb ‘should’ the obligation was already an actual one in past time (cp. Latin). The N.T. keeps this usage of the imperfect, but uses it further to denote what in classical Greek is expressed by the present indicative: A. 22. 22 οὐ γάρ καθῆκεν αὐτὸν ἔγν (καθῆκον D<sup>2</sup>, cp. § 62, 2), they are asking for him to be put to death: Col. 3. 18 ὡς ἀνήκειν ‘as is seemly’: E. 5. 4 ἀ οὐκ ἀνήκειν (v.l. τὰ οὐκ ἀνίκοντα).<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere the imperfect is used correctly: ἔδει in Mt. 23. 23 ταῦτα ἔδει ποιῆσαι, κἀκεῖνα μὴ ἀφέναι, a frequent form of this verb (also used of course where it is merely the past necessity which is stated, οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἔδει [‘was bound’] παθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν L. 24. 26): ὠφειλον in 2 C. 12. 11 ἕγὼ γάρ ὠφειλον ὅφ' ὥμαν συνίστασθαι, but differently used in 1 C. 5. 10 ἐπεὶ ὠφείλετε ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἔξελθεῖν ‘must have otherwise,’ where in classical Greek the insertion of ἀν is at least *admissible*, as it is in H. 9. 26 ἐπεὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν πολλάκις παθεῖν: with δύνασθαι in Mt. 26. 9 ἔδύνατο τοῦτο πραθῆναι πολλοῦ: with an impersonal expression with εἶναι, καλὸν ἦν εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη Mt. 26. 24 (καλόν ἐστι 18. 8 is different; cp. 2 P. 2. 21<sup>3</sup>).

5. The **indicative** when used to denote an **impracticable wish** in Attic is introduced by εἴθε or εἰ γάρ, but it is more inclined to use the analytical expression εἴθε (εἰ γάρ) ὠφειλον (with infinitive). From the latter phrase, through the omission of the introductory particle

<sup>1</sup> In this passage ἀν is wanting in B\*, and stands after ἤγων. in ΣΕ<sup>me</sup>LX; similar fluctuation in its position is seen in 8. 19 καὶ τὸν πατέρα μου ἀν ἔδειτε BL, γδ. ἀν ΣΓΔ al., where perhaps ἀν should be struck out with D, as it is in verse 39 on preponderant authority. L. 19. 23 κάγω ἐλθών σὺν τόκῳ ἀν αὐτὸν ἔπραξα contains in ἐλθών an equivalent for a (temporal) protasis. “Αν cannot go further back in a sentence than οὐ: G. 1. 10 Χριστοῦ δοῦλος οὐκ ἀν ἤμην. —Hypothetical sentences of this kind are remarkably scarce in the Pauline Epistles; in the Acts they are wanting entirely.

<sup>2</sup> The Attic προσήκει does not appear in the N.T.; nor χρή except in Ja. 3. 10, nor ἔξεστι (for which ἔξεν is used, sc. ἐστι, § 62, 2), nor the verbal adj. in -τέος with ἦν etc.

<sup>3</sup> The Attic use of the (aorist) indicative to denote what *nearly* happened (δλίγουν ἔδένσα with infin., δλίγουν ἐπελαθόμην) is unattested in the N.T.

and through the auxiliary verb becoming stereotyped, there has been formed in the Hellenistic language the word ὄφελε (Callimachus) or ὄφελον ὄφελον used as a particle to introduce a wish with the indic.<sup>1</sup>; ὄφελον is the form which it takes in the N.T., where the particle is even used (§ 66, 1) with the future to introduce a practicable wish. 1 C. 4. 8 ὄφελον (D<sup>c</sup>EL ὄφ.) ἐβασιλεύσατε, 2 C. 11. 1 ὄφελον (ὄφ. D<sup>c</sup>EFGKL) ἀνέχεσθε μου, Ap. 3. 15 (ὄφ. BP).—But if the idea of wishing is expressed by a particular verb, then a distinction is drawn in Attic between βούλομην ἄν (a practicable wish, modestly expressed) and ἐβούλόμην ἄν (impracticable), whereas in the N.T. both these meanings are combined in ἐβούλόμην or the more popular word ἄθελον (without ἄν). Thus A. 25. 22 ἐβ. ἀκοῦσαι (perfectly practicable), R. 9. 3 ἡγχόμην ἀνάθεμα εἶναι (hardly conceived of as practicable), G. 4. 20 ἥθελον (*modus irrealis*, or imperfect of unreality), Philem. 13 ἐβούλόμην ('would have liked,' cp. 14). So also Herm. Vis. iii. 8. 6, 11. 4, Clem. Hom. i. 9 ἥθελον = βούλοιμην ἄν. The classical optative is only found in A. 26. 29 (N<sup>c</sup>AB) εἰξαίμην ἄν, see § 66, 2.

6. The indicative of unreality in final clauses, which are dependent on another indicative of this class, is not found in the N.T.; on the contrary such clauses take the conjunctive, Jo. 18. 36 οἱ ὑπηρέται ἄν οἱ ἔμοι ἡγωνίζοντο, ἵνα μὴ παραδοθῶ τοῖς Ιουδαίοις.

7. While the classical language expresses indefinite repetition in past time in principal clauses by ἄν with the imperfect or aorist indicative, and in subordinate clauses by the optative, in the N.T. the former method of expression has been transferred to subordinate clauses in place of the optative<sup>2</sup>, while there is no instance of its use in principal clauses. The ἄν, which in this case is never dropped (έάν may be used, see § 26, 4), is placed as in other subordinate clauses as close as possible to the particle or the relative. Mc. 6. 56 ὅπου ἐὰν (ἄν) εἰσεπορεύετο ..., ἐν ταῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐτίθεσαν τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας: 15. 6 D ὃν ἄν ἥτοῦντο, the correct reading, cp. § 13, 3: A. 2. 45, 4. 35 (*καθότι*), 1 C. 12. 2 (ώς). The aorist is by no means excluded (cp. for a classical instance in a principal clause Dem. 18, 219 ὁ μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἄν ἐπρέσβευσεν), and so we have in Mc. 6. 56<sup>b</sup> καὶ ὅσοι ἄν ἥψαντο (NBD; ἥπτοντο AN al.) αὐτοῦ ἐσώζοντο, LXX. Is. 55. 11 ὅσα ἄν ἥθέλησα, Herm. Sim. ix. 4. 5 ὅταν ἐτέθησαν, 17. 3<sup>3</sup>, Barn. 12. 2 ὅποταν καθέλλεν. Even particles compounded with ἄν, such as ὅταν, take part in this construction with the indicative: Mc. 3. 11 τὰ πνεύματα, ὅταν αὐτὸν ἐθεώρου, προσέπιπτον, Mc. 11. 19 ὅταν (ὅτε AD al.) ὄψε ἐγένετο, ἐξεπορεύετο ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, where this particle also denotes custom, cp. L. 21. 37.

<sup>1</sup> So LXX., Arrian. Diss. Epict., etc., Sophocles Lexicon ὄφελω.

<sup>2</sup> So also Lucian D. Mort. 9. 2 ὅντινα δν προσέβλεψα.

<sup>3</sup> With pluperfect Sim. ix. 1. 6 ὅταν ἐπικεκαύκει.

### § 64. CONJUNCTIVE AND FUTURE (OR PRESENT) INDICATIVE IN PRINCIPAL CLAUSES.

1. The conjunctive has apparently the primary meaning of something which *should* (or ought to) take place, and consequently its proper use is to express the will of the speaker, though in a less definite manner than the imperative, with which mood the conjunctive has close affinities. But the conjunctive, and especially the aorist conjunctive, also has close affinities with the future indicative. Not only has it to a large extent the greatest similarity of form (*λέστω* is the form of the 1st sing. both of the aor. conj. and the fut. ind., *λέσῃ* is the form of the 2nd sing. of the same tenses in the middle), but in its manner of employment it comes into the closest contact with that tense from the earliest times (Homer). The future does not assert what is about to happen merely in point of time, but frequently also what is about to happen in the intention of the speaker: *βούλομαι λέγειν* gives the same meaning analytically, which *λέξω* gives synthetically. The conjunctive, on the other hand, actually has a much wider range of employment than is contained in the primary meaning above-mentioned, and expresses that which under certain circumstances may be the outcome of the present position of affairs: from this it is at once apparent that it refers in great measure to the future, while past time lies outside its compass. In the final development of the language the future has been supplanted by *θέλω ἴνα* (for which modern Greek uses *θά*) with the present or aorist conjunctive (so that action is differentiated in future time as well as in past time); the N.T., however, is still a long way removed from this state of things, whereas the mixture of the fut. ind. and aor. conj.<sup>1</sup> has, in comparison with the classical language, made considerable progress.

2. The conjunctive supplements the imperative (as in Latin and other languages) in the 1st. pers. plur., where there is no distinction from the classical language; this also happens, but in a somewhat different way, in the 1st pers. sing., since an invitation is there made to the other person to *let* the speaker do something; in classical Greek this conjunctive is introduced by *ἄγε* and *φέρε*, also by *δεῦρο*, in the N.T. by *ἄφες* (whence *ἀς* in modern Greek) and *δεῦρο* (plural *δεῦτε*): Mt. 7. 4 *ἄφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος*, A. 7. 34 O.T. *δεῦρο ἀποστεῖλω σε* (Eurip. Bacch. 341 *δεῦρό σου στέψω κάρα*), cp. Ap. 17. 1, 21. 9. The same words may also precede the 1st pers. plur. conj. and (*δεῦτε* at any rate) the 2nd pers. imp.: *δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν* Mc. 12. 7, *δεῦτε ἰδετε* Mt. 28. 6; *ἄφες ἰδωμεν* Mt. 27. 49 (where the singular form has become stereotyped, as happens with *ἄγε*, *φέρε* etc.), Mc. 15. 36 κDV (*ἄφετε ABC* etc.) = our 'let us see.' Again the conj. necessarily

<sup>1</sup> On this mixture in late Greek, which for instance introduces *εἴπω σοι* = *ἔρω σοι*, see Sophocles Lexic. p. 45, Hatzidakis Einl. in d. neugriech. Gramm. p. 218. So in Clem. Hom. xi. 3 *καὶ οὕτως ... δυνηθή* (main clause) = *δυνήσεται*. But it occurs already in the LXX., e.g. Is. 33. 24 *ἄφεθή γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀμαρτία*, 10. 16.

takes the place of the imperative in the 2nd person of the aorist after *μή*, as in classical Greek, and may do so also in the 3rd person (not frequently; classical Greek also uses conj. or imp.): *μή τις αὐτὸν ἔξονθενήσῃ* 1 C. 16. 11, cp. 2 C. 11. 16, 2 Th. 2. 3. In the N.T. such clauses are often preceded (Mt. 8. 4 al., Mc. 1. 44, 1 Th. 5. 15) by *ὅρα, ὁρᾶτε, βλέπετε*, as well as *ἄφες* etc., which do not affect the construction, see § 79, 4.—On *μή* expressing apprehension in independent clauses see § 65, 3 ad fin.

3. The future indicative takes the place of the imperative in the legal language of the O.T. (not a classical use) both in positive and negative commands (the negative being *οὐ*), but the N.T. language apart from O.T. quotations does not appear to have been materially affected by this use. Mt. 5. 43 O.T. *ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου*, but in the law of Christ in 44 *ἀγαπᾶτε*; ibid. 21 O.T. *οὐ φονεύσεις* etc., but the future is nowhere used in this chapter in independent precepts of Christ, since even 48 *ἔστεσθε τέλειοι* is modelled on Deut. 18. 13. Elsewhere however there are some isolated instances of the future (2nd and 3rd persons): 6. 5 *οὐκ ἔστεσθε* (the imperative *ἔστε* occurs nowhere in the N.T.), 21. 3 *ἔάν τις ἴμιν εἴπῃ τι, ἐρεῖτε, = εἴπατε* in Mc. 11. 3, Mt. 20. 26 *οὐχ οὐτῶς ἔσται ἐν ἴμιν*, and then *ἔσται* occurs twice again in 26 f. with v.l. *ἔστω* (Clem. Cor. i. 60. 2 *καθαρεῖς*). With this is connected the reverse use of the imperative for future in Mt. 10. 13 (*ἐλθάτω ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆν* [but *ἔσται* D] ... *ἐπιστραφήτω*), where the future is more natural and is actually found in L. 10. 6. On *ὅφελον* with the fut. ind. (in a clause expressing a wish) see § 66, 1.

4. A further substitute for the imperative is afforded by *ἴνα* with the conjunctive (used independently; cp. French *que*, class. *ὅπως* with fut.), E. 5. 33 (after *ἀγαπάτω*) *ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἵνα φοβήται τὸν ἄνδρα*, cp. 2 C. 8. 7, Mc. 5. 23 (see on *ἵνα* § 69, 1). This may be extended by *θέλω*: Mc. 6. 25 *θέλω ἵνα δῷς* (*δός* Mt. 14. 8). Another substitute is a question in the fut. with *οὐ* (as frequently in classical Greek), A. 13. 10 *οὐ παύσῃ διαστρέψων*, though in this passage the imperative meaning is not quite clear, and perhaps a reproach is rather intended.

5. The most definite form of a negative assertion about the future is that with *οὐ μή*, which also appears in classical Greek and is there also connected, as in the N.T., with both the fut. ind. and the conjunctive. But though the N.T. has this double construction of *οὐ μή*, still the only certain instance of its taking the fut. is Mt. 16. 22 *οὐ μή ἔσται σοι τοῦτο*, whereas in the other cases not only is there a strong similarity between the form of aor. and fut., but there is also a variety of readings, while in numerous passages the conjunctive is by its peculiar form established beyond a doubt as the correct reading. Mt. 15. 5 *οὐ μὴ τιμήσει τὸν πατέρα*, but *τιμήσῃ* is read by E\*FGK al. (a quotation of a saying of the Rabbis, ‘need not honour’; in the LXX. *οὐ μή* is also prohibitive as in Gen. 3. 1), 26. 35 *οὐ μή σε ἀπαρνήσουμεν (-σωμαι AEGK al.)*, Mc. 14. 31 ditto (*-σωμαι ΣΕFGK al.*), Ap. 9. 6 *οὐ μὴ εὑρήσουσιν* (*εὕρωσιν AP*). (But Hermas has in Mand. ix. 5 *οὐδὲν οὐ μὴ λήψῃ*, Sim. i. 5 *οὐ μὴ παραδεχθήσῃ*.) On the

other hand the conj. is used *e.g.* in Ap. 2. 11 οὐ μὴ ἀδικηθῆ, L. 12. 59 οὐ μὴ ἔξελθης, 13. 35 οὐ μὴ ὕδητε με. The conj. is always that of the aorist, whereas classical Greek also uses the pres. conj. The same form is occasionally used **interrogatively** to denote an affirmation (the relation between the two uses being therefore the same as between “οὐ πράξω.” and “οὐ πράξω;”): Jo. 18. 11 οὐ μὴ πίω αὐτό; L. 18. 7, Ap. 15. 4 τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ; (the classical οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις; = ‘you will certainly not’ = ‘do not venture to’ etc.).

6. In questions of doubt and deliberation, as to what ought to take place, classical Greek uses the conjunctive or (more rarely) the fut. ind., as in Eurip. Ion 758 εἴπωμεν; ή σιγῶμεν; ή τί δράσομεν; generally in the 1st person, rarely in the 3rd. The question is equivalent to *χρή*: it may be introduced by βούλει -εσθε (without a conjunction): it is negatived by μή. The N.T. in this case practically uses only the conjunctive (the fut. is a v.l. in *e.g.* A. 2. 37, 4. 16; on Ph. 1. 22 see § 65, 1), which is frequently introduced by θέλεις -ετε (βούλεσθε), and in addition to the 1st person the 2nd and 1st persons are occasionally used, where there is more of a future meaning: L. 23. 31 ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ τί γένηται (*γενήσεται* D); (‘what will happen then?’), Mt. 23. 33 πῶς φύγητε, ‘how will (or can) you escape?’, 26. 54, R. 10. 14 f. πῶς οὖν ἐπικαλέσωνται (-σονται KLP) ... πῶς δὲ πιστεύσων (v.l. -σονσιν) ... πῶς δὲ ἀκοίσων (<sup>κ</sup>Α<sup>2</sup>Β; -σονσιν L, -σονται <sup>κ\*</sup>Δ al.) ... πῶς δὲ κηρυξώσιν (the v.l. -ουσιν is hardly attested), ‘how will they’ or ‘can they’: Hermas, Sim. v. 7. 3 πῶς σωθῆ ὁ ἄνθρωπος. In these instances classical Greek must have used the future, which we have in L. 16. 11 f. τίς πιστεύσει; ... τίς δώσει; cp. 11. 11, Mt. 16. 26 τί δώσει = Mc. 8. 37 τί δοῖ (*δώσει* ACD al.). A peculiar instance is L. 11. 5 τίς ἔξ ὑμῶν ἔξει φίλον, καὶ πορεύσεται ... καὶ εἴπῃ (*ἔρει* AD al.) ... 7 κάκενος εἴπῃ (*ἔρει* D), where the thought is awkwardly expressed (§ 77, 6; Viteau p. 10), and would have been more appropriately rendered by the conditional form of sentence (*ἐὰν φίλος πορευθῇ* etc.), and then the future would be in its right place in the apodosis. Cp. *ibid.* 11 f. The fut. is used in the 1st pers. in R. 3. 5, 6. 1 τί ἐροῦμεν; (cp. Plato, Crito 50 B), which at least approximates to a deliberative sense; and this is decidedly the sense of L. 22. 49 εἰ (direct question, § 77, 2) πατάξομεν ἐν μαχαίρῃ; (-ωμεν GH al.).—Question introduced by θέλεις etc.: Mt. 13. 28 θέλεις συλλέξωμεν; Jo. 18. 39 βούλεσθε ἀπολύτω;—The question may be put analytically by the insertion of δεῖ (*χρή* being unusual in the N.T.), τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν A. 16. 30, or of δύνασθαι for the other sense of the future or conjunctive, Mt. 12. 34 πῶς δύνασθε λαλεῖν (Viteau p. 32).—The pres. indic. is used very rarely in a deliberative sense in place of the fut. ind. (§ 56, 8): Jo. 11. 47 (Herm. Sim. ix. 9. 1) τί ποιοῦμεν; for which there are parallels in colloquial Latin.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1 Jo. 3. 17 μενεῖ should be written for μένει.—Plato, Symp. 214 A πῶς ποιοῦμεν is not quite a similar case; it is not deliberative like τί ποιῶμεν *ibid.* B, but the present contains a gentle rebuke.

§ 65. CONJUNCTIVE AND FUTURE (OR PRESENT)  
INDICATIVE IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.

1. Indirect interrogative sentences, like direct, take the deliberative conjunctive, Mt. 6. 25 μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τί φάγητε: and here again the sphere of the conjunctive is extended somewhat beyond its classical limits, as in L. 12. 36 προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον, πότε ἀναλίσῃ (-σει GKX al.), cp. Ph. 3. 12 with εἰ ‘whether’ διώκω εἰ καταλάβω (cp. inf. 6): elsewhere this εἰ is followed by the fut. ind. (In Mc. 11. 13 D gives the reading ἵδειν ἔαν [cp. inf. 4] τι ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ.) In the region of past time, where the classical language according to rule employs the optative, the N.T. in this as in other cases retains the conjunctive (though not always in St. Luke, see § 66, 3): A. 4. 21 μηδὲν εὑρίσκοντες τὸ πῶς κολάσωνται αὐτούς. The use of the fut. ind. (also possible in classical Greek) in such sentences is hardly attested by Ph. 1. 22 τί αἱρήσομαι οὐ γνωρίζω, where the better punctuation is τί αἱρήσομαι; (cp. § 77, 6; B has αἱρήσωμαι).

2. Final clauses introduced by ἵνα, δπως, μή have very largely extended the range of their use in the N.T. in consequence of the infinitive being expressed by a periphrasis with *īna*; we are here only concerned with the mood, which is in no way influenced by the character of *īna*, whether it be a true final particle or not. This mood in the N.T. is generally the conjunctive, without regard to the right which the optative formerly possessed of expressing purpose from a past point of view, or from that of some person introduced by the narrator<sup>1</sup>; to a rather less extent the future indicative is also introduced, and just where in classical Greek it is *not* found, namely after *īna* and final *μή*, whereas the Attic use of δπως and δπως μή in connection with the fut. ind. (after verbs of deliberating, striving, taking care) is not found in the N.T. With verbs of this class the particles used throughout the N.T. are *īna* and for negative *īna μή* or *μή*: δπως, in so far as it appears at all (never in the Apoc., only once in St. John's Gospel,<sup>2</sup> and not often in St. Paul), is limited to a purely final meaning and to its use in connection with verbs of asking (*παρακαλεῖν* etc.). “Οπως has further lost, with the exception of some few passages in Luke and a quotation from the LXX., the ἄν which is often appended to it in Attic Greek; this particle was never even in Attic annexed to *īna* and *μή*. On μή (μήποτε) expressing apprehension, vide inf. 3.—The fut. ind. after *īna* occurs most frequently in the Apocalypse: 22. 14 ἵνα ἔσται ... καὶ εἰσέλθωσιν (thus the two forms are regarded as equivalent), 3. 9 ἵνα ἥξουσιν (-ωσι B) καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν (-σωσιν B) ... καὶ γνῶσιν (B reads γνώση)

<sup>1</sup> The supposed optat. δώῃ in E. 1. 17 is really conjunctive (§ 23, 4; B gives correctly δῷ).

<sup>2</sup> The passage is 11. 57, where δπως is evidently used for the sake of variety, since a *īna* has occurred immediately before; the same reason applies to its use in St. Paul in 1 C. 1. 29, 2 C. 8. 14, 2 Th. 1. 12 (but not in 2 C. 8. 11, G. 1. 4, Philem. 6: *īna* ... *īna* occurs in G. 4. 5, 1 C. 4. 6).

not well), 8. 3 δώσει (-γ BP), similarly in 13. 16 (written δωσι, from which the wrong reading δῶσι(ν) arose). See also 6. 4, 11, 9. 4, 5, 20, 13. 12, 14. 13. In St. Paul we have: 1 C. 9. 15 ἵνα τις (οὐδεὶς is wrong) κενώσει, 18 ἵνα θίσω, 13. 3 παραδῷ ἵνα κανθίσομαι (the readings -σωμαι CK, κανχήσωμαι NAB are wrong), G. 2. 4 καταδουλώσοντιν (NAB\* CDE), Phil. 2. 11. Also probably 1 Th. 5. 10 ἵνα ζήσομεν (A; D\* E have ζῶμεν; the aorist ζήσωμεν of κ etc. would mean 'come to life again' as in R. 14. 9): in this passage ἀν is also omitted from an intervening clause, ἵνα εἴτε γρηγορῶμεν εἴτε καθεύδωμεν κ.τ.λ., cp. Ph. 1. 27 ἵνα εἴτε ἀκούων (conj.). Other passages are: 1 P. 3. 1 κερδηθήσονται, Jo. 17. 2 δώσει (-γ N<sup>o</sup> ACG al., δῶσω N\*, ἔχῃ D), L. 14. 10 ἐρεῖ with v.l. in AD al. εἴπῃ, 20. 10 δώσοντιν with v.l. in CD al. δῶσιν. With μή: Col. 2. 8 βλέπετε μή ... ἔσται, H. 3. 12 βλέπετε μήποτε ... ἔσται. A special instance is that where a conj. after ἵνα (or μή) is succeeded by a fut. linked on to the conj. by a καὶ to denote a further result: A. 21. 24 ἵνα ξυρήσωνται (-ονται N<sup>o</sup>B\*D<sup>2</sup>E al.) ..., καὶ γνώσονται, for which καὶ γνῶσιν was at any rate possible; the same arrangement is used elsewhere in the N.T., and moreover in cases where the second verb should, strictly speaking, have been subordinated to the final particle; there appears therefore to be a kind of Hebraism underlying this construction, as in the LXX. this habit of writing the second verb in the future is very widely extended (Viteau, p. 81 f.). Eph. 6. 3 O.T. ἵνα ... γένηται καὶ ἔσῃ, Jo. 15. 8 ἵνα καρπὸν ... φέρητε καὶ γενήσεσθε (γένησθε BDL al.) ἐμοὶ μαθηταί, L. 22. 30 (with many vv.ll.), 12. 58 (μήποτε), Mt. 5. 25 (ditto), Mc. 5. 23 (according to A), Mt. 13. 15 = Jo. 12. 40 = A. 28. 27 O.T. (Is. 6. 10 μήποτε or ἵνα μή), Barn. 4. 3 ἵνα ταχύνῃ καὶ ἥξει (N for -ξῃ), Herm. Mand. vi. 2. 10, Sim. ix. 7. 6, 28. 5. There is the same construction after an independent conj., ἀγοράσωμεν καὶ δώσομεν Mc. 6. 37 ALΔ (-ωμεν NBD, al. δῶμεν); and in Hermas after an imperat., Vis. i. 1. 3 λάβε καὶ ἀποδώσεις μοι, Mand. ii. 1 ἀκακος γίνον καὶ ἔσῃ ὡς (estō Lat.).—Οπως δν occurs in L. 2. 35, A. 3. 19, 15. 17 O.T. (Amos 9. 12, our text has no ἀν); also in a quotation in R. 3. 4 = Ps. 51. 6.—The present indic. after ἵνα is of course simply due to corruption of the text.<sup>1</sup>

3. Μή after words expressing apprehension (*φοβοῦμαι* etc.) is not final, but is akin to the μή which expresses apprehension in independent sentences such as μή ἀγροκότερον γ 'it is perhaps too rude' (Plato). Still from one point of view this μή does border on the meaning of final μή, since an apprehension of something eventually happening has for its immediate result the purpose of avoiding this thing. In the N.T. this μή of apprehension is usually strengthened by ποτε or πως: μήποτε, μήπως. On the other hand the idea of negation in the μή is so far weakened, that it is used to introduce something which is surmised, where there is no idea of warding it off: accordingly in Hellenistic Greek μήποτε in a principal clause means 'perhaps,' in a dependent clause 'if perchance,' 'if possibly':

<sup>1</sup> Jo. 5. 20 NL, G. 6. 12 ACF al., Tit. 2. 4 N\*AF al. etc. . But φυσιῶσθε 1 C. 4. 6 and ζηλοῦτε G. 4. 17 are conjunctives, see § 22, 3.

(L. 3. 15 an indirect question), 2 Tim. 2. 25 μήποτε δῷ<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς κ.τ.λ. If the thing (surmised or) feared is something negative, then the formation (as in classical Greek) is μὴ οὐ: Mt. 25. 9 μήποτε οὐκ ἀρκέσῃ ΣΑΛΣ, for which BCD al. have the not impossible reading μ. οὐ μὴ ἀρκ. (ἀρκέσει D). The classical construction, if the apprehension has reference to something which is still dependent on the will, is always the conjunctive: if it refers to something which has already taken place or generally to something independent of the will, any tense of the indicative may also be used (the indicative is always used in reference to a past event). In the N.T. the phrase φοβοῦμαι μή is found only in Luke and Paul (Hebrews): A. 23. 10 φοβηθεὶς (HLP εἰλαβηθεὶς) μὴ διασπασθῆ, cp. 27. 17, 29, 2 C. 11. 3 (μήπως), 12. 20 (ditto), G. 4. 11 (ditto), H. 4. 1 here μήποτε δοκῆ, in G. 4. 11, with reference to something which has taken place, it takes the perf. indic. (κεκοπίακα), elsewhere the aor. conj.; clearly this construction φοβοῦμαι μή was a literary and not a popular one (Viteau, p. 83). There is a greater frequency of **dependent** clauses with μήποτε (μήπως), which are attached to any verb, to express the accompanying feeling of apprehension by which the action related is influenced, the construction varying as before: G. 2. 2 ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ..., μήπως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω (conj.) η̄ ἔδραμον, 1 Th. 3. 5 ἐπεμψα εἰς τὸ γνῶναι τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν, μήπως ἐπέρασεν ὑμᾶς ὁ στατανᾶς καὶ εἰς κενὸν γένηται (the issue feared) ὁ κύπος ὑμῶν (L. 3. 15 with optat., see § 66, 3). There is a transition to final μή in L. 14. 8 f. μὴ κατακλιθῆς ..., μήποτε ... η̄ κεκλημένος<sup>2</sup> (η̄ξει D) ..., καὶ ἐρεῖ (cp. supra 2). As in the last passage D has the fut. = conj., so we find this tense occasionally elsewhere: Mc. 14. 2 μήποτε ἔσται (Mt. 7. 6 v.l.), Herm. Sim. ix. 28. 7, Mand. x. 2. 5 (ἐντεύξεται should be read for -ηται); cp. βλέπετε μὴ (μήποτε) έσται Col. 2. 8, H. 3. 12, final (supra 2).—**Independent** clauses with μή and the conj. usually have an imperative meaning, § 64, 2; under this head comes 1 Th. 5. 15 ὄράτε μήτις ἀπόδοι, ἀλλὰ ... δώκετε (on ὄράτε before the imperat. and conj. see §§ 64, 2; 79, 4). An exception to this is Mt. 25. 9 μήποτε οὐκ ἀρκέσῃ, vide supra.

4. Of **conditional sentences** the four following forms exist in classical Greek: (1) εἰ with indicative, denoting something which is simply regarded as actual; (2) εάν with conjunctive, to express that which from the given stand-point of present time, the time in question being either general or a special occasion, I wish to denote as under certain circumstances actual or liable to happen; (3) εἰ with optative, if I wish to represent anything as generally possible, without regard to the general or actual situation at the moment (hence also used with reference to a position of affairs in past time); (4) εἰ with imperfect, aorist, or pluperfect indicative, to denote that the actual state of things is the opposite to the case supposed, vide supra § 63, 2 and 3. The distinction between (1) and (2) is very slight in

<sup>1</sup> Not δῷ optat.; cp. § 23, 4 and supra 2, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> This perf. conj. also occurs in Jo. 17. 19, 23, 1 C. 1. 10, 2 C. 1. 9, and is in all cases easily intelligible.

the case of *εἰ* with the fut. indic., since *ἔάν* with the aor. conj. also generally refers to the future—*ἔάν πέσῃ = si ceciderit*; the indicative, however, expresses a more definite expectation.—In the N.T. (3) is hardly represented (see § 66, 4); (1) and (2) have come into still closer contact, as is seen especially in the fact that *ἔάν* may also be joined with the indicative. We note at the outset that the dissyllabic form of this particle is the regular one (cp. *ἔαντοῦ*, where Attic has both *ἔαντοῦ* and *ἀντοῦ*), whereas inversely the form *ἔάν* for *ἄν* is frequently employed in relative sentences (inf. 7), § 26, 4. Still ‘and if,’ ‘even if,’ may be *καὶ*: Mt. 21. 21 (D *καὶ ... ἔάν*), L. 13. 9 (*καὶ ἔάν* D) etc. (see § 5, 2). Externally then the prominent distinction between (1) and (2) is that the negative used with *εἰ* is *οὐ*, while with *ἔάν* it is (as in all Attic conditional sentences) *μή*, see § 75, 3. But the internal distinction between the two forms has not been quite lost. It is only modern Greek which denotes every ‘if’ by *ἄν*; in the N.T. *εἰ* with the indicative is obligatory for all suppositions referring to what has already taken place: Mc. 3. 26 *εἰ ὁ σταυρὸς ἀνέστη ἐφ' ἔαντόν* (which according to the speech of Christ's opponent must already have taken place), contrast ibid. 24 in an imaginary instance, *ἔὰν βασιλείᾳ ἐφ' ἔαντὴν μερισθῇ*. The same distinction holds good where the two forms occur in even closer connection, as in Jo. 13. 17 *εἰ ταῦτα οἴδατε* (present reality), *μακάριοί ἔστε ἔὰν ποιῆτε αὐτά* (future), or 1 C. 7. 36 *εἰ δέ τις ἀσχημονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον αὐτοῦ νομίζει* (reality), *ἔὰν γὰρ ὑπέρακμος* (future), i.e. the indicative is used where a supposition is made with regard to something now actually existing, and the only irregularity is that this present indicative is occasionally preceded by *ἔάν* instead of *εἰ*: 1 Jo. 5. 15 *ἔὰν οἴδαμεν* (the reading of N<sup>o</sup> *ἴδωμεν* is not good),<sup>1</sup> 1 Th. 3. 7 *ἔὰν ὑμεῖς στήκετε* (-ητε *\*DE*), whereas before the imperf. and aor. indic. the N.T. like classical Greek always uses *εἰ*.<sup>2</sup> (Inversely in 1 Th. 5. 10 *εἴτε ... εἴτε* takes the conjunctive, in a clause inserted in the middle of a final sentence, vide supra 2.) *Eἰ* with the pres. indic. is used with reference to present reality also in G. 1. 9 (8 is different); on the other hand *ἔάν* with pres. conj. is very rarely so used, A. 5. 38 *ἔὰν γὰρ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡ βουλὴ αὐτῇ κ.τ.λ.* followed in 39 by *εἰ δὲ ἐκ θεοῦ ἔστιν*, where we should no doubt understand the meaning to be: ‘If perchance it should be—but if, as these persons maintain, it really is’ etc. That in fact is very often the meaning of this *εἰ*: ‘if really’ (as is maintained), or even ‘if accordingly’ (as follows from what has been said): in the latter case it approximates to the meaning of *ἐπει*. *Eἰ ταῦτα ποιεῖς* (‘really’), *φανέρωσον σεαυτὸν τῷ κόσμῳ* Jo. 7. 4. *Eἰ τὸν χόρτον ... δὲ θεὸς οὕτως ἀμφιέννυσιν* (‘accordingly’, see verses 28 f.), *πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς* Mt. 6. 30. ‘*Ἔάν*, on the other hand, when referring to an actually

<sup>1</sup> Not very different in meaning is 1 Jo. 2. 29 *ἔὰν εἰδῆτε*, where the transition from *εἰ* with indic. to the other, apparently less suitable, mode of expression (*ἔὰν c. conj.*) is quite carried out (‘as’ or ‘as soon as you know ... , so you also know’).

<sup>2</sup> LXX. also has *ἔὰν σὺ ησθα* Job 22. 3.

existing state of things, makes the supposition indefinite: 1 C. 4. 15 ἐὰν γὰρ μηρίους παθάγωγοὺς ἔχητε ('even if you should have'), Jo. 5. 31 ἐὰν ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ ('if perchance'; one might also treat μαρτυρῶ as an indic., vide supra) περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ, ή μαρτυρίᾳ μονού ἔστιν ἀληθής.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, with reference to things which may or may not happen at any time, ἐὰν with the pres. conj. is the regular construction, though indeed in the N.T. εἰ with the indic. is also found used in this way: Mt. 5. 29 εἰ ὁ ὄφθαλμός σου σκανδαλίζει σε, cp. 30, 18. 8 f. (but ἐὰν σκανδαλίζῃ Mc. 9. 43, 45, 47), L. 6. 32 εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε, but in 33 ἐὰν ἀγαθοποιῆτε (Mt. 5. 46 ἐὰν ἀγαπήσητε). Quite incorrect is Mc. 9. 42 καλόν ἔστιν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον εἰ περίκειται ... καὶ βέβληται (D is correct with περιέκειτο ... ἐβλήθη), = L. 17. 2 (περιέκειτο - ἐρ(ρ)ιπτο D). Ἐάν with the pres. conj. in other cases refers to the future: ἐὰν θέλης, δύνασαι<sup>2</sup> Mt. 8. 2 etc., ἐὰν με δέῃ Mc. 14. 31, 1 Jo. 2. 3 ἐὰν τηρῶμεν (φυλάξωμεν &\*), cp. 1 ἵνα μὴ ἀμάρτητε and ἐὰν τις ἀμάρτῃ.

5. (*Continuation: εἰ with future, ἐὰν with aor. conj. and fut.*) The connection of εἰ with the fut. indic. is quite rare in the N.T., but keeps fairly well its meaning of a definite supposition: Mt. 26. 33 = Mc. 14. 29 εἰ (καὶ) πάντες σκανδαλισθήσονται (i.e. as you have just now said; cp. supra 4); 2 Tim. 2. 12 εἰ ἀρνησόμεθα parallel with εἰ συναπεθάνομεν ... εἰ ὑπομένομεν κ.τ.λ.; 1 P. 2. 20 twice εἰ ὑπομενεῖτε, preceded by εἰ ὑποφέρει τις 19: in this case ἐὰν ὑποφέρῃ and ἐὰν ὑπομείνητε might at least be thought to be equally possible. In L. 11. 8 εἰ καὶ οὐ δώσει is incorrect for ἐὰν καὶ μὴ δῷ; cp. the intermixture of fut. and aor. conj. ibid. 5 ff. The fut. is correct in 1 C. 9. 11 θερίσομεν (-σωμεν CDE al.) and 3. 14 f. εἰ μενέ ... εἰ κατακαήσεται, of a definite point of future time, the day of judgment (Ap. 13. 10 v.l.). — For ἐὰν with fut. indic. there is no quite certain instance: see Mt. 18. 19 ἐὰν συμφωνήσοντιν (-ωσιν FGK̄M al.), a general statement; L. 19. 40 ἐὰν σιωπήσοντιν &AB al., σιγήσοντιν D, σιωπήσωσιν ΓΔ al., of something impending at the present moment; A. 8. 31 ἐὰν μὴ τις ὁδηγήσει με &B\*CE (ditto); Ap. 2. 22 &A (ditto, but in 5 ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς). Cp. Herm. Mand. v. 1. 2 ἐὰν ἔσῃ (as pr. man. ή), iv. 3. 7 ἐὰν μηκετὶ προσθήσω, Vis. i. 3. 2 v.l. The bulk of the instances exhibit the aor. conj. both in general statements and in those referring to what is now impending: cp. for the latter case Mt. 21. 25 ἐὰν εἴπωμεν, Jo. 16. 7 ἐὰν μὴ ἀπέλθω ... ἐὰν δὲ πορευθῶ. It is further used (in the province of the optative, see § 66, 4) with reference to what was impending in a past state of things: ἐὰν εὗρῃ A. 9. 2. A peculiar use is that in Mc. 10. 30 οὐδέις ἔστιν ... ἐὰν (D ὃς ἀν, cp. L. 18. 30) μὴ λάβῃ 'without his receiving.'

6. **Concessive** sentences introduced by εἰ καὶ or ἐὰν καὶ 'even if' call for no special remarks, especially as there is no real distinction between them and conditional sentences. Καὶ which unites in itself

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 8. 14 καὶ ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ, ἀληθής ἔστιν ή μαρτυρίᾳ μονού 'even if ever.'

<sup>2</sup> The Hellenistic εἰ θέλεις corresponds to the French s'il vous plaît, Herodas 7. 70, 8. 6 etc.; so in the N.T. Mt. 17. 4 εἰ θέλεις ποιήσω(μεν).

the meanings of ‘and if,’ ‘if only,’ ‘if even’ (*etsi*) does not come under this category; cp. § 78, 7.<sup>1</sup> But *ει* is used in a special sense to express the **expectation** attending an action, Lat. *si* (*forte*) (classical Greek uses *ει* and *έαν* thus): it is strengthened by *ἄρα* or *ἄραγε* and becomes equivalent to the *ει* in an indirect question, with which this *ει* was regarded as identical, and is also extended by the addition of *πως* (only found after *ει* and *μή* in the N.T.): A. 27. 12, R. 1. 10, 11. 14, Ph. 3. 11. This *ει* may therefore govern the conjunctive, Ph. 3. 12 διώκω *ει* καταλάβω, cp. supra 1 and (for the kindred *μή*, *μήποτε* ‘whether perchance’) 3, or the fut. indic. A. 8. 22 *ει* *ἄρα* ἀφεθῆσται. We may further note *ει μή* (class.), *ει μή τι*, *ἐκτὸς ει μή* ‘except if,’ ‘except,’ ‘except that.’ Of these *ει μή* is generally not followed by a verb, though we also have G. 1. 7 *ει μή τινες εἰσὶν = πλὴν ὅτι* (A. 20. 23) *τ. ε.* ‘except that’; 1 C. 7. 17 *ει μή (= πλὴν, § 77, 13) ... περιπατέτω* ‘howbeit’; for this we have *έὰν μή* (without a verb) in Mc. 4. 22 ΙB, cp. § 77, 13, G. 2. 16 (also in Attic, but not frequently); *ει μή τι ἀν* (*ἀν* om. B) *ἐκ συμφώνου* ‘except perhaps by agreement’ 1 C. 7. 5, but with a verb in 2 C. 13. 5 *ει μή τι ἀδόκιμοι ἔστε* ‘it must then be the case that,’ and with a conj. in L. 9. 13 *ει μή τι πορευθέντες ἡμεῖς ἀγοράσωμεν* (all uncials), ‘unless perhaps we buy’<sup>2</sup>; *ἐκτὸς ει μή* takes the aor. indic. in 1 C. 15. 2, the conj. in 14. 5 *ἐκτὸς ει μή διερμηνεύῃ* (v.l. -ων D\*), and stands without a verb in 1 Tim. 5. 19. In these connections therefore *ει* and *έαν* are interchanged, and the latter is generally replaced by the former; similarly in the elliptical phrase *ει δὲ μή (γε)* ‘otherwise’ *ει* often stands where *έαν* would be used if the sentence were written in full, while *έαν δὲ μή* does not appear at all (so Attic).<sup>3</sup> Apart from these special combinations (and apart from *ειτε ... ειτε* after *ἴva*, supra 2) *ει* with the conj. is not found (the reading in Ap. 11. 5 *καὶ ει ... θελήσῃ* is quite uncertain; perhaps we should write *κάν* from the KAIH of Ι\*).

7. Relative sentences take the conjunctive in two ways: (1) with *ἀν* in the kind of hypothetical sentence such as *ὅστις ἀν θέλῃ = έάν τις θέλῃ*, (2) without *ἀν*, the relative having a final sense, where this construction supplants, though not entirely, the Attic future indicative. The place of *ἀν* is according to the popular manner of the time taken by *έαν*, the MSS. of course showing very great uncertainty about the reading<sup>4</sup>; the position of the particle is as in Attic immediately after the relative, unless perhaps *δέ* or *γάρ* is interposed. The negative with the conjunctive is always *μή*, with the indicative it is usually *οὐ*, even in cases where *μή* is used in Attic, cp. § 75, 3

<sup>1</sup> Κάν has also become a particle meaning ‘even only,’ A. 5. 15, 2 C. 11. 16, Clem. Cor. ii. 7. 2, 18. 2 (Attic).

<sup>2</sup> Viteau, p. 114 explains the conj. as deliberative, sc. *βούλει* (‘unless we should buy’).

<sup>3</sup> Krüger, § 65, 5, 12.

<sup>4</sup>\* Os *έὰν* Mt. 5. 19 (*έὰν* om. D\*, *ἀν* D<sup>c</sup>): 10. 14 δι *έὰν* CEF al. (*ἀν* ΙBDKL): A. 7. 7 ω̄ *έὰν* (*ἀν* BD) O.T. Also in the London papyrus of Aristotle (οἱ *έὰν* col. 12, 31, chap. 30. 2). Cp. § 26, 4.

(similarly *εἰ οὐ*, supra 4). Now in constructions with a relative sentence, which might be replaced by hypothetical clauses, no statement is made about anything concrete and actual, but only a general statement or supposition; consequently ὃς (or ὅστις, § 50, 1) ἀν, corresponding to ἔαν, appears to be the regular phrase. So L. 8. 18 ὃς γὰρ ἀν (ἀν γὰρ καὶ BLX) ἔχη, δοθήσεται αὐτῷ, καὶ ὃς ἀν μὴ ἔχη, καὶ ὃς ἔχει (no longer hypothetical, the supposition having already been made in ὃς ἀν μὴ ἔχη) ἀρθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. But the same saying takes the form in Mt. (13. 12) and Mc. (4. 25) of ὃς (ὅστις) γὰρ ἔχει (ἀν ἔχη in Mc. AE<sup>2</sup>G al., ἀν ἔχει DE<sup>2</sup>F al.) ... ὃς οὐκ ἔχει (Ε<sup>2</sup>G al. οὐκ ἔχη). The indicative, which also appears in classical Greek, in such sentences expresses the definite assumption that such persons exist. This assumption occasionally arises directly from the circumstances: L. 9. 50 (= Mc. 9. 40) ὃς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι καθ' ὑμῶν, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔστιν, cp. 49.—The same relation exists between the aor. conj. and the fut. ind. as between the pres. conj. and pres. ind., and the distinction here also frequently appears to be obliterated: Mt. 18. 4 (ὅστις ταπεινώσται ἑαυτόν, whereas in 23. 12 with the same sense the future tense may be purposely used with reference to the future of the disciples), 5. 39 (the reading of καὶ βαπτίσει is not good), 41, 10. 32 ὅστις ὄμολογήσει answering to 33 ὅστις δὲ ἀρνήσηται (and cp. L. 12. 8). Of course the fut. may also be equivalent to the pres. with ἀν, and the latter be equivalent to the fut. (continuous action): L. 17. 31 ὃς ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος. The fut. ind. is equally admissible after ὃς ἀν as it is after ἔαν, but there is a lack of certain instances of this construction: Mc. 8. 35 ἀπολέσει καὶ BCD<sup>2</sup> al. (-ση AL al.), L. 17. 33 do. καὶ AL al. (-ση BDE al.), 12. 8 ὄμολογήσει AB<sup>2</sup>DR al., A. 7. 7 O.T. ACD, Barn. 11. 8 δὲ ἔαν ἔξελεύσεται καὶ C<sup>1</sup>: while the present indic. ὅποι ἀν ἴπαγει Ap. 14. 4 only rests on the authority of AC and must certainly be rejected. The possibility of ἀν being omitted with ὅστις is maintained, but in no case are all the MSS. in agreement: Mt. 10. 33 (om. ἀν BL), Ja 2. 10 ὅστις ... τηρήσῃ (καὶ BC, σει AKLP), πταισῃ δὲ ἐν ἐνί (καὶ ABC, σει KLP); ὅσοι without ἀν is found twice in Herm. Sim. viii. 11. 3.

8. (*Continuation*).—Relative sentences with a final meaning occasionally show instances of the fut. in the N.T. as in Attic: Mc. 1. 2 = Mt. 11. 10, L. 7. 27 ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου ..., ὃς κατασκευάσει (O.T. Malachi 3. 1, but our LXX. has a different text), 1 C. 4. 17 (but we also say ‘who shall’), but elsewhere the conj. is used, which must be explained by assimilation to sentences with ἵνα, which are elsewhere found with the same meaning. Mc. 14. 14 = L. 22. 11 ποῦ ἔστιν τὸ κατάλιμα ὅποι φάγω (D in Mc. has φάγομαι), = ἵνα φάγω: A. 21. 16 ἀγοντες παρ' ϕένισθωμεν Μνάσωνι, = προς Μνάσωνα ἵνα ξεν. παρ' αὐτῷ. On the other hand we have ἵνα in 2 C. 12. 7 ἐδόθη μοι σκόλοψ ... ἄγγελος σπανᾶ, ἵνα με κολαφίζῃ (Viteau p. 134 f.).—Akin to these are the relative sentences which denote a kind of consequence resulting from some particular quality or state, and which in Latin

<sup>1</sup> As ἀν συντελέσοντι occurs in an inscription in a translation from the Latin, Vierck Sermo Graecus senatus Rom. (Gtg. 1888), p. 38. 67, 8.

take the conjunctive like final relative sentences. In this case we have the fut. in L. 7. 4 ἀξιός ἔστιν φάρεξη (mid.) τοῦτο, cp. Lat. *dignus qui* with conj.; on the other hand ἵνα is used in Jo. 1. 27 ἀξιός ἵνα λύσω (equivalent to ἰκανὸς λύσω Mc. 1. 7 etc.: classical Greek takes the inf. after ἀξιός as well).—In οὐκ ἔχω δὲ παραθήσω L. 11. 6 the future is classical, but δὲ is not, as τι must have been used (for the delib. conj. in indirect questions vide supra 1); in ἔχειν τι δὲ προσενέγκη H. 8. 3 (cp. Clem. Cor. i. 38. 2 ἔδωκεν δι' οὐ προσαναπληρωθῆ) the fut. would be used in classical Greek, cp. Phil. 2. 20 οὐδένα ἔχω ... ὅστις μεριμνήσει. Here again the infinitive would be possible, ἔχει τι προσενέγκαι, and that in the N.T. might be replaced by ἵνα, Jo. 5. 7, see § 69, 4.

9. **Temporal sentences** introduced by ὅτε, ὅταν (ὅποτε only in L. 6. 3 AEH al., ὅτε καὶ BCD al.), (ἐπεί only in L. 7. 1 with v.l. ἐπειδὴ; elsewhere ἐπεί is causal in the N.T.), ὡς etc. (see § 78, 3), are generally only a special class of relative sentences, and exhibit the same constructions. "Οτε is found very frequently with the aorist indicative, but according to circumstances also takes the imperfect, perfect (1 C. 13. 11 ὅτε γέγονα, but B has ἐγένομην), present (H. 9. 17), and future. The last tense usually occurs in phrases like ἔρχεται ὥρα ὅτε προσκυνήσετε Jo. 4. 21, cp. 23, 5. 25, 28, 16. 25, L. 17. 22 (ὅτε ἐπιθυμήσετε, D. τοῦ ἐπιθυμῆσαι ὑμᾶς), 2 Tim. 4. 3, which are closely related to relative phrases such as οὐδέν ἔστιν κεκαλυμμένον δὲ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται (Mt. 10. 26),<sup>1</sup> (and therefore in the former as in the latter instances the place of the fut. may be taken by the infin., and that again may be replaced by ἵνα with conj., Jo. 16. 2 ἔρχεται ὥρα ἵνα δοξῇ). Hence in accordance with what was said in 8 the conj. (without ἀν) may also take the place of this fut.: L. 13. 35 ἔως ἦξει ὅτε (the time when) εἴπητε (so AD etc.; there is a v.l. ἔως ἀν εἴπητε, agreeing with Mt. 23. 39). Elsewhere ὅτε does not appear with the conj.; a further instance of its use with the fut. is R. 2. 16 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὅτε κρινεῖ (v.l. ἐν ᾧ ἡμ. κρινεῖ, or according to Marcion's N.T., simply κρινεῖ, cp. § 79, 7), whereas in other places ὅταν with the conj. is used in this way: Mt. 9. 15 ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ, cp. Mc. 2. 20, for which Luke uses the more awkward, but more correct construction (5. 35) ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι, καὶ (§ 77, 6) ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ..., τότε νηστεύσονται (καὶ om. καὶ C. al.). The use of ὅταν is more justifiable in Mt. 26. 29 (Mc. 14. 25) ἔως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν πίνω, since the phrase is a periphrasis for Attic πρὶν ἀν.—"Οταν with the indicative denotes in the first place indefinite frequency in past time, see § 63, 7; secondly it is used quite incorrectly in Ap. 8. 1 ὅταν ἤνοιξε AC (ὅτε καὶ P, and so this author writes elsewhere, 6. 1, 3 etc.; in modern Greek ὅταν is 'when' as ἀν is 'if'); besides this it corresponds to ἔαν with the indic. (supra 4) in L. 13. 28 ὅταν ὄψεσθε B\*DX (-ησθε AB<sup>corr.</sup> al., ἔσητε καὶ), Mc. 11. 25 ὅταν στήκετε (cp. ἔαν στήκετε 1 Th. 3. 7, but there there is a reason for it [see above 4], which in the passage from St. Mark is not the case) ACD al. (-ητε BG al., στήτε καὶ);

<sup>1</sup> For this Mc. 4. 22 has ἐὰν μὴ ἵνα φανερωθῇ, = perhaps ὡστε φανερωθῆναι or in better Attic οἷον φανερωθῆναι.

elsewhere its use is insufficiently attested (L. 11. 2 προσεύχεσθε ACH al.; Jo. 7. 27 ἔρχεται καὶ etc.; the evidence for ἀκούετε Mc. 13. 7 is quite insufficient). Cp. Clem. Cor. ii. 12. 1 ὅταν ἔσται (quotation), 17. 6, Barn. 15. 5 καὶ.

10. (*Continuation*).—Temporal particles and compound expressions with the meaning ‘until’ (‘while’), ἔως, ἔως οὐ (ότου), ἐν φ., ἄχρις(s), ἄχρις οὖ, μέχρις, μέχρις οὖ (§ 78, 3) take the indicative in the regular way (the fut. ind. is rare, it is a v.l. in L. 13. 35 [see 9]; the present is used instead in ἔως ἔρχομαι Jo. 21. 22, 1 Tim. 4. 13 ‘until I come’ [§ 56, 8] = ἐν φ. ἔρχομαι L. 19. 13,<sup>1</sup> cp. Mc. 6. 45 καὶ BL ἔως αὐτὸς ἀπολύει, v.l. ἀπολύσῃ σει, D αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπολύει; but here it may also mean ‘while’). But where they take the conjunctive, ἔως frequently, and ἔως οὐ (ότου), ἄχρις (οὗ), μέχρις οὖ probably always omit the ἀν: Mc. 13. 30 μέχρις οὖ (μ. οὗτον B, μέχρις καὶ, ἔως οὖ D) ταῦτα πάντα γένηται, 1 C. 11. 26 ἄχρι οὐ (ἀν add. καὶ D<sup>c</sup> al.) ἐλθῃ, E. 4. 13 μέχρι κατανήσωμεν, L. 21. 24 ἄχρι οὐ (οὖ om. A al.) πληρωθῶσιν, L. 17. 8 ἔως (ἀν add. AK al.) φάγω, Mc. 14. 32 ἔως προσεύξωμαι (D al. -ομαι), 2 Th. 2. 7 (ἔως ἀν FG); ἀν is used in Mt. 5. 26 ἔως ἀν ἀποδῆς and in all other passages (Ap. 2. 25 ἄχρι οὐ ἀν ἥξω; the fut. occurs without ἀν in 17. 17, but B reads τελεσθῶσιν as in 15. 8, 20. 3, 5). We even have ἄχρι ἡμέρας γένηται L. 1. 20. The reason for this usage of the language, which may be traced back a long way (Herodotus, Thucydides and others<sup>2</sup>), is probably to be found in the fact that these sentences have a certain affinity with final sentences; sentences with πρίν have this same affinity, in which the omission of ἀν is specially frequent in classical authors, but in the N.T. these have been considerably supplanted by clauses formed with ἔως etc. (πρίν with the conj. appears in L. 2. 26 πρίν η [ἡ om. B] ἀν [ἀν om. AD al.] ἰδῃ, but καὶ here also has ἔως ἀν ἰδῃ: 22. 34 πρίν η ἀπαρνήσῃ AG al., but ἔως is read by καὶ BL, ἔως οὐ K al., ἔως οὗτον D; with the optative A. 25. 16, see § 66, 5).

## § 66. REMAINS OF THE OPTATIVE.

1. The optative in principal sentences to denote a practicable (see § 63, 5) wish has not yet gone out of use in the N.T.<sup>3</sup> (the negative is μή). Μή γένοιτο occurs in L. 20. 16 and frequently in Paul (to express strong aversion, LXX. has the same phrase, Hebr. **תִּלְכְּלָה**). 1 Th. 5. 23 ἀγιάσαι: Philem. 20 ἐγώ σου ὀναίμην: Mc. 11. 14 μηκέτι

<sup>1</sup> Viteau, p. 129 f. explains the passages in Lc. and Jo. as meaning ‘while I go’ or ‘withdraw myself,’ though this explanation cannot be applied to the passage in 1 Tim. All other explanations than that given above are completely discredited by its use in Hermas Sim. v. 2. 2, ix. 10. 5, 6, 11. 1 ἐὰν δὲ μή ἐλθῃ, μενεῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁδεὶς ἔως ἔρχεται until he comes (which is a certainty, § 56, 8). One must therefore also attribute to ἐν φ. L. 19. 13 with the same present the meaning of ‘until,’ = εἰς δ. ? or = colloquial: “be trading... when I get back”?

<sup>2</sup> Krüger, § 54, 17, 3 (dialect. Synt. 54, 17, 5 and 9).

<sup>3</sup> There are 35 examples in all (Burton, p. 79), all with the exception of Philem. 20 in the 3rd person.

*μηδείς φάγοι.* But there is a strong inclination to use the imperative instead of the optative, not only in requests, where the imperative has a legitimate place in classical Greek as well, but also in imprecations, where it takes the place of the classical optative: ἀνάθεμα ἔστω G. 1. 6 f. cp. 1 C. 16. 22.<sup>1</sup> The single instance of the pres. opt. is A. 8. 20 τὸ ἀργύριον σου εἴη εἰς ἀπωλείαν. The Attic phrases *εἰ γάρ, εἴθε* to introduce a wish (§ 63, 5) are not found; ὅφελον (vide ibid.) is used with a fut. ind. to express a practicable wish in G. 5. 12 ὅφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς, ‘would that they would at once castrate themselves.’

2. The optative with *ἄν* in principal sentences to denote possibility (modus potentialis) has quite disappeared from the popular language; the unique instance of it (besides its use in questions) is A. 26. 29 (Paul before Agrippa, literary language) εὐξαίμην *ἄν* (cp. in class. Greek Aeschines 1. 159), whereas elsewhere ἐβούλόμην is used rather than βούλοιμην *ἄν*, § 63, 5, and in hypothetical sentences (infra 4) the optative (with *ἄν*) is at any rate never found in the principal clause. In many places where Attic could have used the potential mood, the N.T. uses the future indicative: R. 3. 6 ἐπεὶ πῶς κρινεῖ ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον; 1 C. 15. 35 ἐρεῖ τις (although this future is also not unclassical, § 61, 1; Buttm. p. 188). Instances of the optative also occur in Luke in direct questions: πῶς γάρ *ἄν* δυναίμην A. 8. 31 and τί *ἄν* θέλου οὗτος λέγειν 17. 18, cp. infra 3 (also taken from the literary language).

3. The optative of indirect speech (in subordinate clauses), answering to the indicative or conjunctive of direct speech, cannot be expected to occur with any frequency in the N.T., on account of the decided preference which the language in general shows for direct expression. Luke alone uses the optative occasionally, and even he never has it after *ὅτι* and *ώς*, and not often even in indirect questions proper (L. 22. 23 τίς ἄρα εἴη, 8. 9 τίς εἴη (εἴη om. LΞΓ); the following instances should probably all contain *ἄν* and the optative therefore answers to the potential mood of the direct question (supra 2):<sup>2</sup> L. 1. 29 ποταπὸς *ἄν* (add. D) εἴη, 62 τί *ἄν* θέλοι καλεῖσθαι, 6. 11, 9. 46, 15. 26 (*ἄν* om. ΚΑΓ al.; D τί θέλει τοῦτο εἶναι), 18. 32 (*ἄν* om. ΚΑΒΡ al.), Acts (2. 12 τί θέλει τοῦτο εἶναι a direct question; E *ἄν* θέλοι, Κ θέλοι, readings which in an indirect question are inadmissible after λέγοντες), 5. 24 τί *ἄν* γένοιτο τοῦτο, 10. 17. Besides this the optative of indirect speech is found after *εἰ* ‘whether’ (§ 65, 1 and 6) in A. 17. 27 ζητεῖν τὸν θεόν, *εἰ* ἄραγε ψηλαφίσειν αὐτὸν καὶ εὑροιεν, cp. 27. 12, 39, and after μήποτε ‘whether perhaps’ in L. 3. 15 μήποτε εἴη infra 4, and lastly in a dependent statement of time in indirect speech, A. 25. 16 vide infra 5.

4. While no example of the optative is found in final sentences (on E. 1. 17 see § 65, 2, note 1: 3, note 1), there are some few

<sup>1</sup> The optative in an imprecation of ill only occurs in Mc. 11. 14, A. 8. 20. In a quotation from Ps. 109. 8, A. 1<sup>o</sup> uses λαβέτω where the LXX. has λάβοι.

<sup>2</sup> An indirect question may also in classical Greek take every mood of the direct question, Krüger, § 54, 6, 6.

instances of it in hypothetical sentences. A. 24. 19 οὐς ἔδει ... κατηγορεῖν, εἰ τι ἔχοιεν πρὸς ἐμέ, which would certainly be more correctly expressed by εἰ τι ἔχοντι or ἐάν τι ἔχωσι: 20. 16 ἔσπενδεν γάρ, εἰ δυνατὸν εἴη αὐτῷ, ... γενέσθαι εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ (indirect; besides εἰ may very naturally be understood as meaning ‘whether,’ cp. 27. 12, 39, supra 3): 1 P. 3. 14 εἰ καὶ πάσχοιτε διὰ δικαιοσύνην, μακάριοι, 17 κρείττον ἀγαθοποιοῦντας, εἰ θέλοι τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, πάσχειν ἢ κακοποιοῦντας, ‘if perchance’ as in Attic (literary language). Besides these we have the formula εἰ τέχοι in St. Paul, 1 C. 14. 10, 15. 37.

5. In (relative and) temporal sentences there is no further instance besides A. 25. 16 (Festus’s words): ἀπεκρίθην ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἔθος χαρίζεσθαι ..., πρὶν ἢ δὲ κατηγορούμενος ἔχοι ... λάβοι τε, where the opt. is rightly used in indirect speech for the conj. of direct speech.

### § 67. IMPERATIVE.

1. The imperative in the N.T. keeps for the most part within the same limits as in the classical language; as in that language it by no means expresses simply a command, but also a request or a concession (Mc. 8. 32 ἵπαγετε, 2 C. 12. 6 ἔστω δέ). In the last case the imperative sentence may be equivalent to a concessive sentence: Jo. 2. 19 λίστατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ἐν τρισιν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτόν, = ἐὰν καὶ λίστητε; cp. in classical Greek Soph. Ant. 1168 ff. πλούτει τε γὰρ κατ’ οἶκον ... ἐὰν δὲ ἀπῆ τούτων τὸ χαῖρειν, τᾶλλ’ ἐγὼ καπνοῦ σκιᾶς οὐκ ἄν πραιάμην (Kühner ii. 201). On the encroachment of the imperative into the province of the optative see § 66, 1.

2. The imperative is frequently replaced by the conjunctive, see § 64, 2, by *ἴνα* or *θέλω* *ἴνα* with conj., ibid. 4, or by the fut. indic., ibid. 3; cp. Viteau p. 37. On the substitution of the infinitive for it see § 69, 1.

### § 68. INFINITIVE.

1. The infinitive is another of those forms which the language at a later period gave up, in favour of a periphrasis with *ἴνα* (mod. Greek *νά*) and the conjunctive, a construction which has already been largely developed in the N.T. But the infinitive is still abundantly used beside it by all writers, so that it depends on the discretion of the writer on each separate occasion whether he employs the synthetic or the analytical expression, though the latter is not in all cases open to use. The beginnings of this development may be traced not only in the earlier Hellenistic Greek, but also previously to that in classical Greek, the only difference being that in the classical language the particle used in the periphrasis is not *ἴνα* but *ὅπως*, e.g. *πειρᾶσθαι* *ὅπως* *σωζώμεθα* (Xenoph.) = *πειρᾶσθαι* *σωζέσθαι*, whereas later *ὅπως* retired more into the background (§ 65, 2) and finally disappeared. Cp. also the use of *ut* in Latin which is so frequently interchangeable with the infinitive.

2. From early times there existed in Greek a second analytical expression for the infinitive, namely ὅτι (*ώς*) with the **indicative**, with which cp. the Latin use of *quod* or *quia* (late Latin says *dico vobis quia unus vestrum me traditurus est*). The line of demarcation between the old ὅτι, which of course reappears in the N.T., and the new ἵνα is that the former has an indicative sense, the latter a conjunctive (or imperative) sense, while the infinitive is the ὄνομα ρήματος (as Apollonius calls it) with a neutral meaning between the two others. To express actual facts, therefore, particularly those which belong to past time, ἵνα can never be used in the periphrasis, but only ὅτι; on the other hand things which may be regarded as a contemplated result or one likely to occur, are expressed to a wide extent by ἵνα. The intervening province, viz. that which still belongs exclusively to the infinitive, is not a large one in the N.T.: under this head, for instance, comes the rule that δύνασθαι and μέλλειν are joined exclusively with the infinitive.

3. As the ὄνομα ρήματος the infinitive is capable of taking the neuter of the article, and this may be declined, and the cases of the infinitive so formed may be dependent on different prepositions. In this way the sphere of the infinitive has been very largely extended, so that it can also represent temporal and causal sentences. The N.T. retains this usage, and in particular employs the genitive with τοῦ in the most lavish way.

### § 69. INFINITIVE AND PERIPHRASIS WITH ἵνα.

1. The use of the infinitive in a **principal sentence** in place of a finite verb, with **imperative** sense and with the subject in the nominative<sup>1</sup>, is extremely old and found with special frequency in Homer, while in Attic it becomes less prominent. On the other hand the later classical language (especially in legal phraseology) uses the accusative and infinitive in this sense, or the simple infinitive with no subject expressed (*λέγειν* ‘one must say’ = *λεκτέον*), in which case the ideas accessory to the subject appear in the accusative.<sup>2</sup> At the same time Attic uses ὅπως with the fut. indic. with imperative sense. In the N.T. we find in a few passages ἵνα with the conj. used in a similar way, see § 64, 4: and the infinitive which is equivalent to it twice in St. Paul, R. 12. 15 *χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων, κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων*, Ph. 3. 16 *πλὴν εἰς ὃ ἐφθάσαμεν, τῷ αὐτῷ στοιχεῖν*. Where the subject has to be expressed Paul uses ἵνα: ἥ δὲ γυνὴ ἵνα φοβήσῃ τὸν ἄνδρα E. 5. 33. It is very easy here to supply a governing verb (a verbum dicendi or *χρῆ*, *δεῖ*), as it is with the (accusative and) infinitive; the infinitive *χαίρειν* to express a wish in epistolary style is clearly elliptical, A. 15. 23, 23. 26.

<sup>1</sup> Homer, Il. B. 75 ὑμεῖς δ' ἀλλοθεν ἀλλος ἐρητέειν ἐπέεσσιν. Aristoph. Ran. 133 τὸθ' εἴναι καὶ σὺ σαντόν.

<sup>2</sup> So in Aristotle, Bonitz Index Aristot. s. v. Infinitivus.

2. Of equal antiquity with the last usage is the use of the infinitive to express aim or object, which in Homer has a much wider range than in Attic writers, who for the most part only employ it after verbs containing the idea of to give, appoint, present, send etc. This infinitive, which is equivalent to a final sentence, has again become widely prevalent in the N.T.: Mt. 5. 17 οὐκ ἡλθον καταλύσαι, ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι; 4. 1 ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνίχθη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, πειρασθῆναι ἵπτον διαβόλου; L. 18. 10 ἀνέβησαν προσεύξασθαι; A. 10. 33 πάρεσμεν ἀκούσαι. (Attic would here use the future participle which in the N.T. is almost unused, § 61, 4.) Of course this infinitive is also found with διδόναι, ἀποστέλλειν etc. as in Attic: Mc. 3. 14 ἀποστέλλῃ κηρύσσειν (A. 5. 21 ἀπέστειλαν ἀχθῆναι αὐτοῖς) is different, the construction being passive, and the acc. and inf. being therefore used; cp. inf. 8), Mt. 25. 35 ἐδώκατε μοι φαγεῖν. Beside the inf. ἵνα also appears again: Mt. 27. 26 παρέδωκεν ἵνα σταυρωθῇ (= Mc. 15. 15, Jo. 19. 16), though in the case of a specially close connection of the two verbs in certain definite phrases the infinitive does not admit of being replaced by ἵνα: thus παραδίδονται φυλάσσειν A. 12. 4, 16. 4, διδόναι (*αἵτεῖν*) φαγεῖν, πιεῖν *passim*, while on the other hand where the connection is not so close and the subordinate clause is of greater length, ἵνα is the natural construction: though here the infin. may also be used, as in A. 20. 28 ἴμμας τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους, ποιμάνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κ.τ.λ., 1. 24 f. ἐξελέξω ... λαβεῖν κ.τ.λ. Moreover with regard to the use of ἵνα there is here and in all cases where the infinitive is in question a distinction between the different writers: John, Matthew, and Mark employ it very freely, Luke much more rarely, especially in the Acts, a work which has very few instances of the employment of this particle in an unclassical way; also in James, Peter, and the Epistle to the Hebrews it only appears as a strictly final particle.—A third construction with παραδίδονται etc. is *εἰς τὸ* with the infinitive, see § 71, 5; the participle, which is also so used in the N.T., offers another alternative construction, § 74, 2, and aim or object of any kind is very frequently denoted by means of *τοῦ* with the infinitive, § 71, 3.

3. Akin to the infinitive of aim is the infinitive of result, yet so far distinguished from it, that if the result is declared to be actual, ἵνα according to what has been said has, or at least should have, no place (vide infra). The particle used to introduce this infinitive is ὥστε as in classical Greek; the alternative use of the simple ὡς is no more certainly established for the N.T. than it is for ordinary Attic.<sup>1</sup> Ωστε is also used in the N.T. (as in classical Greek) to introduce independent sentences, when it takes the indicative, imperative, or hortatory conjunctive (meaning 'therefore'). It also occasionally takes the indicative where the sentence is really dependent (class.).

<sup>1</sup> In L. 9. 52 ὡς is only read by RB; A. 20. 24 ὡς τελειώσω Η\*(ἐώς τ. Η\*)B, ὡς τελειώσαι AHLP: τε has apparently fallen out before τελειώσαι, and so E has ὥστε (ὡς τὸ C). In Josephus, however, the traditional text often has a consecutive ὡς (with infin.), Raab de Jos. elocut. (Erlangen, 1890), p. 37.

Jo. 3. 16 οὗτως γὰρ ἵγαπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον, ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν (cp. further G. 2. 13); but in most cases of this kind it takes the infinitive (class.), the subject being usually added in the accusative, unless it can be obviously supplied from what has preceded (cp. § 72). The construction with the infinitive has a somewhat wider range than in Attic; in a sentence like A. 15. 39 ἐγένετο παροξυσμός, ὥστε ἀποχωρισθῆναι αὐτοὶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, an Attic writer would rather have used the indicative, both because there was no close connection between the clauses and also on account of the importance attaching to the result. But ὥστε is by no means used (either in the N.T. or in Attic) to introduce merely the actual or the possible result, but may also introduce the contemplated result, and so the boundary-line which separates these sentences from sentences of design almost disappears.<sup>1</sup> In ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἔξουσίαν πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, ὥστε ἐκβάλλειν αὐτά (Mt. 10. 1) we still have a sentence denoting pure result, 'so that they could drive out' (there is an affinity between this construction and the simple inf. after ἔξουσίαν ἔχειν, infra 5); but L. 20. 20 ἵνα ἐπιλάβωνται αὐτοῦ λόγου, ὥστε παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν τῷ ἀρχῇ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος means 'so that they might be able' = 'in order that they might be able,' and the v.l. *eis* *tau* for ὥστε (ΑΓ al., cp. supra 2) is quite in accordance with the sense. Cp. further L. 4. 29 ὥστε ('in order to,' v.l. *eis* *tau* AC al.) κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν, 9. 52 ὥστε ('in order to'; ΚΒ ὡς, see note 1 on p. 223) ἐτοιμάσαι αὐτῷ, Mt. 27. 1 συμβούλιον ἐλαβον ὥστε θανατώσαι αὐτόν (D correctly explaining the meaning gives ἵνα θανατώσοντιν αὐτ.).<sup>2</sup>—The inf. without ὥστε (also with its subject in the accusative) is used in a similar way to express result: A. 5. 3 διὰ τί ἐπλήρωσεν ὁ σατανᾶς τὴν καρδίαν σου, φεύγασθαι σε κ.τ.λ., Ap. 5. 5 ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων ... ἀνοίξαι (B δ ἀνοίγων) κ.τ.λ., 16. 9 οὐ μετενόησαν δοῦναι αὐτῷ δόξαν, H. 6. 10 οὐ γὰρ ἄδικος ὁ θεός, (sc. ὥστε) ἐπιλαθέσθαι. The inf. is still more freely used in L. 1. 54 (the Magnificat) ἀντελάβετο Ἰησὴλ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, μησθῆναι ἐλέous κ.τ.λ., and in 72 (the Benedictus) ποιῆσαι ἐλεος κ.τ.λ. (the clauses are joined together quite incoherently: this clause is parallel with the accusative of a noun in the preceding verse 71 σωτηρίαν ἐξ ἐχθρῶν κ.τ.λ.); cp. 78 f. (inf. after ἐπεσκέψατο).—Then again this infinitive of result may be replaced (as elsewhere in late writers<sup>3</sup>) by ἵνα instead of the classical ὥστε: 1 Jo. 1. 9 πιστὸς ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιος, ἵνα ἀφῇ τὰς ἀμαρτίας (cp. supra H. 6. 10), Ap. 9. 20 (cp. supra 16. 9) οὐδὲ μετενόησαν, ἵνα μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν, 13. 13 ποιέι σημεῖα μεγάλα, ἵνα καὶ πῦρ ποιῇ καταβαίνειν (cp. a similar phrase with ὥστε in Mt. 24. 24), Jo. 9. 2 τίς ἡμαρτεν..., ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ ('so

<sup>1</sup> Ὡστε (ἐφ' ὧτε) 'on condition that' does not appear in the N.T. (for which ἵνα is used in G. 2. 9): nor yet ὥστε after a comparative with ἢ (νεώτερος ἢ ὥστε εἰδέναι), Burton p. 150. On ἵνα in Mc. 4. 22 see § 65, 9 note.

<sup>2</sup> Here belongs also A. 20. 24, see note 1 on last page, 'in order to fulfil,' if ὥστε τελειώσαι is the correct reading. Cp. for ὥστε in Josephus W. Schmid de Fl. Jos. elocut. (1893) p. 418 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. op. cit. 420 f., where instances from Josephus are given (in all of which, however, the result is merely conceived and not actual).

that'), L. 9. 45 *ἵν* παρακεκαλυμμένον ἀπ' αὐτῶν, *iwa* μὴ αἰσθῶνται αὐτό, 2 C. 1. 17, 1 Th. 5. 4: Herm. Sim. vii. 2, ix. 1. 10. In these instances the correct limits for the use of *iwa* are already exceeded. (In other passages one can quite well regard *iwa* as final, e.g. in the phrase *iwa πληρωθῆ* 'in order to carry out God's determinate counsel.')—The so-called infinitive absolute after *ώς*, which is fairly frequent in Attic, only appears in *ώς ἔπος εἰπεῖν* 'so to say' H. 7. 9 (literary language).

4. With the infinitive of design or result are included the well-known constructions of the infinitive with verbs meaning **to wish**, **strive**, **avoid**, **ask**, **summon**, **make**, **leave**, **allow**, **hinder**, **be able**, **have power** etc., with which in classical Greek *ώστε* is often prefixed to the infinitive. An alternative Attic construction with a certain number of these verbs is that with *ὅπως*, though it is by no means used to the same extent in which Latin *ut* is used after verbs of this kind; at a later time *iwa* stepped into the place of *ὅπως* and obtained a more and more extended use, so that in the N.T. with a great number of these verbs *iwa* begins to be interchangeable with the inf., and even (especially in writers other than Luke, Paul, and the author of Hebrews) to supplant it. The subject of the inf. is often either necessarily (as with *δύναμαι*) or in most cases (as with *θέλω*) identical with that of the principal verb, elsewhere it coincides with the object of the principal verb (*ἔω*) or with the dative which follows it (*προστάσσω*); if it requires to be expressly stated, it stands in the **accusative**. *Θέλω* usually takes the (acc. and) inf.: *iwa* in Mt. 7. 12, 1 C. 14. 5 (*θέλω ὑμᾶς λαλεῖν ... μᾶλλον δὲ ιwa προφητεύητε*) and elsewhere.—*Βούλομαι* (as a word belonging to cultured speech) only takes the (acc. and) inf., so *τολμῶ* takes inf. (*ἀρνοῦμαι* H. 11. 24; also *δοκῶ* in *μὴ δόξῃτε λέγειν* Mt. 3. 9 'do not let it occur to you to say': see also 1 C. 11. 16: *ἔδοξε μοι* in Luke e.g. L. 1. 3).—*Βουλεύομαι* inf. and *iwa*, Jo. 11. 53 (v.l. *συνεβούλη*), 12. 10 (in class. Greek inf. and *ὅπως*); similarly *συμβούλευομαι* *iwa* Mt. 26. 4: *συμβούλευεν τινί* 'to advise,' with inf. Ap. 3. 18.—*Ορέζω* inf. A. 11. 29.—*Συντίθεμαι* inf. and *iwa*, Jo. 9. 22; *προτίθεμαι* inf. R. 1. 13.—*Ἐπιθυμῶ*, *ἐπιποθῶ* only take the inf. (or acc. and inf. H. 6. 11); but we have *ἡγαλλιάσατο ιwa ἵδη* Jo. 8. 56, where the meaning can only be 'to long with ecstasy,' 'to rejoice that he should see,' cp. the use of *τοῦ* and the inf. (§ 71, 3) in Herm. Vis. iii. 8. 7 *περιχαρῆς ἐγενόμην τοῦ ἵδειν*, 10. 6.—*Ζητῶ* (*ἐπιζητῶ*) takes inf.: *iwa* in 1 C. 4. 2, 14. 12.—*Ζηλῶ* ('to strive zealously') takes *iwa* in 1 C. 14. 1.—*Σπουδάζω* only the (acc. and) inf. (*σπεύδω* acc. and inf. in Herm. Sim. ix. 3. 2; *ἡγωνίζοντο ιwa* Jo. 18. 36, *φιλοτιμεῖσθαι* takes inf. in Paul).—*Πειράζω* 'to try' takes inf. (the Attic *πειρῶμαι* also takes *ὅπως*<sup>1</sup>).—*Ἐπιχειρῶ* (only in Lc.) also takes inf.: and so *ἀσκῶ*, only in A. 24. 16.—*Βλέπετε ιwa* ('see to it that': Att. *ὁράτε ὅπως*) occurs in 1 C. 16. 10.—*Αἰσχύνομαι* (*ἐπαισχ.*), *φοβοῦμαι* 'to be ashamed' or 'afraid to do something,' only the inf. (L. 16. 3 etc.); so *ἀκνῶ* A. 9. 38.—*Φυλάσσομαι* *iwa μὴ* 2. P. 3. 17 (Attic has *μὴ* and *ὅπως*

<sup>1</sup> A. 15. 10 *τὶ πειράζετε τὸν θεόν*, *ἐπιθεῖναι* *ζυγόν* must be similarly explained, unless perhaps *τὸν θεόν*, which is omitted in some Latin mss., is an interpolation.

*μῆτις*).—**Δέομαι** ‘to request’ takes *īva* in L. 9. 40, 21. 36, 22. 32, ὅπως in Mt. 9. 38, L. 10. 2, A. 8. 24, elsewhere the inf. (Attic uses inf. and ὅπως).—**Ἐρωτῶ** *īva* (‘request’) occurs in Mc. 7. 26 etc., ὅπως in L. 7. 3, 11. 37, A. 23. 20, elsewhere it takes inf. (and acc. of the object of ἐρωτᾶ); so ἐπερωτῶ Mt. 16. 1.—**Παρακαλῶ** ‘to beseech,’ ‘exhort’ similarly takes *īva* in Mt. 14. 36 etc., ὅπως in Mt. 8. 34 (B. *īva*), A. 25. 2 (cp. Att. παρακελεύματι with inf. and ὅπως).—**Αἰτοῦμαι** takes (acc. and) inf. L. 23. 23, A. 3. 14, 7. 46, 13. 28, Jo. 4. 9, E. 3. 13: *īva* Col. 1. 9 (*καὶ αἰτούμενοι* om. B); in classical Greek it also takes ὅπως.—**Προσεύχομαι** *īva* Mc. 14. 35 etc. (ὅπως A. 8. 15, inf. L. 22. 40; cp. τοῦ with inf. Ja. 5. 17); εὐχόμαι (a more literary word) takes (acc. and) inf. A. 26. 29 etc.—**Ἄξιω** ‘to ask’ (Luke, literary language) only takes (acc. and) inf. A. 15. 38, 28. 22 (in class. Greek also ὅπως; *īva* in a forged document in Demosth. 18. 155); in the sense of ‘to count worthy’ it also takes the inf. (cp. ἀξίος, infra 5) L. 7. 7; καταξιῶ A. 5. 41.—**Παρανῶ** acc. of the object and inf. (only in A. 27. 22, a literary word).—**Κελεύω** only takes the (acc. and) inf. (being used only by Mt. and Lc.); similarly **τάσσω** A. 15. 2, διατάσσω (τομαι mid.), προτάσσω (rare), ἐπιτάσσω (rare); ἀναμυνῆσκω 2 Tim. 1. 6, ἀπειλοῦμαι mid. A. 4. 17, νεύω A. 24. 10; παραγγέλλω also takes *īva* Mc. 6. 8 (ἀπαγγέλλω *īva* Mt. 28. 10); so διαμαρτύρομαι *īva* 1 Tim. 5. 21; ἐντέλλομαι *īva* Mc. 13. 34; κηρύσσω *īva* Mc. 6. 12; διαστήλομαι *īva* Mt. 16. 20 (v.l. ἐπετίμησεν), Mc. 7. 36 etc.; ἐπιτιμῶ *īva* Mt. 20. 31 (with the two last verbs there is no instance of the inf.; in class. Greek verbs of this class except κελεύω show a decided tendency to take ὅπως).—**Χρηματίζομαι** pass. ‘receive a divine command’ takes the inf. Mt. 2. 12, A. 10. 22 (in L. 2. 26 the inf. expresses an assertion).—**Ἐξορκίζω** *īva* occurs in Mt. 26. 63 (δρκίζω or ἐνορκ. with acc. and inf. in 1 Th. 5. 27).—**Δέγω** frequently takes *īva*, as well as the (acc. and) inf. when it expresses a command (*īva* is used in this way in Ap. 14. 13); similarly γράφω, e.g. γέγραπται *īva* Mc. 9. 12 (12. 19), and διοστέλλω *īva* A. 16. 36, cp. supra 2.—**Πεθῶ** *īva* Mt. 27. 20, elsewhere it takes acc. of the object and inf.—**Ποιῶ** *īva* is used in Jo. 11. 37, Col. 4. 16, Ap. 3. 9 ποιήσω σύντοῦς *īva* ήξουσιν, cp. 13. 12, 15 f. (in 15 *īva* is wanting in §B); *īva* has more of a final sense in Mc. 3. 14, cp. ἔθηκα *īva* Jo. 15. 16 (ποιῶ τινα with inf. occurs in L. 5. 34 etc.; classical Greek has also occasionally ποιεῖν ὅπως ‘to cause that’); ποιεῖν with acc. and inf. occurs in Mc. 1. 17 (Mt. 4. 19 double acc.), L. 5. 34 etc.; διδόναι (a Hebrew usage) is similarly used in A. 10. 40, 14. 3, 2. 27 O.T.—**Ἀγγαρεύω** *īva* Mt. 27. 32 (no instance of the inf.; ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει [D -ρεύει] μίλιον ἔν Mt. 5. 41).—**Εἳτι τινά** only takes inf.; the commoner ἀφίημι ‘let’ also takes *īva*, Mc. 11. 16; καταλείπω τινά takes the inf. L. 10. 40 (not so much an inf. of aim as of result, cp. Hom. Il. P. 151).—**Ἐπιτρέπω** τινί only takes the inf.; similarly κωλύω τινά (with this the verb Attic μῆτις is not annexed to the simple inf., §§ 71, 3; 75, 4).—‘To be able,’ ‘to understand’ etc. only take the inf.: δύναμαι (δύναται Paul), ἰσχύω (κατισχύω L. 21. 36 §B al., v.l. καταξιωθῆτε; ἐξισχ. E. 3. 18), ξχω Mt. 18. 25 (in the N.T. it also has the meaning ‘to have to,’ ‘be obliged to,’ L. 12. 50 βάπτισμα ξχω βαπτισθῆναι, cp. Clem. Hom.

i. 17, xii. 8), οὖθα Mt. 7. 11 etc., γινώσκω Mt. 16. 3; further μανθάνω 1 Tim. 5. 4 etc., παιδεύομαι pass. 1. 20; προμελετῶ L. 21. 14, διδάσκω 11. 1 (παραλαμβάνω Mc. 7. 4), δεικνύω A. 10. 28, ὑποδεικ. Mt. 3. 7.—The inf. is likewise used with ὄφειλω, μελλω, εἰωθα, φιλω Mt. 6. 5 (23. 6 f.), ἀρχομαι (never with the participle in N.T., cp. § 73, 4)<sup>1</sup>, προστίθεμαι (a Hebraism, **שׁוֹרֵךְ יָדַיْ** with **הִ** and inf.) ‘continue to do,’ ‘repeat’ L. 20. 11, A. 12. 3 (LXX. also uses the active), κινδυνεύω A. 19. 27, 40, προσποιοῦμαι L. 24. 28, ἐπιλανθάνομαι ‘forget to do’ Mt. 16. 5 = Mc. 8. 14 (also in Attic), and its opposite προσέχειν (not so used in Att.) Mt. 6. 1 (with *ίνα* Barn. 16. 8). The construction with the inf. is very widely extended in individual instances, and used with far greater freedom than in Attic. Thus we have διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν Mt. 7. 5, L. 6. 42; δοκιμάζω ‘approve,’ οὐ δοκ. ‘disdain’ 1 Th. 2. 4, R. 1. 28 (in Att. with inf. of opinion), εὐδοκῶ Col. 1. 19 with (acc. and) inf. (Polyb. i. 8. 4), συνενδ. with inf. 1 C. 7. 12 (acc. and inf. in Herm. Sim. v. 2. 11, *ίνα* ibid. 8). H. 11. 5 οὐχ ἔαιτὸν ἐδόξασεν γενηθῆναι ἀρχιερέα, like ἀξιοῦν. A. 25. 21 τοῦ Παΐλου ἐπικαλεσαμένου τηρηθῆναι αὐτόν, like verbs of asking (the β text reads differently). A. 15. 14 ἐπεσκέψατο λαβεῖν, cp. L. 1. 25 ἐπειδὲν ἀφελεῖν. A. 14. 15 εὐαγγελίζομενοι ὑμᾶς ἐπιστρέφειν (D is different, using ὅπως), 17. 21 εἰς οὐδὲν ἔτερον ηὔκαρπον η̄ λέγειν τι ... καινότερον (there is no need to supply εἰς τὸ before the inf., since εἴκαιρεῖν takes the inf. in Lucian Amor. 33). R. 1. 10 εὐδοκώθσομαι ἀλθεῖν, like δύναμαι. 1 Th. 2. 2 (E. 6. 20) παρρησιάζομαι (like τολμῶ). Mc. 5. 32 πειρεβλέπετο ἰδεῖν, 14. 8 προέλαβεν μυρίσαι (cp. the Attic use of φθάνω with partic. or inf., προφθάσῃ βαλεῖν Clem. Cor. ii. 8. 2). A. 16. 10 προσκέκληται ἡμᾶς εὐαγγελίσασθαι αὐτούς. H. 11. 8 ἵπηκοντεν ἔξελθεῖν. Tit. 3. 8 φροντίζωσιν προϊστασθαι. L. 12. 45 χρονίζει ἔρχεσθαι. We have the same construction with longer phrases: τιθέναι (τίθεσθαι) ἐν τῷ καρδίᾳ (τῷ πνεύματι) ‘to resolve,’ ‘to think of’ (a Hebraism) L. 21. 14, A. 19. 21, ἡς δύνοιξεν τὴν καρδίαν (a Hebraism) προσέχειν A. 16. 14 (cp. the same phrase with τοῦ and inf. in L. 24. 45); the following take *ίνα*, βουλή ἐγένετο A. 27. 42, θέλημά ἔστιν Mt. 15. 14 etc.: ἐγένετο ὅρμη A. 14. 5 takes the inf.; cp. L. 2. 1, Jo. 13. 2, 34, A. 17. 15, E. 3. 8 etc.

5. A similar relation between the infinitive and *ίνα* exists in the case of a series of impersonal expressions, whether they consist of a simple verb or combinations of ἔστιν with an adj., such as δεῖ, συμφέρει, ἔξεστι, ἐγένετο, δυνατόν ἔστιν, ἀρεστόν ἔστιν: also in the case of combinations of ἔστιν with a substantive such as ὥρα ἔστιν, καιρός ἔστιν, and in the case of adjectives like δυνατός ἀξιος ἰκανός ἔτοιμος used as predicates (with ἔστι) or as attributes. The infinitive might here be said to express the direction or goal. Equivalent to these are combinations like ἔξοντιν ἔχω, χρείαν ἔχω etc. In Attic ὅπως is excluded with expressions of this kind, ὥστε is not entirely excluded (ἔστιν ὥστε ‘it is possible that’ Sophocles); in the N.T. *ίνα* may be

<sup>1</sup> Very common in Mt., Mc., Lc., often used almost superfluously, as in Mc. 1. 45 ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν which is hardly distinguishable from ἐκήρυσσεν.

used in all cases, except where a fact is stated to have taken place, as in the common phrase ἐγένετο (cp. § 72, 5) and its classical equivalent συνέβη (only in A. 21. 35), or where the close connection of the word with the inf. has become quite established, as with δεῖ<sup>1</sup> and ἔξεστι (with the latter cp. ἐλευθέρα ἔστιν γαμηθῆναι 1 C. 7. 39). Συμφέρει ἵνα occurs in Mt. 5. 29 f., 18. 6 etc., besides (acc. and) inf. Ἀρκετὸν (sc. ἔστιν) ἵνα γένεται Mt. 10. 25 (differing from ἀρκοῦσιν ἵνα Jo. 6. 7, where the result is stated, = ὥστε); on the other hand the inf. is used in 1 P. 4. 3 ἀρκετός ἔστιν ὁ παρελληλιθώς χρόνος ... κατειργάσθαι. Δυνατόν ἔστι (A. 2. 24 with acc. and inf.) and δυνατός ἔστι (somewhat more frequent) only take the inf. like δύναμαι. Οὐκ εἰμὶ ίκανὸς ἵνα is used in Mt. 8. 8, elsewhere the inf.<sup>2</sup>; οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος ἵνα Jo. 1. 27 (often with inf.; with τοῦ and inf. 1 C. 16. 4, see § 71, 3; with a relative sentence L. 7. 4, § 65, 8). Συνήθειά ἔστιν ἵνα Jo. 18. 39; ἔρχεται (ἡ) ὥρα ἵνα Jo. 12. 23, 13. 1, 16. 2, 32 (acc. and inf. as in Attic in R. 13. 11; (δ) καιρὸς [sc. ἔστι] τοῦ ἀρξασθαι τὸ κρίμα 1 P. 4. 17; cp. § 71, 3<sup>3</sup>; elsewhere these words take ὅτε or ἐν ᾧ, ἔσται κ. ὅτε ... ἀνέξονται 2 Tim. 4. 3, ἔρχεται ὥρα ἐν ᾧ ... ἀκούσοντιν Jo. 5. 25, where the prediction is more definite, whereas ἵνα or the inf. states the tendency or drift of the impending event). Χρέαν ἔχω ἵνα Jo. 2. 25, 16. 30, 1 Jo. 2. 27; elsewhere it takes inf., Mt. 3. 14 etc., Jo. 13. 10 (with νίψασθαι, the two verbs having the same subject, while in the ἵνα passages a new subject is introduced<sup>4</sup>). Ἐξουσίαν ἔχω takes inf. H. 13. 10, Ap. 11. 6; ἐδόθη ἔξουσία inf. ibid. 13. 5 (with ὥστε Mt. 10. 1, vide sup. 3); δότε τὴν ἔξουσίαν ταύτην ἵνα A. 8. 19. With ἵνα must also be quoted 1 C. 4. 3 ἐμοὶ εἰς ἐλάχιστόν ἔστιν ἵνα. Τὸ ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἔστιν ἵνα Jo. 4. 34, cp. the passages quoted below in 6. "Ανθρωπὸν οὐκ ἔχω ἵνα βάλῃ με Jo. 5. 7, instead of ὃς βαλεῖ or the Attic τὸν βαλοῦντα, cp. § 65, 8.—Again ἵνα is used after a comparative with ἡ: L. 17. 2 λινιτελεῖ αἵτῳ εἰ περίκειται ... ἡ ἵνα σκανδαλίσῃ, 1 C. 9. 15 καλόν μοι μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν, ἡ τὸ καύχημα μον ἵνα τις κενώσει (κ\*BD\* have the bad reading οὐδεῖς for ἵνα τις).—The infinitive is freely used in some special phrases such as in G. 5. 3 ὄφειλέτης ἔστιν (= ὄφειλει) ποιῆσαι, H. 4. 1 καταλειπομένης ἐπαγγελίας εἰσελθεῖν (cp. ἀπολείπεται, ἀπόκειται with inf. in 4. 6, 9. 27): a classical use is 5. 11 λόγος δυσερμήνευτος λέγειν (like λευκὸς ὕδειν etc.; elsewhere not used in N.T.); another very classical use occurs in H. 9. 5 οὐκ ἔστιν νῦν λέγειν (Viteau p. 251). A peculiar use of the inf. is ὁ ἔχων ὅτα ἀκούειν ἀκούετω Mc. 4. 9, L. 14. 35 and elsewhere (to hear, δυνάμενα ἀκούειν), cp. ὅτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν R. 11. 8 such ears that they cannot hear, § 71, 3.

<sup>1</sup> Still Barn. 5. 13 has ἔδει ἵνα πάθη.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. πολλά, μικρὸν λείπει (is wanting) with ἵνα and with inf. in Herm. Vis. iii. 1. 9, Sim. ix. 9. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A peculiar instance is Ap. 11. 18 ἦλθεν ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθῆναι καὶ δοῦναι κ.τ.λ., = ἵνα κριθῶσιν οἱ νεκροὶ καὶ δῶς κ.τ.λ.; cp. R. 9. 21 ἔχει ἔξουσίαν τοῦ πηλοῦ, ποιῆσαι κ.τ.λ.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Th. 4. 9 οὐ χρέαν ἔχομεν γράφειν ὑμῖν κ\*D\* al., ἔχετε ... γράφειν κ\*AD\* al. incorrectly: a third reading which is also grammatically correct is ἔχετε ... γράφεσθαι (= 5. 1) H al.

6. Closely related to some of the expressions quoted under 4 and 5 is the **explanatory** (accusative and) infinitive, preceded by a **demonstrative**; the demonstrative may also be omitted without rendering the construction with the infinitive thereby impossible. "ἷνα may here also take the place of the infinitive. Ja. 1. 27 θρησκεία καθαρὰ ... αὐτῇ ἐστίν, ἐπισκεπτούμενοι ὄφρανοις, A. 15. 28 μηδὲν πλέον ἴμūν ἐπιτίθεσθαι βάρος πλὴν τούτων τῶν ἐπάγαγκες, ἀπέχεσθαι κ.τ.λ., 1 Th. 4. 3 τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ἀγιασμὸς ἴμῶν, ἀπέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ., E. 3. 8 (cp. without a demonstr. and with ἵνα 1 C. 16. 12). With ἵνα: L. 1. 43 καὶ πόθεν μοι τοῦτο, ἵνα ἔλθῃ ἢ μῆτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου πρὸς ἐμέ (here somewhat irregular, as the clause introduced by ἵνα is already a fact), Jo. 15. 8 ἐν τούτῳ ἐδοξάσθη ὁ πατήρ μου, ἵνα καρπὸν πολὺν φέρητε, =ἐν τῷ φέρειν ὑμᾶς (conception and wish, not actual fact), 1 Jo. 5. 3 αὐτῇ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τηρῶμεν. It is specially frequent in John, see further 6. 39, 17. 3, 1 Jo. 3. 11, 23, 4. 21, 2 Jo. 6 (without a demonstr. Jo. 4. 34, supra 5); akin to this use are 1 Jo. 3. 1 (**ποταπήν** ἀγάπην ... ἵνα), 1 C. 9. 18 (**τίς** μον ἐστὶν ὁ μισθός; ἵνα). A further noteworthy instance is Jo. 15. 13 μείζονα ταύτης ἀγάπην οὐδεὶς ἔχει, ἵνα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ θῇ (=τοῦ θεῖναι), cp. 3 Jo. 4. But if the epexegetical phrase consists of facts, John uses not ἵνα but ὅτι (§ 70, 3): 1 Jo. 3. 16 ἐν τούτῳ ἐγνώκαμεν τὴν ἀγάπην, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ... τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἔθηκεν, or again if the fact is only supposed to take place, ἔάν or ὅταν is used: 1 Jo. 2. 3 ἐν τούτῳ γνώσκομεν ὅτι ..., ἔάν τηρῶμεν, 5. 2 ἐν τ. γ. ὅτι ..., ὅταν ἀγαπῶμεν.

7. The infinitive with **πρίν** (or **πρὶν** ἢ which is not such good Attic) belongs, generally speaking, to this series of infinitives, which correspond to a conjunctive and not to an indicative: although ἵνα cannot be introduced in this case, and the conjunctive, where it is used, is sharply distinguished from the infinitive, viz. the conjunctive stands after a negative principal sentence, the infinitive after a positive sentence (as in Attic).<sup>1</sup> Mt. 1. 18 πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτούς, εἰρέθη κ.τ.λ., 26. 34, 75 πρὶν (ἢ is added by A in verse 75; L. 22. 61 ἢ add. B; Mc. 14. 30 ἢ om. & D, 72 no MSS. have ἢ) ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι τρὶς ἀπαρνήσῃ με, Jo. 4. 49, 8. 58,<sup>2</sup> 14. 29, A. 2. 20 O.T., 7. 2 (never in the Epistles). In a similar way to this πρίν, πρὸ τοῦ with the inf. may also be used, e.g. in Mt. 6. 8, L. 2. 21, G. 2. 12, 3. 23, especially in the case of a fact which is regarded as really taking place at a subsequent time, though πρίν is not excluded in this case, A. 7. 2, Jo. 8. 58 (so in Attic). Πρίν with the conj. or optat. in the respective cases (for the opt. of indirect speech see § 66, 5) after a negative principal sentence is found only in Luke, see § 65, 10.

8. With regard to the **voice** of the verb, it is noticeable that after

<sup>1</sup> The conj. (without ἢ) is used after a *positive* principal sentence, and therefore incorrectly, in Herm. Sim. v. 7. 3.

<sup>2</sup> D has πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ without the inf. γενέσθαι, so that πρὶν is used as a preposition (with the gen.), like ἐως with the gen., § 40, 6. Cp. Stephanus πρὶν (πρὶν ὥπει Pindar Pyth. 4, 43; often in Josephus; Arrian al.), W. Schmid de Joseph. eloc. 395.

verbs of commanding the inf. pass. is used instead of the inf. act. in a manner that is more characteristic of Latin than of classical Greek, if it is necessary to state that something is to be done to a person, without mentioning the agent.<sup>1</sup> Mt. 18. 25 ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν πραθῆναι, A. 23. 3 κελεύεις με τύπτεσθαι, and so frequently with κελεύειν in Mt. and Lc. (who alone use this verb, supra 4). On the other hand we have A. 23. 10 ἐκέλευσε τὸ στράτευμα ἀρπάσαι αὐτόν (16. 22 ἐκέλευον ραβδίζειν is contrary to the above rule). A. 5. 21 ἀπέστειλαν ἀχθῆναι αὐτούς, 22. 24 εἴπας μάστιξιν ἀνετάξεσθαι αὐτόν, Mc. 6. 27 ἐπέταξεν ἐνεχθῆναι (ἢBC ἐνέγκαι) τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ (but in 6. 39 ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς ἀνακλήναι πάντας), A. 24. 23 (διαταξάμενος), L. 8. 55 (διέταξεν), L. 19. 15 (εἶπεν), A. 25. 21 (ἐπικυλεσαρμένον), 1 Th. 5. 27 ([ἐν]ορκίζω),<sup>2</sup> A. 13. 28 (γῆγσαντο, cp. Clem. Cor. i. 55. 4).

### § 70. INFINITIVE AND PERIPHRAESIS WITH ὅτι.

1. The complement of verbs of (perceiving), believing, (showing), saying, in respect of the purport of the idea or communication in question, is in classical Greek rendered to a great extent by the infinitive, the subject of which, if identical with that of the governing verb, is not expressed, while in other cases it is placed in the accusative. The participle is an alternative construction for the infinitive, see § 73, 5; in addition to these constructions, the complement of verbs of perceiving, showing, saying (not of verbs of believing) is often formed by means of an indirect question, and a development of this use is the construction with ὅτι (strictly ὅ,τι an indirect interrogative particle), which is allowable with these same verbs (and therefore not with verbs of believing). Lastly, as a less definitely<sup>3</sup> analytical expression, ὡς with a finite verb is also in use with verbs of saying, hearing etc.

2. In the N.T. the infinitive has not indeed gone out of use in connection with these verbs, but it has taken quite a subordinate place, while the prevailing construction is that with ὅτι. The indirect question is kept within its proper limits, ὡς is found almost exclusively in Luke and Paul and preserves more or less clearly its proper meaning of 'how,' though it is already becoming interchangeable with πῶς, which in late Greek assumes more and more the meaning of ὅτι<sup>4</sup>; lastly, the unclassical combination ὡς ὅτι occurs three

<sup>1</sup> And even where the agent is mentioned in Herm. Sim. ix. 8. 3 ἐκέλευσε διὰ τῶν παρθένων ἀπενεχθῆναι.

<sup>2</sup> Buttm. 236 f., who rightly rejects the following readings, Mc. 5. 43 δοῦναι (D) instead of δοθῆναι, 6. 27 ἐνέγκαι (ἢBCΔ) instead of ἐνεχθῆναι, A. 22. 24 ἀνετάξειν (D\*) instead of -εσθαι, and also in Mc. 10. 49 prefers εἰπεν αὐτὸν φωνηθῆναι (ADX al.) to εἰπεν φωνήσατε αὐτόν (ἢBCLΔ). In Mc. 8. 7 the MSS. are divided between εἰπεν (ἐκέλευσεν of D is wrong) παραθέναι – παρατιθέναι – παρατεθῆναι (A, cp. apponi vulg. it.) – παρεθῆκεν (ἢ\*, without εἰπεν); παρατεθῆναι is the reading commended by the usage of the language (Buttm.).

<sup>3</sup> Riemann Revue de philol. N.S. vi. 73.

<sup>4</sup> ὡς is used in Mc. 12. 26 after ἀναγινώσκειν (v.l. πῶς), L. 6. 4 (ἀναγ.; v.l. πῶς, om. BD), L. 8. 47 (ἀπαγγέλλειν; D ὅτι), 23. 55 (θεᾶσθαι), 24. 6 (μυησθῆναι; D δσα),

times in Paul.<sup>1</sup> The point above all to be noticed is that the use, which is so largely developed in classical Greek, of the indirect form of speech with the (acc. and) infinitive, is almost entirely wanting; it may be said that Luke is the only writer who uses it at any length, and even he very quickly passes over into the direct form, see A. 25. 4 f., 1. 4.—Details: verbs of perceiving (**recognizing** and **knowing**) with the acc. and inf. **Ακούειν** Jo. 12. 18, 1 C. 11. 18 (*i.e.* to receive a communication [so in classical Greek]; elsewhere it takes the participle and more commonly ὅτι). (**Θεωρεῖν** and **βλέπειν** take ὅτι Mc. 16. 4 etc.; not the inf., but part., § 73, 5.) **Τινώσκειν** takes acc. and inf. in H. 10. 34 (in classical Greek only with the meaning ‘to pass judgment,’ which may also be adopted in this passage); the prevailing construction is ὅτι, cp. Particles § 73, 5. **Εἰδέναι** in L. 4. 41, 1 P. 5. 9 (Clem. Cor. i. 43. 6, 62. 3) takes acc. and inf. (as occasionally in class. Greek), elsewhere the partic. and usually ὅτι (ός), which is also the usual construction with **ἐπίστασθαι**. **Καταλαμβάνεσθαι** ‘to recognize,’ ‘find’ (post-classical; cp. Att. -νειν) takes acc. and inf. in A. 25. 25; elsewhere ὅτι (4. 13, 10. 34).—To believe etc. contrary to Attic usage very largely take ὅτι: **δοκεῖν** ‘to think’ takes (acc. and) inf. in L. 8. 18, 24. 37, A. 12. 9, Jo. 5. 39, 16. 2, 2 C. 11. 16 etc., ὅτι in Mt. 6. 7 etc. (so almost always except in Lc. and Paul; there is a second reading in Mc. 6. 49); but δοκεῖν ‘to seem’ only takes inf. (Lc., Paul, Hebrews; Herm. Sim. ix. 5. 1 ἐδόκει μοι impers. with acc. and inf.), similarly **ἔδοξέ μοι** ‘it seemed good to me’ (only in Lc., literary language, § 69, 4). **Ἐλπίζειν** takes inf. in L. 6. 34, R. 15. 24 and elsewhere in Lc. and Paul (the fut. inf. in A. 26. 7 B, elsewhere the aorist, § 61, 3), and in 2 Jo. 12, 3 Jo. 14; ὅτι in A. 24. 26, 2 C. 1. 13 and elsewhere in Lc. and Paul. **Ἐχειν τινὰ ὅτι** ‘to reckon’ (Lat. *habere*, a Latinism, cp. § 34, 5) Mc. 11. 32 (D γέδεισαν). **Ὑγίεσθαι** takes acc. and inf. in Ph. 3. 8 (for the double acc. § 34, 5). **Κρίνειν**, ‘to decide that something is,’ takes acc. and inf. in A. 16. 15, **τοῦτο ὅτι** in 2 C. 5. 15; ‘to decide that something should be’ (‘to choose,’ ‘conclude’) takes inf. in A. 15. 19, 1 C. 2. 2, acc. and inf. in A. 25. 25 (**τοῦ** with inf. in 27. 1; this construction like **ἔδοξέ μοι** belongs to the same category as **βούλεσθαι**, **κελεύειν** etc., § 69, 4). **Δογματίζεσθαι**, ‘to decide,’ takes (acc. and) inf. in R. 3. 28, 14. 14, 2 C. 11. 5, Ph. 3. 13; ὅτι in R. 8. 18, Jo. 11. 50, H. 11. 19 (in John and Hebr. ‘to reflect,’ ‘say to oneself,’ as in 2 C. 10. 11; with this meaning ὅτι is not unclassical). **Νοεῖν** acc. and inf. H. 11. 3; ὅτι Mt. 15. 17 etc. (both unclassical). **Νομίζειν** takes (acc. and) inf. in L. 2. 44 and elsewhere in Lc. and Paul (**ἐνόμιζον** solebant with inf. A. 16. 13?); ὅτι in Mt. 5. 17 etc., A. 21. 29 (the acc. and inf.

24. 35 (**ἐξηγεῖσθαι**; D **ὅτι**), A. 10. 28 (**οἴδατε, ως ἀθέμιτον**), 38 (**ἐπίστασθαι**; D reads differently), 20. 20 (**ἐπίστητ.**; πῶς is used previously in verse 18), R. 1. 9 and Ph. 1. 8 and 1 Th. 2. 10 (**μάρτυς**) and in a few passages elsewhere. Πῶς (Hatzidakis Einl. in d. ngr. Gramm. 19) occurs in Mt. 12. 4 after **ἀναγινώσκειν**, Mc. 12. 41 with **έθεωρει**, L. 14. 7 with **ἐπέχωτι**, A. 11. 13 **ἀπήγγελλεν**, 1 Th. 1. 9. Barn. 14. 6, Clem. Cor. i. 19. 3, 21. 3, 34. 5, 37. 2, 56. 16.

<sup>1</sup> 2 C. 5. 19, 11. 21, 2 Th. 2. 2. See on this late usage of the language Sophocles Lex. s.v. ως (Clem. Hom. i. 7).

would have been ambiguous).<sup>1</sup> Οὔσθαι (acc. and) inf. Jo. 21. 25 (last verse of the Gospel), Ph. 1. 17; ὅτι Ja. 1. 7. Πειθεσθαι (acc. and) inf. L. 20. 6, A. 26. 26 (apparently with ὅτι in H. 13. 18, but the passage is probably corrupt; v.l. πεποίθαμεν); similarly the (acc. and) inf. is used with πεποιθέναι R. 2. 19, 2 C. 10. 7; ὅτι in R. 8. 38 etc.; Ph. 2. 24 etc. Πιστεύειν takes inf. in A. 15. 11, R. 14. 2; ὅτι passim. Προσδοκᾶν takes (acc. and) inf. A. 3. 5 (aor. inf.), 28. 6 (with μέλειν πέμπρυσθαι). Υποκρίνεσθαι acc. and inf. L. 20. 20. Υπολαμβάνειν takes ὅτι in L. 7. 43 (this is also classical, Plato Apol. 35 A). ‘Υπονοεῖν acc. and inf. A. 13. 25, 27. 27. On the whole, therefore, the use of the infinitive with verbs of believing is, with some very rare exceptions, limited to Lc. and Paul (Hebrews), being ‘a remnant of the literary language’ (Viteau, p. 52).

3. Verbs of **saying**, **showing** etc. take ὅτι with a finite verb to a very large extent, as do also the equivalent expressions such as μάρτυρα ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν θεόν 2 C. 1. 23, αὕτη ἔστιν ἡ μαρτυρία 1 Jo. 5. 11, ἔστιν αὕτη ἡ ἀγγελία 1 Jo. 1. 5, ἵνα πληρωθῇ ὁ λόγος Jo. 15. 25, ἀνέβῃ φάσις A. 21. 31, ἐν ὀνόματι Mc. 9. 41 (‘for the reason that, ‘on the ground that’); further, adjectives like δῆλον (*sc.* ἔστι) take this construction. Special mention may be made of φάναι ὅτι 1 C. 10. 19, 15. 50 (with acc. and inf. in R. 3. 8), whereas in classical Greek this verb hardly ever takes ὅτι (any more than it takes an indirect question). Αἰλεῖν ὅτι is rare, H. 11. 18, this verb never takes acc. and inf.; the commoner construction is ἐλάλησεν λέγων like ἔκραξεν λέγων, ἀπεκρίθη λέγων etc., the usual phrase formed on the model of the Hebrew (נִבְאַרְכָּה יְדֵיכֶם), cp. § 74, 3. Κράξειν, (ἀπο)φθέγγεσθαι, φωνεῖν never take ὅτι or acc. and inf., ἀποκρίνεσθαι only in Lc. (20. 7 with inf., A. 25. 4 acc. and inf., 25. 16 ὅτι), βοῶν only in A. 25. 24 takes the inf. Ὁμούειν ὅτι occurs in Mt. 26. 74, Ap. 10. 6 (unclassical; it takes the aor. inf. in A. 2. 30, the fut. inf. as in class. Greek in H. 3. 18); ὅτι is also used with other expressions of asseveration such as ἔστιν ἀλήθεια τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ἐμοί, ὅτι 2 C. 11. 10, cp. (Clem. Cor. i. 58. 2), G. 1. 20, R. 14. 11, 2 C. 1. 23 (vide supra). The use of the (acc. and) inf., as compared with that of ὅτι, is seldom found in writers other than Lc. and Paul: λέγειν takes acc. and inf. in Mt. 16. 13, 15, 22. 23 = Mc. 8. 27, 29, 12. 18, Jo. 12. 29 etc., κατακρίνειν in Mc. 14. 64, ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν in 1 P. 5. 12, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι takes the inf. in Mc. 14. 11, A. 7. 5; in Lc. and Paul the following verbs also take this construction, ἀπαγγέλλειν A. 12. 14, προκαταγγέλλειν 3. 18, ἀπαρνεῖσθαι L. 22. 34, δισχυρίζεσθαι A. 12. 15, μαρτυρεῖν 10. 43, προαιτᾶσθαι R. 3. 9, σημαίνειν A. 11. 28, χρηματίζειν to predict L. 2. 26; while the ὅτι used with παραγγέλλειν to command in 2 Th. 3. 10 is a ὅτι recitativum (*infra* 4).—Verbs of **showing** (which may be regarded as the causatives of verbs of perceiving) in Attic Greek, in cases where ὅτι is not used, generally express the complement by means of the

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. iii. 88 is quite wrongly adduced as an instance of νομίζειν ὅτι.

<sup>2</sup> R. 14. 2 πιστεύει φαγεῖν πάντα. Πιστεύειν here therefore means not ‘believe,’ but to have confidence and dare.

participle (*δεικνύαι*, *δηλοῦν*, also *φανερός είμι* etc.; occasionally also *ἀπαγγέλλειν* and the like). In the N.T. we find *ἐπιδεικνύαι* A. 18. 28 and *δηλοῦν* H. 9. 8 with acc. and inf. (which is not contrary to Attic usage),<sup>1</sup> *ὑποδεικνύαι* A. 20. 35 and *φανεροῦσθαι* pass. 2 C. 3. 3, 1 Jo. 2. 19 with *ὅτι* (*φανεροῦν* takes acc. and inf. in Barn. 5. 9); so *δῆλον* (*πρόδηλον*) *ὅτι* 1 C. 15. 27, G. 3. 11, H. 7. 14; instances of the use of the participle are entirely wanting.

4. By far the most ordinary form of the complement of verbs of saying is that of direct speech, which may be introduced by *ὅτι* (the so-called *ὅτι* recitativum), for which see § 79, 12. An indirect statement after verbs of perceiving and believing is also assimilated to the direct statement so far as the tense is concerned, see §§ 56, 9; 57, 6; 59, 6; 60, 2. "Οτι" is used quite irregularly with the acc. and inf. after *θεωρῶ* in A. 27. 10; in A. 14. 22 we can more readily tolerate *καὶ ὅτι* (equivalent to *λέγοντες ὅτι*) with a finite verb following *παρακαλεῖν* with an infinitive.

5. The very common use in the classical language of *ἄν* with the infinitive (= *ἄν* with indic. or optat. of direct speech) is entirely absent from the N.T. (*ώσάν* with the inf. is not connected with this use, § 78, 1).

## § 71. INFINITIVE WITH THE ARTICLE.

1. The article with an infinitive strictly has the same (anaphoric) meaning which it has with a noun; but there is this difference between the two, that the infinitive takes no declension forms, and consequently the article has to be used, especially in all instances where the case of the infinitive requires expression, without regard to its proper meaning and merely to make the sense intelligible. The use of the infinitive accompanied by the article in all four cases, and also in dependence on the different prepositions, became more and more extended in Greek; consequently the N.T. shows a great abundance of usages of this kind, although most of them are not widely attested, and can be but very slightly illustrated outside the writings which were influenced by the literary language, namely those of Luke and Paul (James). See Viteau, p. 173. The rarest of these usages is the addition to the infinitive of an attribute in the same case (which even in classical Greek is only possible with a pronoun): the only N.T. instance is H. 2. 15 *διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ξῆν*.

2. The nominative of the infinitive with the article, as also the accusative used independently of a preposition, are found sporadically in Mt. and Mc., somewhat more frequently in Paul, and practically nowhere in the remaining writers; they are generally used in such a way that the anaphoric meaning of the article, with reference to something previously mentioned or otherwise well known, is more or less clearly marked. Mt. 15. 20 *τὸ ἀνίπτοις χερσὶν φαγεῖν* subj.

<sup>1</sup> On *συνιστάναι* with acc. and inf. in 2 C. 7. 11 (?) see § 38, 2 note.

(see verse 2): 20. 23 τὸ καθίσαι obj. (*καθίσωσιν* verse 21): Mc. 9. 10 τὸ ἀναστῆναι (9 ἀναστῆ; D has ὅταν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆ): 12. 33 τὸ ἀγαπᾶν (see 30): A. 25. 11 θανάτου ... τὸ ἀποθανέν: R. 4. 13 ἡ ἐπαγγελία ... τὸ κληρονόμον αἰτὸν εἶναι (epexegetical to ἐπαγγελία: the art. in both cases denoting something well known): 7. 18 τὸ θέλειν ... τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι, ideas which have already been the subjects of discussion; cp. 2 C. 8. 10 f. (*τὸ θέλειν* is added as the opposite of *τὸ ποιῆσαι*), Ph. 2. 13 (do.), 1. 29 (do.), 1. 21 f., 24: R. 13. 8 τὸ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν (the well-known precept): 1 C. 11. 6 κειράσθω ἡ ἔνράσθω ... τὸ κειράσθαι ἡ ἔνράσθαι: 7. 26,<sup>1</sup> 14. 39, 2 C. 7. 11, Ph. 2. 6, 4. 10 τὸ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖν (which you have previously done; but FG read τοῦ, cp. § 19, 1), H. 10. 31 (in G. 4. 18 \*ABC omit τὸ). The force of the article is not so clear in 2 C. 9. 1 περισσόν ἔστι τὸ γράφειν, cp. Demosth. 2. 3 τὸ διεξιέναι ... οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν ἥγονμαι (the article denotes something obvious, which might take place), Herm. Vis. iv. 2. 6 αἱρετώτερον ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ γεννηθῆναι. But its use is still more lax with μή in 2 C. 10. 2 δέομαι τὸ μὴ παρὼν θαρρῆσαι<sup>2</sup>, R. 14. 13, 21, 2 C. 2. 1, and quite superfluous in 1 Th. 3. 3 τὸ (om. \*ABD al.) μηδένα σαίνεσθαι, 4. 6 τὸ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν (whereas there is no art. in verses 3 f. with ἀπέχεσθαι and εἰδέναι); this τὸ μὴ (like τοῦ μή, infra 3) is equivalent to a *ἴνα* clause, and is found to a certain extent similarly used in classical writers after a verb of hindering (*κατέχειν* τὸ μὴ δακρύειν Plato, Phaedo 117 c), while δέομαι τὸ θαρρῆσαι without a μή would clearly be impossible even in Paul.<sup>3</sup>

3. The genitive of the infinitive, not dependent on a preposition, has an extensive range in Paul and still more in Luke; it is found to a limited degree in Matthew and Mark, but is wholly, or almost wholly, absent from the other writers. According to classical usage it may either be dependent on a noun or verb which governs a genitive, or it is employed (from Thucydides onwards, but not very frequently) to denote aim or object (being equivalent to a final sentence or an inf. with *ἔνεκα*). Both uses occur in the N.T., but the manner of employing this inf. has been extended beyond these limits, very much in the same way that the use of *ἴνα* has been extended. It is found after nouns such as *χρόνος*, *καιρός*, *ἔξονσία*, *ἐλπίς*, *χρεία*: L. 1. 57, 2. 6, 1 P. 4. 17, L. 10. 19, 22. 6, A. 27. 20, 1 C. 9. 10, R. 15. 23, H. 5. 12; in these cases the inf. without the art. and the periphrasis with *ἴνα* may also be used, § 69, 5, without altering the meaning (whereas in Attic a *τοῦ* of this kind ordinarily keeps its proper force), and passages like L. 2. 21 ἐπλήσθησαν ἥμέραι ὄκτὼ τοῦ περιτεμεῖν αὐτόν show a very loose connection between the inf. and the substantive (almost = ὥστε περιτεμεῖν, *ἴνα*

<sup>1</sup> In this passage and in 2 C. 7. 11 (R. 14. 13, 2 C. 2. 1) *τοῦτο* precedes, but the pronoun in no way occasions the use of the art., cp. (without an art.) 1 C. 7. 37 etc., § 69, 6 (Buttm. p. 225).

<sup>2</sup> In A. 4. 18 παρήγγειλαν τὸ (om. \*B) καθόλον μὴ φθέγγεσθαι the article, if correctly read, should be joined with καθόλον, cp. § 34, 7, Diod. Sic. I. 77.

<sup>3</sup> A parallel from the LXX. is quoted (Viteau, p. 164), viz. 2 Esdr. 6. 8 τὸ μὴ καταργηθῆναι, 'that it may not be hindered.'

περιτέμωσιν). Cp. further R. 8. 12 ὁφειλέται ... τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα ἥγη, R. 1. 24 ἀκαθαρσίαν, τοῦ ἀτιμάζεσθαι, = ὕστε ἀτ.; the connection with the subst. is quite lost in 1 C. 10. 13 τὴν ἔκβασιν, τοῦ δύνασθαι ἵπενεγκεῖν, R. 11. 8 O.T. ὁφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν καὶ ὅτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν, 'such eyes that they' etc. (*ibid.* 10 O.T. σκοτισθήτωσαν οἱ ὄφθ. τοῦ μὴ βλ.). Also A. 14. 9 ὅτι ἔχει πίστιν τοῦ σωθῆναι, the faith necessary to salvation, = π. ὕστε σωθῆναι; Ph. 3. 21 τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι (the force whereby He is able), η̄ προθυμία τοῦ θέλειν 2 C. 8. 11 the zeal to will, which makes one willing. With adjectives we have ἔξιον τοῦ πορεύεσθαι 1 C. 16. 4 as in classical Greek; the instances with verbs, which in classical Greek govern the genitive, are equally few, ἔξαπορηθῆναι τοῦ ἥγη 2 C. 1. 8 (ἀπορεῖν τίνος; also ἔξαπορεῖσθαι τίνος Dionys. Hal.), ἐλαχεν τοῦ θυμιᾶσαι L. 1. 9 (LXX. has the same use in 1 Sam. 14. 47; but in classical Greek in spite of λαγχάνειν τίνος this verb only takes the simple inf., and the τοῦ with the inf. corresponds rather to its free use in the examples given below). The construction of τοῦ μὴ and the inf. with verbs of hindering, ceasing etc. (Lc., but also in the LXX.) has classical precedent, e.g. Xen. Anab. iii. 5. 11 πᾶς ἀσκός δύο ἀνδρας ἔξει τοῦ μὴ καταδῆναι; but the usage is carried further, and τοῦ μὴ clearly has the meaning 'so that not': L. 4. 42 (*κατέχειν*), 24. 16 (*κρατεῖσθαι*), A. 10. 47 (*κωλύειν*), 14. 18 (*καταπανεῖν*), 20. 20, 27 (*ὑποστέλλεσθαι*; D incorrectly omits the μή), also L. 17. 1 ἀνένδεκτόν ἔστι τοῦ μὴ ... (cp. from the O.T. 1 P. 3. 10 παύειν, R. 11. 10 σκοτισθῆναι, vide supra<sup>1</sup>). Paul however has this inf. without μή, so that its dependence on the principal verb is clear, R. 15. 22 ἐνεκοπτόμην τοῦ ἐλθεῖν. Cp. τὸ μή, supra 2.—A final (or consecutive) sense is the commonest sense in which τοῦ and τοῦ μή are used in the N.T.: Mt. 13. 3 ἔξηλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν, 2. 13 ἤητεῖν τοῦ ἀπολέσαι, 21. 32 μετεμελήθητε τοῦ πιστεῦνσαι (so as to), 3. 13, 11. 1, 24. 45 (om. τοῦ D), H. 10. 7 (O.T.), 11. 5. The simple inf. has already acquired this final sense; there is a tendency to add the τοῦ to the second of two infinitives of this kind for the sake of clearness: L. 1. 76 f., 78 f., 2. 22, 24, A. 26. 18. The τοῦ is then used in other cases as well, being attached in numerous instances at any rate in Luke (especially in the Acts; occasionally in James) to infinitives of any kind whatever after the example of the LXX.<sup>2</sup>: it is found after ἐγένετο A. 10. 25 (not in D, but this MS. has it in 2. 1), ἐκρίθη 27. 1, cp. ἐγένετο γνώμης τοῦ 20. 3 (ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν Herm. Vis. iii. 7. 2), ἐπιστείλαι 15. 20, παρακαλεῖν 21. 12, ἐντέλλεσθαι L. 4. 10 O.T. (Ps. 90. 11), προσεύχεσθαι Ja. 5. 17, κατανεύειν L. 5. 7, στηρίζειν τὸ πρόσωπον 9. 51, συντίθεσθαι A. 23. 20, ποιεῖν 3. 12, ἐτοιμος 23. 15 (Herm. Sim. viii. 4. 2). The only infinitive which cannot take the τοῦ is one which may be resolved into a ὅτι clause: it is the possibility of substituting ἵνα or ὕστε for it which forms the limitation to

<sup>1</sup> The LXX. has Gen. 16. 2 συνέκλεισεν τοῦ μὴ ..., 20. 6 ἐφεισάμην σου τοῦ μὴ ... Ps. 38. 2 φυλάξω τὰς ὁδούς μου τοῦ μὴ ..., 68. 24 (= R. 11. 10). Viteau, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. in 1 Kings 1. 35 after ἐνετειλάμην, Ezek. 21. 11 and 1 Macc. 5. 39 after ἐτοιμος. Viteau, p. 170.

its use.<sup>1</sup> It is especially frequent in an explanatory clause loosely appended to the main sentence: L. 24. 25 *βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ, τοῦ πιστεύσαι* (in believing; *τοῦ π. om. D*), cp. *βραδ. εἰς τὸ* infra 4, A. 7. 19 *ἐκάκωσεν τοὺς πατέρας, τοῦ ποιεῖν*<sup>2</sup> (so as to make, in that he made, = *ποιῶν* or *καὶ ἐποίει*), L. 1. 73, R. 6. 6, 7. 3, Ph. 3. 10 (R. 1. 24, 1 C. 10. 13, vide supra). A quite peculiar instance is Ap. 12. 7 *ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ* (*τοῦ om. sB*) *πολεμῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ δράκοντος* ('it happened ... that there fought ...').<sup>3</sup>

4. The dative of the inf. without a preposition is found only once in Paul to denote reason: 2 C. 2. 13 *οὐκ ἔσχηκα ἀνεστιν τῷ πνεύματι μου, τῷ μὴ εὑρεῖν με Τίτον* (LP *τὸ μὴ, s\*C<sup>2</sup> τοῦ μὴ*, both readings impossible; but DE perhaps correctly have *ἐν τῷ μὴ*, cp. inf. 6).

5. Prepositions with the accusative of the infinitive. *Εἰς τὸ* denotes aim or result (= *ἴνα* or *ώστε*): Mt. 20. 19 *παραδώσοντιν εἰς τὸ ἐμπαῖξαι*, cp. 26. 2, 27. 31, Mc. 14. 55 (*ἴνα θανατώσοντιν D*), L. 5. 17 (D reads differently), A. 7. 19, Ja. 1. 18, 3. 3 (v.l. *πρὸς*), 1 P. 3. 7, 4. 2; very frequent in Paul (and Hebrews), R. 1. 11, 20, 3. 26, 4. 11 bis, 16, 18 etc., also used very loosely as in 2 C. 8. 6 *εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι* 'to such an extent that we exhorted'; further notable instances are 1 Th. 3. 10 *δέομενοι εἰς τὸ ἰδεῖν, = ᾧ ἴδωμεν, § 69, 4: τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἀναλῦσαι* Ph. 1. 23 (DEFG omit *εἰς*, which gives an impossible construction). (This use of *εἰς* is nowhere found in the Johannine writings; on the other hand it is found in the First Epistle of Clement, e.g. in 65. 1 where it is parallel with *ὅπως*.) It is used in another way in Ja. 1. 19 *ταχὺς εἰς τὸ ἀκοῦσαι, βραδὺς εἰς τὸ λαλῆσαι, βραδὺς εἰς ὀργήν*, the inf. being treated as equivalent to a substantive (Herm. Mand. i. 1 *ὁ ποιήσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὅντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα, like ποιεῖν εἰς ὑψός Clem. Cor. i. 59. 3*).—Aim (or result) is likewise denoted by *πρὸς τὸ*, which however is nowhere very frequent: Mt. 5. 28 *ὁ βλέπων γυναικα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς, 6. 1 πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς, 13. 30, 23. 5, 26. 12, Mc. 13. 22, L. 18. 1 (πρὸς τὸ δεῖν προσεύχεσθαι, with reference to), A. 3. 19 sB (rell. *εἰς*), 2 C. 3. 13, Eph. 6. 11 (DEFG *εἰς*), 1 Th. 2. 9, 2 Th. 3. 8.—Διὰ *τὸ* to denote the reason is frequent in Luke: 2. 4, 8. 6 etc., A. 4. 2, 8. 11 etc.; also in Mt. 13. 5, 6, 24. 12, Mc. 4. 5, 6, 5. 4 (D is different), Jo. 2. 24 (Syr. Sin. omits the whole clause), Ja. 4. 2, Ph. 1. 7 (the solitary instance in Paul), H. 7. 23 f., 10. 2.—Μετὰ *τὸ* is used in statements of time: Mt. 26. 32, Mc. 1. 14, 14. 28 [16. 19], L. 12. 5, 22. 20, A. 1. 3, 7. 4, 10. 41, 15. 13, 19. 21, 20. 1, 1 C. 11. 25, H. 10. 15, 26.—The accus. of the inf. is nowhere found with *ἐπί, κατά, παρά*.*

<sup>1</sup> In Hermas, however, even this limit is transgressed, Mand. xii. 4. 6 *σεαυτῷ κέρκικας τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι, = θρι οὐ δύνασαι*.

<sup>2</sup> There is an exact parallel in the LXX., 1 Kings 17. 20 *σὺ κεκάκωκας τοῦ θανάτουσαι τὸν οὐδὲν αὐτῆς*.

<sup>3</sup> Buttmann, p. 231; the nom. with the inf. is certainly quite a barbarism. A forced explanation, by supplying *ἥσαν* with *πολεμῆσαι*, is given by Viteau, 168.

6. **Prepositions** with the genitive of the infinitive. 'Αντὶ τοῦ 'instead of' Ja. 4. 15. Διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἅγιν H. 2. 15 'all through life,' cp. supra 1 ad fin. 'Ἐκ τοῦ ἔχειν 2 C. 8. 11, probably = καθὸ ἀν ἔχη of verse 12 (*pro facultatibus*, Grimm). "Εὐεκεν τοῦ φανερωθῆναι 2 C. 7. 12 (formed on the model of the preceding ἐνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος κ.τ.λ.; otherwise ἐνεκεν would be superfluous). "Εώς τοῦ ἐλθεῖν A. 8. 40 (post-classical, in the LXX. Gen. 24. 33, Viteau); the Attic use of μέχρι (ἄχρι) τοῦ with the inf. does not occur. Πρὸ τοῦ Mt. 6. 8, L. 2. 21, 22. 15, A. 23. 15, Jo. 1. 49, 13. 19, 17. 5, G. 2. 12, 3. 23. The gen. of the inf. is nowhere found with ἀπό, μετά, περί, ὑπέρ, nor yet with ἀνεν, χωρίς, χάριν etc.

7. The preposition ἐν is used with the dative of the infinitive, generally in a temporal sense = 'while': Mt. 13. 4 ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτόν, = the classical σπείροντος αὐτοῦ (since Attic writers do not use ἐν τῷ in this way, as Hebrew writers certainly use ְנ, Gesen.-Kautzsch § 114, 2), 13. 25, 27. 12, Mc. 4. 4, L. 1. 8, 2. 6, 43, 5. 1 etc. (ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ is specially frequent, e.g. 1. 8, 2. 6), A. 2. 1, 9. 3, 19. 1 (ἐγέν. ἐν τῷ), R. 3. 4 O.T., 15. 13 (om. DEFG, the clause is probably due to dittohraphy of εἰς τὸ περιστενεῖν), G. 4. 18. This phrase generally takes the present infinitive, in Luke however it also takes the aorist inf., in which case the rendering of it is usually altered from 'while' to 'after that' (so that it stands for the aorist participle or ὅτε with the aorist): L. 2. 27 ἐν τῷ εἰσαγαγεῖν = εἰσαγαγόντων or ὅτε εἰσήγαγον, (3. 21 ἐν τῷ βαπτισθῆναι [= ὅτε ἐβαπτίσθη] ἀπαντα τὸν λαὸν καὶ Ἰησοῦ βαπτισθέντος, the two things are represented as simultaneous events), 8. 40 (ὑποστρέφειν &c.), 9. 34 (simultaneous events), 36, 11. 37, 14. 1, 19. 15, 24. 30, A. 11. 15.<sup>1</sup> Also H. 2. 8 ἐν τῷ ὑποτάξαι, where again simultaneousness is expressed, 'in that' or 'by the fact that,' = ὑποτάξις; a similar meaning is expressed in 8. 13 by ἐν τῷ λέγειν 'in that he says,' 'by saying'; further instances of a meaning that is not purely temporal are Mc. 6. 48 βασανίζομένους ἐν τῷ ἐλαύνειν, in rowing: L. 1. 21 ἐθαύμαζον ἐν τῷ, when and that he tarried: A. 3. 26 ἐν τῷ ἀποστρέφειν, in that he turned = by turning; so 4. 30 (Herm. Vis. i. 1. 8).—The articular infinitive is never found with ἐπί or πρός.

## § 72. CASES WITH THE INFINITIVE. NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE WITH THE INFINITIVE.

1. The classical language has but few exceptions to the rule that the subject of the infinitive, if identical with the subject of the main verb, is not expressed, but is supplied from the main verb in the nominative (§ 70, 1); the exceptions are occasioned by the necessity for laying greater emphasis on the subject, or by assimilation to an additional contrasted subject, which must necessarily be expressed

<sup>1</sup> Accordingly one might expect in L. 10. 35 ἐν τῷ ἐπανέρχεσθαι με ἀποδώσω rather to have ἐπανέλθειν, cp. 19. 15; but the meaning is not 'after my return' but 'on my way back.'

by the accusative. On the other hand, the interposition of a preposition governing the infinitive produces no alteration of the rule, nor again the insertion of *δεῖν*, *χρῆναι* (of which insertion there are no instances in the N.T. if we except A. 26. 9 in Paul's speech before Agrippa). The same rule applies to the N.T.; the subject of the infinitive which has already been given in or together with the main verb, in the majority of cases is not repeated with the infinitive: and if the infinitive is accompanied by a nominal predicate or an appositional phrase agreeing with its subject, the latter is nowhere and the former is not always a reason for altering the construction, in other words the appositional phrase must and the predicate may, as in classical Greek, be expressed in the nominative. 2 C. 10. 2 δέομαι τὸ μὴ παρὰν (apposition) θαρρῆσαι, R. 9. 3 ἡγχόμην ἀνάθεμα (predic.) εἶναι αὐτὸς ἐγώ, (Jo. 7. 4 where according to BD the acc. αὐτὸς should be read for αὐτὸς), R. 1. 22 φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοί, H. 11. 4 ἐμαρτυρήθη εἶναι δίκαιος (in Ph. 4. 11 ἐμαθον αὐτάρκης εἶναι the nom. is necessary, since the acc. and inf. is out of place with μανθάνειν which in meaning is related to the verb 'to be able'). Instances of omission of subject, where there is no apposition or predicate: L. 24. 23 λέγουσαι ἔωρακέναι, Ja. 2. 14, 1 Jo. 2. 6, 9, Tit. 1. 16 (with λέγειν and δύολογεῖν; it is superfluous to quote instances with θέλειν, ζητεῖν etc.).

2. There are however not a few instances where, particularly if a nominal predicate is introduced, the infinitive (in a way that is familiar in Latin writers)<sup>1</sup> keeps the **reflexive** pronoun in the **accusative** as its subject, and then the predicate is made to agree with this. A. 5. 36 Θευδᾶς λέγων εἶναι τινα ἑαυτόν, 8. 9, L. 23. 3, Ap. 2. 9 and 3. 9 τῶν λεγόντων Ἰουδαίους εἶναι ἑαυτούς (in 2. 2 most MSS. omit εἶναι), L. 20. 20 ὑποκρινομένους ἑαυτούς δικαίους εἶναι (εἶναι om. D), R. 2. 19 πέποιθας σεαυτὸν δόδηγὸν εἶναι, 6. 11 λογίζεσθε ἑαυτούς εἶναι νεκρούς. According to the usage of the classical language there would in all these cases be no sufficient reason for the insertion of the reflexive; after λεγόντων in Ap. 2. 9 Ἰουδαίων would have had to be used, but this assimilation is certainly not in the manner of the N.T., vide infra 6; in 1 C. 7. 11 συνεστήσατε ('you have proved') ἑαυτούς ἀγνοῦς εἶναι, classical Greek would have said ὑμᾶς αὐτούς θυτας, see § 70, 3. The only instances of the reflexive being used where there is no nominal predicate are: Ph. 3. 13 ἐγὼ ἐμαντὸν οὕτω λογίζομαι κατειληφέναι, H. 10. 34 γινώσκοντες ἔχειν ἑαυτούς κρείσσονα ὑπαρξίν (cp. § 70, 2), Clem. Cor. i. 39. 1 ἑαυτούς βουλόμενοι ἐπαίρεσθαι, = class. αὐτοὶ, Herm. Sim. vi. 3. 5, A. 25. 21 τοῦ Παύλου ἐπικαλεσαμένου τηρεῖσθαι αὐτόν (cp. § 69, 4): this last is the only instance (besides the reading of CD in L. 20. 7 μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτούς) where the pronoun is not reflexive (cp. E. 4. 22 ὑμᾶς, but the whole construction of that sentence is far from clear). In A. 25. 4 the reflexive is kept where there is a contrasted clause as often in classical Greek: τη-

<sup>1</sup> Also found in inscriptional translations from Latin, Viereck Sermo Graecus senatus Rom. p. 68, 12.

*ρεῖσθαι τὸν Π., ἔαντὸν δὲ μέλλειν κ.τ.λ.* (in classical Greek *αὐτὸς* might also be used).

3. More remarkable are the instances where an infinitive dependent on a **preposition**, though its subject is identical with that of the main verb, nevertheless has an **accusative**, and moreover an accusative of the simple personal pronoun (not reflexive), attached to it as its subject. This insertion of the pronoun is a very favourite construction, if the clause with the inf. and prep. holds an independent position within the sentence. Thus it is found after *μετὰ τὸ* in Mt. 26. 32 = Mc. 14. 28 *μετὰ τὸ ἐγερθῆναι με προάξω*, A. 1. 3 *παρέστησεν ἔαντὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτόν* (19. 21 *μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι*, but D adds *με*, Herm. Vis. ii. 1. 3, Mand. iv. 1. 7, Sim. viii. 2. 5, 6. 1). After *διὰ τὸ*: L. 2. 4 *ἀνέβη... διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν*, 19. 11, Jo. 2. 24 *διὰ τὸ αἰτὸν γινώσκειν*, Ja. 4. 2 *οὐκ ἔχετε διὰ τὸ μὴ αἰτεῖσθαι ἴμᾶς*, H. 7. 24. "Εῶς τοῦ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν A. 8. 40. Πρὸ τοῦ L. 22. 15. 'Ἐν τῷ κατηγορεῖσθαι αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο Mt. 27. 12, cp. L. 9. 34, 10. 35, A. 4. 30, R. 3. 4 O.T., Clem. Cor. i. 10. 1. With the simple dative of the inf. 2 C. 2. 13. This accus. is not found in the N.T. in expressions denoting aim by means of *εἰς τὸ* and *πρὸς τὸ* (though it occurs with *εἰς* in Clem. Cor. i. 34. 7); nor is it found in all cases with *μετά* etc. That the reflexive pronoun is not used is natural in view of the independent character of the clause with the infinitive and preposition. (The acc. is found after *ἴστε* in Clem. Cor. i. 11. 2, 46. 7, Herm. Sim. ix. 6. 3, 12. 2; after *τοῦ* in Clem. Cor. i. 25. 2; after *πρὶν* in Herm. Sim. ix. 16. 3.)

4. A certain **scarcity** of the use of the **nominative with the infinitive** is seen in the fact that the personal construction with the passive voice such as *λέγομαι εἶναι* is by no means common in the N.T. writers (for H. 11. 4 *ἐμαρτυρήθη εἶναι* vide sup. 1; cp. Χριστὸς *κηρύσσεται ὅτι* 1 C. 15. 12, ὁ *ρήθεις* Mt. 3. 3, *ἡκούσθη ὅτι* used personally Mc. 2. 1?, *φανεροῦσθαι ὅτι* 2 C. 3. 3, 1 Jo. 2. 19, *φανεροὶ ἐσονται ὅτι* Herm. Sim. iv. 4). The personal construction is used more frequently with the inf. denoting something which ought to take place (*δεδοκιμάσμεθα πιστεύθηναι* 1 Th. 2. 4; *χρηματίζεσθαι* § 69, 4; the latter verb is also found with the nom. and inf. of **assertion** in L. 2. 26 according to the reading of D), and with adjectives (§ 69, 5) such as *διννάτος*, *ἴκανός* (but *ἀρκετός* in 1 P. 4. 3 does not affect the inf. which has a subject of its own); so too we have *ἔδοξα ἐμαντῷ δεῖν πρᾶξαι* A. 26. 9, as well as *ἔδοξέ μοι* L. 1. 3 etc.

5. The **accusative and infinitive** is also in comparison with its use in the classical language greatly **restricted**, by direct speech or by *ἴva* and *ὅτι*; similarly instances of *τὸ* (nom. or acc.) with the acc. and inf. (as in R. 4. 13) are almost entirely wanting. On the other hand this construction has made some acquisitions, cp. supra 2 and 3, § 70, 2 etc.; and a certain tendency to use the fuller construction (acc. and infin.) is unmistakable. However, even in cases where the accusative *may* be inserted, it need not always be used: thus we have *οὕτως ἔχειν* in A. 12. 15, but in 24. 9 *ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν*; it may further be omitted with *ἀνάγκη* and *δεῖ* as in Mt. 23. 23 *ἔδει ποιῆσαι*

(i.e. ὑμᾶς), R. 13. 5 ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι (see § 30, 3; DE etc. read διὸ ὑποτάσσεσθε); or again if the subject of the inf. has already been mentioned in another case with the main verb, as in L. 2. 26 ἦν αὐτῷ κεχρηματισμένον μὴ ιδεῖν (i.e. αὐτὸν) θάνατον, or if it may readily be supplied from a phrase in apposition with the subject, as in 1 P. 2. 11 ἀγαπητοί, παρακαλῶ (i.e. ὑμᾶς) ὡς παροίκους ... ἀπέχεσθαι, cp. ibid. 15, Viteau, p. 149 f. The following, therefore, are the cases where the acc. and inf. is allowable:—with verbs of perceiving, recognizing, believing, asserting, showing, § 70, 1-3, where the object of this verb and the subject of the inf. is generally not identical with the subject of the principal verb: with verbs of making and allowing, also with some verbs of commanding and bidding such as κελεύειν, where the two things are never identical: with verbs of willing, where they usually are identical (and the simple inf. is therefore the usual construction), of desiring etc.: again with impersonal expressions like δεῖ, ἐνδέχεται, ἀνάγκη, δυνατόν, ἀρεστόν (ἐστι), ὥρα (ἐστίν) etc., also ἐγένετο, συνέβη; with a certain number of these last expressions the subject of the infinitive is already expressed in the dative outside the range of the infinitive clause, while in the case of others there is a tendency to leave it unexpressed, either because it may readily be supplied as has been stated above, or in general statements because of its indefiniteness. To these instances must be added the inf. with a preposition and the article, and the inf. with πρὶν, τό, τοῦ, ὥστε, if the subject is here expressed and not left to be supplied. Some details may be noticed. With verbs of perceiving, knowing etc. (also making) frequently, as in classical Greek, the accusative is present, while the infinitive is replaced by ὅτι (or ἵνα respectively) with a finite verb: A. 16. 3 ὢδεισαν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ὅτι "Ελλῆν ὑπῆρχεν, 3. 10, 4. 13, Mc. 11. 32, G. 5. 21, Ap. 3. 9 ποιήσω αὐτὸν ἵνα ἔξουσιν; cp. supra 4 for the nom. with a personal construction with ὅτι, and 1 C. 9. 15, § 69, 5; the accus. may also be followed by an indirect question, as in Jo. 7. 27 etc.<sup>1</sup> We may further note the ordinary passive construction with verbs of commanding, see § 69, 8; the verb λέγειν belongs to this category, which when used to express a command, though it may take the dative of the person addressed with a simple infinitive (corresponding to an imperative of direct speech) as in Mt. 5. 34, 39, L. 12. 13, yet is also found with the acc. and inf.: A. 21. 21 λέγων (om. D) μη περιτέμνειν αὐτὸν τὰ τέκνα, 22. 24 (pass.), L. 19. 15 (do.), where the ambiguity as to whether command or assertion is intended must be cleared up by the context. The dative with the inf. is also found after διατάσσειν (-εσθαι) A. 24. 23, ἐπιτάσσειν (Mc. 6. 39 etc.; also τάσσειν A. 22. 10), παραγγέλλειν, ἐντέλλεσθαι, also ἐπιτρέπειν, after impersonal and adjectival or substantival expressions like συμφέρει, ἔθος ἐστί, ἀθέμιτον, αἰσχρόν, καλόν ἐστι etc. (cp. Dative § 37, 3); to which may be added συνεφωνήθη ὑμῖν πειράσαι A. 5. 9, § 37, 6, p. 114 note 1. But the acc. and inf. is

<sup>1</sup> Even by μήπως after φοβεῖσθαι, a verb which can certainly not take acc. and inf.: G. 4. 11 φοβοῦμαι ὑμᾶς (for you), μήπως εἰκῇ κεκοπίλακα εἰς ὑμᾶς, with which Soph. O.T. 760 is compared (Win. § 66, 5).

not excluded from being used with these words, being found not only with a passive construction as in A. 10. 48 *προσέταξεν αὐτὸν βαπτισθῆναι*, Mc. 6. 27 *ἐπέταξεν ἐνεχθῆναι* (SBC have *ἐνέγκαι* which is less in accordance with N.T. idiom) *τὴν κεφαλήν*, but also with an active (*ἔταξεν ἀναβάνειν Παῦλον* A. 15. 2), and even where the person addressed is identical with the subject of the inf., 1 Tim. 6. 13 f. *παραγγέλλω ... τηρῆσαι σε*. Also with *συμφέρει* and *πρέπει* there is nothing to prevent the inf. from having a subject of its own, as distinct from the person interested: Jo. 18. 14 *συμφέρει ἔνα ἄνθρωπον ἀποθανεῖν*, 1 C. 11. 13; it is more remarkable that with *καλόν ἔστι* ‘it is good’ the interested person may be expressed by the accusative with an inf.: Mt. 17. 4 = Mc. 9. 5, L. 9. 33 *καλόν ἔστιν ἡμᾶς ὅδε εἶναι*, where however the accusative may be justified, the phrase being equivalent to ‘I am pleased that we are here’: Mc. 9. 45 *καλόν ἔστιν σε εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἡώην χωλόν* (cp. 43, 47, where the MSS. are more divided between *σοι* and *σε*; *σοι* is used in Mt. 18. 8 f.). So too we have R. 13. 11 *ῶρα ἡμᾶς ἐγερθῆναι*, where *ἡμᾶν* would be equally good: L. 6. 4 *οὐς οὐκ ἔξεστιν φαγεῖν εἰ μὴ μόνους τοὺς ἵερεῖς* (D has the dat. as in Mt. 12. 4; in Mc. 2. 26 SBL have the acc., ACD etc. the dat.): L. 20. 22 *ἔξεστιν ἡμᾶς ... δοῦναι* SBL (*ἡμῖν* ACD al.). ‘*Ἐγένετο* frequently takes acc. and inf.; with the dat. it means ‘it befell him that he’ etc. A. 20. 16, G. 6. 14; but the acc. and inf. may also be used after a dative, A. 22. 6 *ἐγένετό μοι ... περιαστράψαι φῶς*, even where the accusative refers to the same person as the dative, 22. 17 *ἐγένετό μοι ... γενέσθαι με* (a very clumsy sentence). On the indicative after *ἐγένετο* see § 79, 4. The person addressed is expressed by the genitive after *δεομαι* ‘request’; if the subject of the inf. is the petitioner,<sup>1</sup> then we have the nom. and inf., L. 8. 38, 2 C. 10. 2: if the person petitioned, the simple inf. is likewise used, L. 9. 38, A. 26. 3. The verbs of cognate meaning with the last take the accus. of the person addressed, namely *ἐρωτῶ*, *παρακαλῶ*, *αἴτοῦμαι*, also *ἀξιῶ*, *παραινῶ*; here therefore we have a case of acc. and inf., but the infinitive has a greater independence than it has in the strict cases of acc. and inf., and may accordingly in spite of the accusative which has preceded take a further accusative as its subject (especially where a passive construction is used): A. 13. 28 *γῆγεντο Πιλάτον ἀναιρεθῆναι αὐτόν*, 1 Th. 5. 27 *ὅρκίω ἡμᾶς ἀναγνωσθῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολήν* (here the choice of the passive is not without a reason, whereas in Acts loc. cit. D has *τοῦτον μὲν σταυρῶσαι*). (A. 21. 12 *παρεκαλοῦμεν ... τοῦ μὴ ἀναβάνειν αὐτόν*.)

6. Since the subject of the inf. generally stands or is thought of as standing in the accusative, it is natural that **appositional clauses** and **predicates** of this subject also take the accusative case, not only where the subject itself has or would have this case if it were expressed, but also where it has already been used with the principal verb in the genitive or dative. The classical language has the

<sup>1</sup> This strikes one as an unusual construction, but it is found elsewhere, *ἥρωτα λαβεῖν* A. 3. 3, *ἥτησατο εὑρεῖν* 7. 46 (28. 20?); a classical instance is *αἰτῶν λαβεῖν* Aristoph. Plut. 240.

choice of saying *συμβουλεύω σοι προθύμω εἶναι* or *πρόθυμον εἶναι*; in the case of a genitive *δέομαί σου προθύμου* *εἶναι* is given the preference (an adj.), but *προστάτην γενέσθαι* (a subst.; Kühner, Gr. ii.<sup>2</sup> 510 f.); appositional clauses formed by means of a participle are freely expressed by the dat. (or acc.), but not by the gen., the accusative being used instead. In the N.T. there is no instance of a predicate being expressed by gen. or dat.; appositional clauses are also for the most part placed in the accusative, as in L. 1. 73 f. *τοῦ δοῦναι ἡμῖν...* *ρήστθέντας λατρεύειν*, H. 2. 10, A. 15. 22, 25 (in 25 ABL have *ἐκλεξαμένοις*) etc.; the dat. is only found in the following passages, 2 P. 2. 21 *κρείσσον* *ἥν αὐτοῖς μὴ ἐπεγνωκέναι...* *ἢ ἐπιγνοῦσιν ἐπιστρεψαι* (where however the participle belongs rather to *κρείσσον* *ἥν αὐτοῖς* than to the inf., as it decidedly does in A. 16. 21, where *Ῥωμαῖοις οὖσιν* goes with *ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν*; so in L. 1. 3), L. 9. 59 *ἐπίτρεψόν μοι πρώτον ἀπελθόντι* (but D has -τα, AKII *ἀπελθεῖν καὶ* *θάψαι τὸν πατέρα μου*, A. 27. 3 *ἐπέτρεψεν* (sc. *τῷ Παύλῳ*) *πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πορευθέντι* (ΝΑΒ; -τα HLP) *ἐπιμελείας τυχεῖν*.

### § 73. PARTICIPLE. (I.) PARTICIPLE AS ATTRIBUTE— REPRESENTING A SUBSTANTIVE—AS PREDICATE.

1. The participles—which are declinable nouns belonging to the verb, used to express not action or being acted upon, like the infinitive, but the actor or the person acted on—have not as yet in the N.T. forfeited much of that profusion with which they appear in the classical language, since their only loss is that the future participles are less widely used (§ 61, 4); the further development of the language into modern popular Greek certainly very largely reduced the number of these verbal forms, and left none of them remaining except the (pres. and perf.) participles passive and an indeclinable gerund in place of the pres. part. act. The usages of the participle in the N.T. are also on the whole the same as in the classical language, though with certain limitations, especially with regard to the frequency with which some of them are employed.

2. Participle as attribute (or in apposition) with or without an article, equivalent to a relative sentence. Mt. 25. 34 *τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ἡμῖν βασιλείαν*, = τ. β. ἡ ὑμῶν ἡτοιμασται : Mc. 3. 22 οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντες : L. 6. 48 ὅμοιός ἔστιν ἀνθρώπῳ οἰκοδομοῦντι οἰκίαν, cp. Mt. 7. 24 ἀνδρὶ ὅστις ϕικοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν : Mc. 5. 25 γυνὴ οὖσα ἐν ῥώσει αἴματος κ.τ.λ. (the participles continue for a long way; cp. L. 8. 43, where the first part. is succeeded by a relative sentence. Frequently we have ὁ λεγόμενος, καλούμενος (in Lc. also ἐπικαλ., of surnames, A. 10. 18, cp. ὃς ἐπικαλεῖται 5. 32) followed by a proper name, the art. with the participle being placed after the generic word or the original name : ὄρους τοῦ καλουμένου ἐλαῖῶν A. 1. 12, Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός Mt. 1. 16<sup>1</sup> (we never find such expressions

<sup>1</sup> Jo. 5. 2 ἔστιν... ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ ἡ ἐπιλεγομένη... Βηθζαδά (D reads λεγ. without ἡ, Ν\* τὸ λεγόμενον); in this passage the article must have been

as in Thuc. ii. 29. 3 τῆς Φωκίδος νῦν καλουμένης γῆς, or in iv. 8. 6 ἡ νῆσος ἡ Σφακτηρία καλουμένη). A point to be noticed is the separation of the participle from the word or words which further define its meaning: R. 8. 18 τὴν μέλλοντα δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, G. 3. 23, 1 C. 12. 22 τὰ δοκοῦντα μέλη ... ὑπάρχειν, 2 P. 3. 2, A. 13. 1 ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κατὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν, 14. 13 τὸν ὄντος Διὸς πρὸ πόλεως according to the reading of D (see Ramsay, Church in Roman Empire, p. 51 f.), 28 17. Participles as a rule do not show a tendency to dispense with the article, even where the preceding substantive has none; in that case (cp. § 47, 6) the added clause containing the article often gives a supplementary definition or a reference to some well-known fact: 1 P. 1. 7 χρονίου τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου, L. 7. 32 παιδίους τοῖς ἐν ἀγορᾷ καθημένοις, Jo. 12. 12 ὅχλος πολὺς ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν, A. 4. 12 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄνομά ἔστιν ἔτερον τὸ δεδομένον. In these last two and in similar passages (Mc. 14. 41, A. 11. 21, where DE al. omit the art., Jd. 4, 2 Jo. 7) the presence of the article is remarkable, not because it would be better omitted—for that must have obscured the attributive character of the clause—but because according to Attic custom this attributive character should rather have been expressed by a relative sentence. The same use of the art. is found with τινὲς without a substantive: L. 18. 9 τινὰς τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, G. 1. 7 εἰ μῆ τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ ταράσσοντες ὑμᾶς, Col. 2. 8; the definite article here has no force, and we may compare in Isocrates εἰσὶ τινὲς οἱ μέγα φρονοῦσιν (10. 1), ε. τ. οἱ ... ἔχοντι (15. 46).<sup>1</sup> These constructions have therefore been caused by the fact that a relative sentence and a participle with the article have become synonymous.<sup>2</sup>—The participle with article is found, as in classical Greek, with a personal pronoun, Ja. 4. 12 σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ κρίνων (οἱ κρίνεις KL), 1 C. 8. 10 σὲ (om. B al.) τὸν ἔχοντα, R. 9. 20, Jo. 1. 12 etc.; also where the pronoun must be supplied from the verb, H. 4. 3 εἰσερχόμεθα ... οἱ πιστεύσαντες, 6. 18; it is especially frequent with an imperative, Mt. 7. 23, 27. 40 (also οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι [=οἱ ἐμπέπλησθε] L. 6. 25, though in 24 we have οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς πλαισίοις; A. 13. 16 ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ [sc. ὑμεῖς] οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, 2. 14; § 33, 4).

3. The participle when used **without a substantive** (or pronoun) and in place of one, as a rule takes the article as it does in classical Greek: ὁ παραδιδούς με Mt. 26. 46 (cp. 48; Ἰούδας ὁ παρ. αὐτόν 25), ὁ κλέπτων ‘he who has stolen hitherto’ E. 4. 28 etc. so also when used as a predicate (cp. § 47, 3), Jo. 8. 28 ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ μαρτυῶν, 6. 63 etc. Where it is used with a general application as in E. 4. 28 loc. cit. πᾶς may be inserted: πᾶσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν A. 1. 19; πᾶς ὁ

omitted according to Attic usage, but may stand according to the usage of the N.T.: cp. the further instances given of this in the text. The reading τὸ λεγόμενον (and the insertion of ἡ) may be due to κολυμβήθρα being taken as a dative.

<sup>1</sup> In Lys. 19. 57 εἰσὶ τινὲς οἱ προαναλίσκοντες it has not unreasonably been proposed to read οἱ προαναλίσκονται.

<sup>2</sup> For an instance where *οι* is omitted cp. Mc. 14. 4 ἥσάν τινες ἀγαπᾶτοῦντες, a periphrasis for the imperfect.

*ὅργιζόμενος* Mt. 5. 25, cp. 28, 7. 8 etc., L. 6. 30, 47 etc., A. 10. 43, 13. 39 (*πᾶς ὁ* not elsewhere in Acts), R. 1. 16, 2. 1 etc., though in other cases the article cannot be used with *πᾶς* ‘everyone,’ § 47, 9. Cp. Soph. Aj. 152 *πᾶς ὁ κλύων*, Demosth. 23. 97 *πᾶς ὁ θέμενος* (Krüger, Gr. 50, 4, 1: 11, 11). The article is omitted in Mt. 13. 19 *παντὸς ἀκούοντος*, L. 11. 4 *παντὶ ὄφείλοντι* (LX insert art.; D reads quite differently), 2 Th. 2. 4, Ap. 22. 15; and in all cases where a substantive is introduced as in Mt. 12. 25 (here again participle with art. is equivalent to a relative sentence, cp. *πᾶς ὅστις* Mt. 7. 24 with the part. in 26). Instances without *πᾶς* where the art. is omitted (occasionally found in class. Greek, Kühner ii. 525 f.): *ἴγούμενος* Mt. 2. 6 O.T. (see § 47, 3), *φωνὴ βοῶντος* Mc. 1. 3 O.T., *ἔχεις ἐκεῖ κρατοῦντας* Ap. 2. 14, *οὐκ ἔστιν συνιών κ.τ.λ.* R. 3. 11 f. O.T. (according to (A)BG, other MSS. insert art., in LXX. Ps. 13. 1 f. most MSS. omit it), ‘one who’ or ‘persons who,’ though with *οἱκ ἔστιν, ἔχω* and similar words the article is not ordinarily omitted in Attic.—**Neuter** participle, sing. and plur.: Mt. 1. 20 *τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ γεννηθέν,* 2. 15 and *passim* *τὸν ῥηθέν,* L. 2. 27 *τὸν εἰθισμένον* (*ἔθος* D) *τοῦ νόμου* (cp. § 47, 1), 3. 13 *τὸν διατεταγμένον ὑμῖν,* 4. 16 *κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός αὐτῷ,* 8. 56 *τὸν γεγονός,* 9. 7 *τὰ γενόμενα,* Jo. 16. 13 *τὰ ἐρχόμενα,* 1 C. 1. 28 *τὰ ἐξουθενημένα, τὰ μὴ ὄντα, τὰ ὄντα,* 10. 27 *πάντα τὸ παρατιθέμενον,* 14. 7, 9 *τὸν αὐλούμενον* etc., 2 C. 3. 10 f. *τὸ δεδοξασμένον, τὸ καταργούμενον* etc., H. 12. 10 *κατὰ τὸ δόκοντὸν αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον,* 12. 11 *πρὸς τὸ παρόν* etc. On the whole, as compared with the classical language, the use of the neuter is not a very frequent one: like the masculine participle it sometimes has reference to some individual thing, sometimes it generalizes; *τὸ συμφέρον* has also (as in Attic) become a regular substantive, if it is the correct reading, and not *σύμφορον*, in 1 C. 7. 35, 10. 33 *τὸ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν* (*ἐμαυτοῦ*) *συμφέρον* (N<sup>o</sup> al.).—In one or two passages we also find the rare future participle used with the article without a substantive: L. 22. 49 *τὸ ἐσόμενον* (*τὸ γενόμ.* D; other MSS. omit these words altogether from the text), etc., see § 61, 1.

4. The participle stands as **part of the predicate** in the first place in the periphrastic forms of the verb, § 62: viz. in the perfect (and fut. perf.) as in classical Greek, also according to Aramaic manner in the imperfect and future, the boundary-line between this use of the participle and its use as a clause in apposition being not very clearly drawn, ibid. 2. The finite verb used with it is *ἔναι* or *γίνεσθαι* (ibid. 3). This predicative participle is further used as the complement of a series of verbs which express a **qualified form of the verb ‘to be’** (to be continually, to be secretly etc.), and which by themselves give a quite incomplete sense; still this use of the part. as the complement of another verb has very much gone out in the N.T. and is mainly found only in Luke and Paul (Hebrews). *Ὑπάρχειν* (strictly ‘to be beforehand,’ ‘to be already’ so and so, though in the N.T. and elsewhere in the later language its meaning is weakened to that of *ἔναι*; nowhere in the N.T. has it the sense of ‘to take the lead in an action’) takes a participle in A. 8. 16, 19. 36, Ja. 2. 15 *γυμνοὶ ὑπάρχωσιν καὶ λειπόμενοι* (*ὦσιν* add. ALP) *τῆς ... τροφῆς; προῦπάρχειν*

(which obviously contains the meaning of ‘before’; a classical word) takes a part. in L. 23. 12 (D is different): but the part. is independent in A. 8. 9 *προϊπήρχεν* ἐν τῷ πόλει, μαγείων κ.τ.λ. (cp. the text of D). If the complement of this and of similar verbs is formed by an adjective or a preposition with a noun, then ὅν should be inserted; but this participle is usually omitted with this verb and the other verbs belonging to this class, cp. infra; Phrynicus 277 notes φίλος σοι τυγχάνω without ὅν as a Hellenistic construction (though instances of it are not wanting in Attic).—This verb *τυγχάνω* ‘to be by accident’ never takes a part. in N.T.; διατελεῖν ‘to continue’ takes an adj. without ὅν in A. 27. 33, for which we have ἐπιμένειν (cp. διαμένω λέγων Demosth. 8. 71<sup>1</sup>) in ‘Jo.’ 8. 7 ἐπέμενον ἐρωτῶντες, A. 12. 16, Clem. Cor. ii. 10. 5, and as in Attic οὐ διέλιπεν καταφιλοῦσα L. 7. 45, cp. A. 20. 27 D, Herm. Vis. i. 3. 2, iv. 3. 6, Mand. ix. 8. *Αρχεσθαι* in Attic takes a participle, if the initial state of anything is contrasted with its continuation or end, elsewhere the inf., which is used in all cases in the N.T.; however there is no passage where the part. would have had to be used according to the Attic rule. *Παίνεσθαι* takes a part. in L. 5. 4, A. 5. 42, 6. 13 etc., E. 1. 16, Col. 1. 9, H. 10. 2 (where it has a part. pass. οὐκ ἀν ἐπάνσαντο προσφέρομεναι); for which we have the unclassical *τελεῖν* in Mt. 11. 1 ἐτέλεσεν διατάσσων (cp. D in Luke 7. 1).—*Δανθάνειν* only takes a part. in H. 13. 2 ἔλαθον (sc. ἑαυτοὺς) ξενίσαντες (literary language); *φαίνεσθαι* in Mt. 6. 18 ὅπως μὴ φαῆται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύων, where however *νηστεύων* is an addition to the subject as in verse 17 σὺ δὲ νηστ. ἄλειψαι, and φαῆται τ. ἀνθρ. is an independent clause as in verse 5 (we nowhere have φαίνομαι or φανερός είμι, δῆλος είμι with a part. in the Attic manner = ‘it is evident that’; on φανεροῦσθαι ὅτι see § 70, 3).—With verbs meaning ‘to cease’ or ‘not to desist’ may be reckoned *ἔγκακειν* which takes a part. in G. 6. 9, 2 Th. 3. 13; the Attic words *κάρμειν*, *ἀπαγορεύειν* ‘to fail,’ *ἀνέχεσθαι*, *καρτερεῖν*, *ἴνομένειν* do not appear with a participle.—*Προέφθασεν* αὐτὸν λέγων Mt. 17. 25 agrees with classical usage (the simple verb has almost lost the meaning of ‘before’); it takes the inf. in Clem. Cor. ii. 8. 2, see § 69, 4.—Other expressions denoting action qualified in some way or other take a part.: *καλῶς ποιεῖν* as in Attic, *καλῶς ἐποίησας παραγενόμενος* A. 10. 33, cp. Ph. 4. 14, 2 P. 1. 19, 3 Jo. 6; for which we find incorrectly ἐν πράσσειν in A. 15. 29? To this category belongs also *τι ποιεῖτε λένοντες* Mc. 11. 5, cp. A. 21. 13; and again *ἥμαρτον παραδούσ* Mt. 27. 4.—*Οἰχεσθαι* and the like are never found with a participle.

5. A further category of verbs which take a participle as their complement consists of those which denote *emotion*, such as *χαίρειν*, *ὄργιζεσθαι*, *αισχύνεσθαι* and the like; this usage, however, has almost disappeared in the N.T. A. 16. 34 *ἡγαλλιάτο πεπιστευκώς* is an undoubted instance of it; but Jo. 20. 20 *ἐχάρησαν ιδόντες* undoubtedly means ‘when they saw Him’ (the participle being an additional independent statement), as in Ph. 2. 28 *ἴνα ιδόντες αὐτὸν χαρῆτε*, Mt.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Εμμένειν with a part. occurs in an inscriptional letter of Augustus, Viereck Sermo Graecus senatus Rom. p. 76.

2. 10. Another instance is 2 P. 2. 20 δόξας οὐ τρέμουσιν βλασ-  
φημοῦντες 'do not shudder at reviling'; but in 1 C. 14. 18 εὐχαριστῶ...  
λαλῶν is a wrong reading (of KL; correctly λαλῶ).—The use of the  
participle as a complement has been better preserved in the case of  
verbs of **perceiving** and **apprehending**; in classical Greek the part.  
stands in the nominative, if the perception refers to the subject, e.g.  
ὅρω ἡμαρτηκώς, in the accusative (or genitive) if it refers to the  
object, whereas in the N.T. except with passive verbs the nominative  
is no longer found referring to the subject (ὅτι is used instead in  
Mc. 5. 29, 1 Jo. 3. 14). With verbs meaning **to see** (βλέπω, θεωρῶ,  
[δρῶ], εἶδον, ἐθεασάμην, ἔόρακα, τεθέαμαι, ὄψομαι) we have Mt. 24. 30  
ὄψονται τὸν οὐδὲν τοῦ αἰνθρ. ἐρχόμενον, cp. 15. 31, Mc. 5. 31, Jo. 1. 32,  
38 etc.; with ὄντα A. 8. 23, 17. 16; with an ellipse of this participle  
(cp. supra 4; also found in classical Greek, Krüger, Gr. § 56, 7, 4)  
Jo. 1. 51 εἶδόν σε ὑποκάτω τῆς συκῆς, Mt. 25. 38 f. εἶδομέν σε ξένον,  
ἀσθενῆ (ἀσθενοῦντα BD), cp. 45, A. 17. 22 ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὥμᾶς  
θεωρῶ.<sup>1</sup> (These verbs also take ὅτι, § 70, 2.) Occasionally with the  
verb 'to see' as with other verbs of this kind the participle is rather  
more distinct from the object and presents an additional clause,  
while object and verb together give a fairly complete idea: Mt. 22.  
11 εἶδεν ἕκεὶ ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἐνδεδυμένον κ.τ.λ., = ὃς οὐκ ἐνεδέδυτο, Mc. 11.  
13 ιδὼν συκῆν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔχουσαν φύλλα, 'which had leaves.'—  
'Ακούειν with a part. is no longer frequent; alternative constructions,  
if the substance of the thing heard is stated, are the acc. and inf. and  
especially ὅτι, § 70, 2; it takes the acc. and part. in L. 4. 23 ὅσα  
ἡκούσαμεν γενόμενα, A. 7. 12, 3 Jo. 4, 2 Th. 3. 11,<sup>2</sup> and incorrectly  
instead of the gen. in A. 9. 4, 26. 14, vide infra. The construction  
with a gen. and part. is also not frequent apart from the Acts:  
Mc. 12. 28 ἀκούσας αὐτῶν συγκητούντων, 14. 58, L. 18. 36 ὄχλου  
διαπορευομένου, Jo. 1. 37, A. 2. 6, 6. 11 etc.; in 22. 7 and 11. 7  
ἡκουσα φωνῆς λεγούσης μοι, for which in 9. 4, 26. 14 we have φωνὴν  
λέγουσαν (in 26. 14 E has the gen.), although φωνή refers to the  
speaker and not to the thing spoken. Cp. § 36, 5.—Γινώσκειν has  
this construction in L. 8. 46 ἔγνων δύναμιν ἐξεληλυθυῖαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ,  
A. 19. 35, H. 13. 23; but ἐπιγν. Mc. 5. 30 (cp. L. loc. cit.) takes an  
object with an **attributive** participle, ἐπιγνοὺς τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύν.  
ἐξελθοῦσαν.—Εἰδέναι is so used only in 2 C. 12. 2 οἴδα... ἀρπαγέντα  
τὸν τοιούτον (it takes an adj. without ὄντα in Mc. 6. 20 εἰδὼς αὐτὸν  
ἄνδρα δίκαιον, where D inserts εἶναι); elsewhere it has the inf. and most  
frequently ὅτι, § 70, 2.—Ἐπιστασθαι in A. 24. 10 ὄντα σε κριτὴν  
ἐπιστάμενος, cp. 26. 3 where Η\*ΒΕΗ omit ἐπιστ. —Ἐνρίσκειν commonly  
takes this construction (also classical, Thuc. ii. 6. 3), Mt. 12. 44  
εὑρίσκει (sc. τὸν οἶκον, which D inserts) σχολάζοντα, 24. 46 ὅν... εὑρίσκει.

<sup>1</sup> No further instances occur of this use of ὡς with verbs of seeing: but cp.  
infra ὡς ἔχθρὸν ἤγεισθε 2 Th. 3. 15 'as if he were an enemy' (see also § 34, 5);  
the meaning therefore must be, 'so far as I see it appears as if you were' etc.  
(ὡς softens the reproof).

<sup>2</sup> The classical distinction between the inf. and the part. with this verb (the  
part. denoting rather the actual fact, and the inf. the hearsay report, Kühner  
ii.<sup>2</sup> 629) seems not to exist in the N.T.

*ποιοῦντα οὗτως*, etc. (occasionally as with the verb ‘to see,’ the part. is more distinct from the object, A. 9. 2 *τινὰς εὕρη τῆς ὁδοῦ ὄντας* ‘who were’); the pass. *εὑρίσκεσθαι* is used with the nom. of the part. (= Attic *φαίνεσθαι*, Viteau), *ένρεθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχοντα* Mt. 1. 18.—*Δοκιμάζειν* in 2 C. 8. 22 *ἐν ἀδόκιμάσαμεν* (‘have proved’) *σπουδῶν ὄντα* (used in another way it takes the inf., § 69, 4).—Instances of this construction are wanting with *συνιέναι*, *αἰσθάνεσθαι*, *μεμήσθαι* and others; *μανθάνειν* (class. *μανθάνω διαβεβλημένος* ‘that I am slandered’) only appears to take it in 1 Tim. 5. 13 *ἄμα δὲ καὶ ἀργαὶ μανθάνοντιν περιερχόμεναι*, where *περιερχ.* is in any case an additional statement, while *ἀργαὶ* is the predicate, with the omission (through corruption of the text) of *εἶναι* (*μανθ.* takes the inf. ibid. 4, Ph. 4. 11, Tit. 3. 14).—Verbs of **opining** strictly take an inf. or a double accusative (§ 34, 5); but in the latter case the acc. of the predicate may be a participle, *ἔχε με παρηγημένον* L. 14. 18, *ἀλλήλους ἡγούμενοι ὑπερέχοντας* Ph. 2. 3. The participle with ὡς may also in classical Greek be used with verbs of this class (Hdt. ii. 1 ὡς δούλους *πατρώτους ἔόντας ἐνόμιξε*), as it is in 2 C. 10. 2 *τοὺς λογιζομένους ἡμᾶς ὡς κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦντας*, but we may equally well have *ένρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος* Ph. 2. 8, ὡς *ἔχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθε* 2 Th. 3. 15, so that one sees that in the first passage the participle possesses no peculiar function of its own. Cp. § 74, 6.—*Ομολογεῖν* takes a double accusative in Jo. 9. 22 (D inserts *εἶναι*) and R. 10. 9 *ἐάν δομολογήσῃς κύριον Ἰησοῦν* ‘confesest J. as Lord’; accordingly we have also in 1 Jo. 4. 2 *Ἰησ. Χρ. ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα*, unless B is more correct in reading *ἐληλυθέναι*; cp. 3 with the reading of *εἴ τι κύριον ἐν σ. ἐλ.*, and 2 Jo. 7.—Verbs of **showing** are never found with a participle, § 70, 3.

#### § 74. PARTICIPLE. (II.) AS AN ADDITIONAL CLAUSE IN THE SENTENCE.

1. The participle is found still more abundantly used as an **additional clause** in the sentence, either referring to a noun (or pronoun) employed in the same sentence and in agreement with it (the conjunctive participle), or used independently and then usually placed together with the noun, which is its subject, in the genitive (the participle absolute). In both cases there is no nearer definition inherent in the participle as such, of the relation in which it stands to the remaining assertions of the sentence; but such a definition may be given by prefixing a particle and in a definite way by the tense of the participle (the future). The same purpose may be fulfilled by the writer, if he pleases, in other ways, with greater definiteness though at the same time with greater prolixity: namely, by a prepositional expression, by a conditional, causal, or temporal sentence etc., and lastly by the use of several co-ordinated principal verbs.

2. The **conjunctive participle**.—1 Tim. 1. 13 *ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα*, cp. A. 3. 17 *κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἐπράξατε*, *per inscitiam*: Mt. 6. 27 (L. 12. 25) *τίς μεριμνῶν δύναται προσθεῖναι κ.τ.λ.*, ‘by taking thought,’ or = *ἐάν καὶ*

*μεριμνᾶ.* We may note the occasional omission of the part. ὅν : L. 4. 1 'Ιησοῦς δὲ πλήρης πνεύματος ἀγίου ὑπέστρεψεν, cp. A. 6. 8 a quite similar phrase : H. 7. 2, A. 19. 37 οὐτε ἵεροσίλους οὐτε βλασφημοῦντας (cp. Kühner ii. 659), where the part. is concessive or adversative : as in Mt. 7. 11 εἰ ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες οἴδατε κ.τ.λ., 'although you are evil' (cp. L. 11. 13). To denote this sense more clearly classical Greek avails itself of the particle *καίπερ*, which is rare in the N.T.: Ph. 3. 4 *καίπερ* ἐγὼ ἔχων πεποίθησιν κ.τ.λ., H. 5. 8, 7. 5, 12. 17 : 2 P. 1. 12 (Herm. Sim. viii. 6. 4, 11. 1); it also uses *καὶ ταῦτα*, which in the N.T. appears in H. 11. 12; a less classical use is *καίτοι* with a part., likewise only found in H. 4. 3 (before a participle absolute), and a still less classical word is *καίτοιγε* (in classical Greek the γε is detached and affixed to the word emphasized), which however is only found with a finite verb, and therefore with a sort of paraactical construction : Jo. 4. 2 (*καίτοι* C), A. 14. 17 (*καίτοι* κΑΒC\*); in A. 17. 27 *καίγε* 'indeed' appears to be the better reading (*καίτοιγε* κ, *καίτοι* AE), here a participle follows. Cp. § 77, 4 and 14.

—**Conditional participle**: L. 9. 25 τί ὡφελεῖται ἀνθρώπος κερδῆσας τὸν κόσμον ὅλον, = Mt. 16. 26 ἐὰν κερδήσῃ. **Causal**: Mt. 1. 19 Ἰωσῆφ..., δίκαιος ὁν καὶ μὴ θέλων αὐτὴν δειγματίσαι, ἐβουλήθη κ.τ.λ., = ὅτι δίκαιος ἦν, or διὰ τὸ δίκαιος εἶναι, or (in class. Greek) ἀτε (οἷον, οἵα) δ. ὁν, particles which are no longer found in the N.T. **Final participle**: the classical use of the fut. part. in this sense in the N.T. apart from Lc. (A. 8. 27 ἐληλύθει προσκυνήσων, 22. 5, 24. 17, also 25. 13 according to the correct reading ἀπασόμενοι, § 58, 4) occurs only in Mt. 27. 49 (ἐρχεται σώσων : but κ\* has σῶσαι, D καὶ σώσει). More commonly this function is performed by the pres. part., § 58, 4, as in L. 7. 6 ἐπεμψεν φίλους δέ ἔκαντοντάρχης λέγων αὐτῷ, unless (Viteau, p. 186) another construction with kindred meaning is introduced, such as in Mt. 11. 2 πέμψας εἶτεν, 1 C. 4. 17 ἐπεμψα Τιμόθεον, δέ ἀναμήσει, or the infinitive, which is the commonest construction of all, § 69, 2.—Then the most frequent use of this participle is to state the manner in which an action takes place, its antecedents and its accompaniments, in which case it would sometimes be possible to use a temporal sentence in its place, and sometimes not, viz. if the statement is of too little importance to warrant the latter construction. For instance, in Mc. 1. 7 οὐκ οὐκὶ ικανὸς κύψας λῦσαι τὸν ἴμαντα, no one would have said ἐπειδὰν κύψω; nor again in A. 21. 32 δέ παραλαβὼν στρατιώτας κατέδραμεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν would anyone have used such a phrase as ἐπειδὴ παρέλαβεν, since the part. in this passage (as λαβών often does in class. Greek) corresponds to our 'with' and admits of no analysis (see also Jo. 18. 3, which Viteau compares with Mt. 26. 47, where we have μετ' αὐτοῦ; Mt. 25. 1). Similarly φέρων = 'with' in Jo. 19. 39; ἔχων, which is also very common in class. Greek, occurs in L. 2. 42 in D, besides in Mt. 15. 30 with the addition of μεθ' ἔαντων (ἄγων occurs nowhere). While therefore these classical phrases with the exception of λαβών are disappearing, λαβών is also used in another way together with other descriptive participles, which according to Hebrew precedent become purely pleonastic (Viteau, p. 191): Mt. 13. 31 κόκκῳ σινάπεως, δὲν λαβών ἀνθρώπος

ἔσπειρεν, and again in 33 ἔνμη ἦν λαβοῦσα γυνὴ ἐνέκρυψεν, 14. 19 λαβὼν τὸν ἄρτον εὐλόγησεν, 21. 35, 39 etc.; so also ἀναστάς (after the Hebr. בָּקַר) L. 15. 18 ἀναστὰς πορεύομαι, ibid. 20, A. 5. 17, 8. 27 etc.; Mt. 13. 46 ἀπελθὼν πέπρακεν (cp. 25. 18, 25), πορευθεὶς 25. 16 (both verbs representing the Hebr. תְּבַנֵּ), ep. infra 3.—The classical use of ἀρχόμενος ‘at the beginning,’ τελειτῶν ‘in conclusion,’ is not found; but we find as in class. Greek ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ L. 24. 47, ἀ. ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ‘Jo.’ 8. 9 ‘beginning with,’ with which in the passage of ‘Jo.’ we have in the ordinary text (D is different) the unclassical addition of ἕως τῶν ἐσχάτων, as also in A. 1. 22 ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάνου ἀχρι (ἕως BD) κ.τ.λ. (L. 23. 5, Mt. 20. 8). Ἀρξάμενος is used pleonastically in A. 11. 4 ἀρξάμενος Πέτρος ἔξειθετο αὐτοῖς καθεξῆς, with a certain reference to καθεξῆς and occasioned by that word; cp. on ἤρξατο with inf. § 69, 4 note 1, on p. 227.—With προσθεὶς εἶπεν ‘said further’ L. 19. 11, cp. προστίθεσθαι with the inf. (a Hebraism) § 69, 4.

**3. Conjunctive participle and co-ordination.**—The pleonastic use of λαβεῖν etc. (supra 2) does not necessarily require the participle, and the finite verb (with *kai*) may also be employed in this way—a construction which exactly corresponds to the Hebrew exemplar, and which in Greek would only be regarded as intolerable when continued at some length. In the LXX. we have Gen. 32. 22 ἀναστὰς δὲ τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην, ἔλαβε τὰς δύο γυναῖκας ... καὶ διέβη ..., (23) καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν καὶ διέβη κ.τ.λ., which for the most part agrees word for word with the Hebrew, except that a perfect agreement would have also required καὶ ἀνέστη ... καὶ ἔλαβεν at the beginning, which was felt to be intolerable even by this translator. The N.T. writers have also in the case of this particular verb usually preferred the participle; co-ordination is only rarely found as in A. 8. 26 ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύον (here also D has ἀναστὰς πορεύθητι; the MSS. often give ἀνάστα without *kai* with asyndeton, A. 9. 11 B, 10. 13 Vulgate, 20 D\* Vulg., so in 11. 7; cp. § 79, 4); L. 22. 17 λάβετε τοῦτο καὶ διαμερίσατε. In the introduction to a speech we find already in Hebrew נִשְׁאַל used with a finite verb such as ‘asked’ or ‘answered’: the Greek equivalent for this is λέγων, numerous instances of which appear in the N.T. after ἀποκρίνεσθαι, λαλεῖν, κράζειν etc. But in Hebrew the word ‘answered’ is also succeeded by יִשְׁרָאֵל (LXX. καὶ εἶπεν), and the same construction occurs in the N.T. e.g. Jo. 20. 28 ἀπεκρίθη Θωμᾶς καὶ εἶπεν, 14. 23, 18. 30 (so almost always in John’s Gospel, unless ἀπεκρ. is used without an additional word), L. 17. 20; beside which we have ἀπεκρίθη λέγων Mc. 15. 9 (D ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει), A. 15. 13 (not in D), ἀπεκρίθησαν λέγονται Mt. 25. 9, ep. 37, 44 f. (Jo. 12. 23), and by far the most predominant formula except in John ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν (twice in the second half of the Acts 19. 15 [not in D], 25. 9). We never find ἀποκρινόμενος εἶπεν, any more than we find ἀπεκρίθη εἰπών, since the answer is reported as a fact, and therefore in the aorist, while the verb of saying which is joined with it in the participle gives the manner of the answer, and must therefore be

a present participle. John (and Paul) have also the following combinations: Jo. 1. 25 καὶ ἥρωτησαν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ (but Mt. 15. 23 ἥρωτων λέγοντες, and so John himself has ἥρωτησαν λέγ. 4. 31, 9. 2 etc.), 9. 28 ἐλοιδόρησαν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπαν, 12. 44 ἔκραξεν καὶ εἶπεν (D ἔκραξε καὶ ἔλεγεν), cp. D in L. 8. 28 (but Mt. 8. 29 has ἔκραξαν λέγοντες, so 14. 30 etc.; κράξας λέγει Mc. 5. 7 [εἶπε D], κράξας ἔλεγε 9. 24 [λέγει a better reading in D]; ἔκραύγαζον [v.l. ἔκραζον] λέγ. Jo. 19. 12, ἔκραύγασαν λέγ. 18. 40); 13. 21 ἐμαρτύρησε καὶ εἶπε (A. 13. 22 εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας; Jo. 1. 32 ἐμαρτύρησεν λέγων); R. 10. 20 ἀποτολμᾶ καὶ λέγει; Jo. 18. 25 ἡρνήσατο καὶ εἶπε, Mt. 26. 70 etc. ἡρν. λέγων, but A. 7. 35 ὃν ἡρνήσαντο εἰπόντες.<sup>1</sup> The tense in the last instance εἰπόντες is occasioned by the fact that ἡρν. is not here a verbum dicendi; accordingly we find the same tense elsewhere, Jo. 11. 28 ἐφώνησεν τὴν ἀδελφὴν (called) εἰπούσα (with the words), = καὶ εἶπεν 18. 33; A. 22. 24 ἐκέλευσεν εἰσάγεσθαι ... εἴπας, 21. 14 ἡσυχάσαμεν εἰπόντες, L. 5. 13 ἦψατο εἰπών, 22. 8 ἀπέστειλεν εἰπών (Mt. inversely has πέμψας εἶπεν ‘sent with the words’; 11. 3 πέμψας διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν εἶπεν is rather different ‘he bade them say’). By the use of the aorist participle nothing is stated with regard to the sequence of time (cp. § 58, 4), any more than it is by the use of the equivalent co-ordination with καὶ: L. 15. 23 φαγόντες εὐφρανθῶμεν, = D φάγωμεν καὶ εὐφρ. With the finite verb εἶπεν we do indeed occasionally find λέγων (L. 12. 16, 20. 2; see § 24 s v. λέγειν), but other participles, which express something more than merely saying, are always aorist participles as in the instances quoted hitherto: παρρησιασάμενοι ε. A. 13. 46, προσευξάμενοι ε. 1. 24, since the two verbs, which denote one and the same action, are assimilated to each other. Between two participles of this kind a connecting copula is inserted: κράζοντες καὶ λέγοντες Mt. 9. 27, ἀποταξάμενος καὶ εἰπών A. 18. 21 (the β text is different), Paul rather harshly has χαίρων καὶ βλέπων Col. 2. 5 meaning ‘since I see’; where no such close homogeneity exists between them, the participles may follow each other with asyndeton, and often are bound to do so: A. 18. 23 ἔξηλθεν, διερχόμενος τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν, στηρίζων τὸν μαθητάς, = ἔξηλθεν καὶ διήρχετο (§ 58, 4) στηρίζων (the latter part. being subordinated as the sense requires): 19. 16 ἐφαλόμενος δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ..., κατακυριεύσας ἀμφοτέρων ἵσχυσεν κατ' αὐτῶν, = ἐφήλετο καὶ κ.τ.λ., whereas the reading καὶ κατακ. (N<sup>\*</sup> HLP) connects κατακυριεύειν with ἐφαλέσθαι in a way that is not so good; in 18. 22 κατελθὼν εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἀναβὰς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὸν μαθητάς, κατέβη εἰς Ἀντίόχειαν a second καὶ before ἀναβὰς would be possible but ugly: the sentence may be resolved into κατῆλθεν εἰς Κ., ἀναβὰς δὲ καὶ κ.τ.λ. These instances of accumulation of participles, which are not uncommon in the Acts (as distinguished from the simpler manner of

<sup>1</sup> Among remarkable instances of co-ordination belongs ἔσκαψεν καὶ ἐβάθυνεν L. 6. 48, as the meaning is ‘dug deep’; βαθύνεις would therefore be more appropriate. But the LXX., following the Hebrew, has the same construction, ἔτάχυνε καὶ ἔδραμεν Judges 13. 10 (Winer).—Also Jo. 8. 59 ἐκρύβη καὶ ἔξηλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, = ἐκρύβη ἔξελθών ‘withdrew from their sight.’

the Gospels<sup>1</sup>), are never devoid of a certain amount of stylistic refinement, which is absent from the instances of accumulation in the epistolary style of St. Paul, which consist rather of a mere stringing together of words.

4. A thoroughly un-Greek usage, though common in the LXX., is the addition to a finite verb of the participle belonging to that verb, in imitation of the infinitive which is so constantly introduced in Hebrew, and which in other cases is rendered in more correct Greek by the dative of the verbal substantive, § 38, 3. The N.T. only has this part. in O.T. quotations : Mt. 13. 14 βλέποντες βλέψετε, A. 7. 34 ἴδων εἴδον, H. 6. 14.

5. **Participle absolute.**—Of the absolute participial constructions the classical language makes the most abundant use of the genitive absolute : the use of the accusative absolute is in its way as regular, but is not found very frequently : the nominative absolute (as in Hdt. vii. 157 ἀλῆς γινομένη ἡ Ἑλλάς, χείρ μεγάλη συνάγεται) is antiquated and was never a common construction. The N.T. has only preserved the use of the genitive in this way ; since the so-called instances of the nom. absolute to be found there are really no construction at all, but its opposite, i.e. anacoluthon (see § 79, 7). Now the use of the gen. abs. in the regular classical language is limited to the case where the noun or pronoun to which the participle refers does not appear as the subject or have any other function in the sentence ; in all other cases the conjunctive participle must be used. The New Testament writers on the other hand—in the same way in which they are inclined to detach the infinitive from the structure of the sentence, and to give it a subject of its own in the accusative, even where this is already the main subject of the sentence (§ 72, 2 and 3)—show a similar tendency to give a greater independence to participial additional clauses, and adopt the absolute construction in numerous instances, even where classical writers would never have admitted it as a special license.<sup>2</sup> Mt. 9. 18 ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτοῖς, ἵδου ἄρχων... προσεκύνει αὐτῷ ; cp. 10 (where it is more excusable), 18. 24, 24. 3, 26. 6, 27. 17, in all which cases the noun which is the subject of the participle appears in the dative in the main sentence (in 5. 1 αὐτῷ is omitted in B ; in 8. 1 according to Κ\*KL al. we should read καταβάντι αὐτῷ... ἥκολούθησαν αὐτῷ, likewise grossly incorrect, cp. inf.; a similar v.l. appears ibid. 5, 28, 21. 23, but in 8. 28 Κ\* gives a correct construction reading ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν); so also Mc. 13. 1, L. 12. 36, 14. 29 (D gives a different and correct constr.), 17. 12 (BL om. αὐτῷ; D is quite different), 22. 10, Jo. 4. 51 (αὐτῷ om. d), A. 4. 1 (D om. αὐτοῖς). Again we have in Mt. 18. 25 μὴ ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ ἀποδούναι, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος πραθῆναι (the accusative following) ; so Mc. 5. 18, 9. 28 (v.l. εἰσελθόντα αὐτὸν... ἐπηρώτων

<sup>1</sup> Occasionally, however, it is found there as well : Mt. 14. 19 κελεύσας (ΚΖ ἐκέλευσεν)... λαβὼν... ἀναβλέψας, 27. 48 δραμὼν... καὶ λαβὼν... πλήσας τε (τε om. Δ) ... καὶ περιθεὶς.

<sup>2</sup> On the same usage in the LXX. see Viteau, p. 199 f. (e.g. Gen. 18. 1, Ex. 5. 20).

*αὐτόν), 10. 17, 11. 27 (πρὸς αὐτὸν), 13. 3, L. 9. 42, 15. 20, 18. 40, 22. 53 (ἐπ' ἐμέ), Jo. 8. 30 (εἰς αὐτόν), A. 19. 30 (αὐτὸν om. D), 21. 17 (the β text is different), 25. 7, 28. 17 (πρὸς αὐτοὺς), 2 C. 12. 21 (v.l. ἐλθόντα με, and without the second με). If the accusative is dependent on a preposition, and the participle precedes the accusative, it is of course impossible to make it into a conjunctive participle.—If the word in question follows in the genitive, the result is the same incorrect pleonasm of the pronoun as is seen in the case of the dative in the example quoted above from Mt. 8. 1 with the reading of Η\*: Mt. 6. 3 σοῦ ποιοῦντος ἐλεημοσίνην μὴ γνῶτα ἡ ἀριστερά σου (Herm. Sim. ix. 14. 3 κατεφθαρμένων ἡμῶν ... τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν), cp. 5. 1 if αὐτῷ is omitted (with B, vide supra). The instance which intrinsically is the harshest, and at the same time the least common, is that where the word in question is afterwards used as the subject, as in Mt. 1. 18 μηντευθείσης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας τῷ Ἰωσήφ, πρὶν ἡ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εὑρέθη, an anacoluthon which after all is tolerable, and for which classical parallels may be found (Kühner ii. 666); but A. 22. 17 is an extremely clumsy sentence, ἐγένετο δέ μοι ὑποστρέψαντι εἰς Ἱερουσ., [καὶ] προσευχομένου μον ἐν τῷ ιερῷ, γενέσθαι με ἐν ἐκστάσῃ (καὶ should apparently be removed, because if it is kept the connection of the dat. and gen. remains inexplicable). Cp. also L. 8. 35 D; Herm. Vis. i. 1. 3 πορευομένου μον εἰς Κούμας καὶ δοξάζοντος (ἔδόξαζον as) ..., περιπατῶν ἀφίπτωσα. The gen. abs. stands after the subject in H. 8. 9 O.T., cp. Viteau, p. 210 (the meaning is 'in the day when I took'); it has the same position after the dative in 2 C. 4. 18 ἡμῖν, μὴ σκοπούντων ἡμῶν (but D\*FG read with an anacoluthon μὴ σκοποῦντες, perhaps rightly), Herm. Vis. iii. 1. 5 φρίκη μοι προσῆλθεν, μόνου μον ὄντος.—The omission of the noun or pronoun which agrees with the part., if it can be readily supplied, is allowable in the N.T. as in the classical language : Mt. 17. 14 ΗBZ (C etc. insert αὐτῶν), 26 (with many variants), L. 12. 36 ἐλθόντος καὶ κρούσαντος, A. 21. 31 ξητούντων (ibid. 10 with ἡμῶν inserted as a v.l.), etc. Another instance of the omission of a noun with the participle occurs in Attic where the participle is impersonal; this is a case for the employment of the accusative absolute, ἔξον, ἵπάρχον, προστεταγμένον etc., followed by an infinitive. But in the N.T. ἔξον is only used as a predicate with an ellipse of ἔστι, A. 2. 29, 2 C. 12. 4, and even Luke is so far from employing a passive part. in this way that he says very awkwardly in A. 23. 30 μηνθείσης δέ μοι ἐπιβουλῆς εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα ἔσεσθαι, instead of μηνθὲν ἐπιβουλὴν ἔστ. (Buttm. 273). The solitary remaining instance, rather obscured, of the acc. abs. is τυχόν 'perhaps' in 1 C. 16. 6, L. 20. 13 D, A. 12. 15 D.*

**6. Particles used with a participle.**—It has already been noticed above in 2 that the particular relation in which the additional participial clause (whether absolute or conjunctive) stands to the principal sentence may be rendered perceptible by the insertion of a particle (*καίπερ*, *καὶ ταῦτα*, *καίτοι*). This usage is but slightly represented in the N.T.; since even of the temporal use of ἅμα to denote simultaneousness or immediate sequence (*τρίβων ἅμα ἔφη* 'while rubbing') it contains no real instance (A. 24. 26 ἅμα καὶ ἐλπίζων is 'withal in the

expectation,' 27. 40 ἄμα ἀνέντες 'while they at the same time also,' Col. 4. 3 προσευχόμενοι ἄμα καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν, 'at the same time for us also'; cp. ἄμα δὲ καὶ with imperat. in Philem. 22). A more frequent particle with a participle is the simple ὡς (ὡσπερ in A. 2. 2, denoting comparison; ὡσεῖ 'as though' R. 6. 13); however the participle is for the most part used with ὡς (as with ὡσεῖ in the passage of Romans) in just the same way as a noun of any kind may be used with these particles, cp. §§ 34, 5 and 78, 1, and of constructions which may really be reckoned as special participial constructions with ὡς, many are entirely or almost entirely wanting in the N.T. Thus we never find ὡς with the acc. abs. (ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα εἰδότας 'in the belief that'); and again ὡς with a future participle occurs only in H. 13. 17 ἀγρυπνοῦσιν ὡς λόγον ἀποδώσοντες 'as persons who' (cp. L. 9. 52 bql *quasi paraturi* = ὡς ἐτοιμάσοντες; Mc. 11. 13 ὡς εὑρίσκων Origen, minusc. 100, afq). In all these instances ὡς with a participle gives a reason on the part of the actor or speaker. The use of this construction without an acc. abs. and with a participle other than the future is more common: L. 16. 1 and 23. 14 'on the assertion that,' 'on the plea of,' so also in A. 23. 15, 20, 27. 30 (here with προφάσει prefixed); see also A. 3. 12 ἡμῖν τί ἀτενίζετε, ὡς πεποιηκόσιν 'as though we had,' 1 C. 7. 25 γνώμην δίδωμι ὡς ἡλεγμένος, 'as one who,' 'in the conviction that I am one'; 2 C. 5. 20 (gen. abs.), H. 12. 27; A. 20. 13 (*β* text) ὡς μέλλων ... 'since he said that'; in the negative we have οὐχ ὡς 'not as if' A. 28. 19, 2 Jo. 5. We also find abbreviated expressions where the participle is dropped: Col. 3. 23 δὲ ἔαν ποιῆτε, ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐργάζεσθε, ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ (sc. ἐργαζόμενοι αὐτῷ) καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις, 1 C. 9. 26, 2 C. 2. 17, E. 6. 7, 1 P. 4. 11, R. 13. 13 ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ = ὡς ἡμέρας οὖσης, 2 Th. 2. 2 δι' ἐπιστολῆς, ὡς δι' ἡμῶν, sc. γεγραμμένης, or rather = ὡς ἡμῶν γεγραφότων αὐτήν, G. 3. 16 etc. Classical Greek has similar phrases.—"Av with the participle has quite gone out of use,<sup>1</sup> as it has with the infinitive.—Where a participial clause is placed first, the principal clause which follows may be introduced by a οὐτῶς referring back to the previous clause; but this classical usage is found only in the Acts: 20. 11 ὅμιλήσας ..., οὐτῶς ἐξῆλθεν, 27. 10.

### § 75. THE NEGATIVES.

1. The distinction between the two negatives, the **objective οὐ** and the **subjective μή**, in classical Greek is to some extent rather complicated; on the other hand in the *κοινή* of the N.T. all instances may practically be brought under the single rule, that οὐ negatives the indicative, μή the other moods, including the **infinitive** and **participle**.

2. **Principal clauses with the indicative.**—The prohibitive future makes no exception to the rule just given: οὐ φονεύσεις Mt. 5. 21

<sup>1</sup> Ως διν with a gen. abs. in Barn. 6. 11 is different; cp. the modern Greek (ω)σάν 'as,' Hatzidakis Einl. in d. ngr. Gr. 217; infra § 78, 1.

O.T. (§ 64, 3).<sup>1</sup> But in an interrogative sentence both *οὐ* and *μή* are employed (as in classical Greek) : *οὐ* (or *οὐ μή*, § 64, 5) if an affirmative answer is expected, *μή* if a negative ; so in L. 6. 39 *μήτι δύναται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὁδηγεῖν* ('is it possible that ... ?' *Ans.* Certainly not), *οὐχὶ ἀμφότεροι εἰς βόθυνον ἐμπεσοῦνται* (*Ans.* Yes, certainly). Of course the negative used depends on the answer expected and not on the actual answer given: thus in Mt. 26. 25 Judas asks like the other Apostles (22) *μήτι ἐγώ εἴμι, ραββί* ('it surely is not I ?'), and receives the answer *σὺ εἶπας*.<sup>2</sup> (In L. 17. 9, according to AD al., the answer of the first speaker is appended with the words *οὐ δοκῶ*.) *Μήτι* instead of *μή* is a very favourite form in questions of this kind, just as *οὐχὶ* takes the place of *οὐ* in those which expect a positive answer; but the simple forms are also used. In questions introduced by *μή* the verb itself may also be negatived, as in classical Greek, of course with *οὐ*: this produces *μὴ ... οὐ* (and an affirmative answer is naturally now expected) : R. 10. 17 *μὴ οὐκ ἥκουσαν* 'can it be that they have not heard it?' (*Ans.* Certainly they have), 1 C. 11. 22 al. (only in the Pauline Epp.).—*Μήτι* is further found in the elliptical *μήτιγε 1 C. 6. 3 = πόσῳ γε μᾶλλον* 'much more' (*μή τι γε δὴ τοῖς θεοῖς Demosth. 2. 23*).

3. **Subordinate clauses with the indicative.**—The chief point to notice here is that *εἰ* with the indicative (supposed reality) takes the negative *οὐ* in direct contradistinction to the classical language, as it even does in one instance where the indicative denotes something contrary to fact : Mt. 26. 24 = Mc. 14. 21 *καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος*. Elsewhere however these suppositions contrary to fact take *μή* : Jo. 15. 22 *εἰ μὴ ἥλθον ... ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ εἴχοσαν*, 24. 9. 33, 18. 30, 19. 11, Mt. 24. 22 = Mc. 13. 20, A. 26. 32, R. 7. 7, no distinction being made as to whether *εἰ μή* means 'apart from the case where' (*nisi*) or 'supposing the case that not' (*si non*, as in Jo. 15. 22, 24). Moreover in other cases where the meaning is *nisi εἰ μή* is used (cp. Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 744), viz. either where, as generally happens, no verb follows the particle, as in Mt. 5. 13 *εἰς οὐδὲν εἰ μή βληθῆναι* (and in *εἰ δὲ μή γε*, § 77, 4), or where a verb is used, which is generally in the pres. indic., as in *εἰ μή τινές εἰσιν* G. 1. 7, cp. § 65, 6. But in all other cases we find *εἰ οὐ* (even in L. 11. 8 *εἰ καὶ οὐ δώσει* for *ἐὰν καὶ μὴ δῷ*, § 65, 5); an abnormal instance is 1 Tim. 6. 3 *εἰ τις ἔτεροδιδάσκαλεῖ καὶ μὴ προσέχεται κ.τ.λ.* (literary language; *εἰ ... οὐ* appears in 3. 5, 5. 8), and another is the additional clause in D in L. 6. 4 *εἰ δὲ μὴ οἴδας*.—Similar to this is the use of *οὐ* in **relative sentences with the indicative**; exceptions are (1) Jo. 4. 3 *οὐ μὴ ὄμολογεῖ* a wrong reading for *οὐ λύει*), Tit. 1. 11 *διδάσκοντες ἀ μὴ δεῖ*, 2 P. 1. 9 *φὴ μὴ πάρεστιν ταῦτα, τυφλός ἐστιν* (literary language; there is no question here of definite persons or things, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 745). In affirmations introduced by *ὅτι* (or *ὡς*), also in temporal and causal

<sup>1</sup> Still Clem. Hom. iii. 69 has *μηδένα μισήσετε* (in the middle of positive futures expressing command).

<sup>2</sup> Still Jo. 21. 5 *μή τι προσφάγοιν ἔχετε*; hardly lends itself to the meaning 'certainly not I suppose' (cp. also the use of this negative in 4. 33, 7. 26).

sentences with the indicative, the general use of *οὐ* is a matter of course; H. 9. 17 ἐπεὶ μήποτε (or *μὴ τότε*) *ἰσχνεῖ*, ὅτε ξῆ ὁ διαθέμενος is an interrogative sentence (Theophylact),<sup>1</sup> and the only exception to this rule which can be established is Jo. 3. 18 ὁ *μὴ πιστεύων ήδη κέκριται*, ὅτι *μὴ πεπίστευκεν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα κ.τ.λ.*<sup>2</sup>—After *μήπως* or *μὴ* expressing apprehension, if the verb itself is negated, an *οὐ* must be inserted before the conjunctive: Mt. 25. 9 *μήποτε οὐκ ἀρκέσῃ* (cp. the v.l. in the same passage, *infra* 6); *φοβοῦμαι μὴ ... οὐ* 2 C. 12. 20.

4. The **infinitive**.—*Μή* is used throughout, since in H. 7. 11 it is not the inf. but only the idea *κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Ααρών* which is negated (cp. in class. Greek Lys. 13. 62 *εἰ μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ [= ὀλίγοι] ἥσαν*, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 747 f.). We may particularly note the use of *μή* according to classical precedent (Kühner 761 f.) in certain instances after verbs containing a **negative idea** (a pleonastic use according to our way of thinking): L. 20. 27 *οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες* (AP al.; NBCDL read *λέγοντες* as in Mt. and Mc.) *ἀνάστασιν μὴ εἶναι* (*ἀντιλέγειν* here only takes an inf.), 22. 34 *ἔως τρὶς ἀπαρνήσῃ μὴ εἰδέναι με* (*με ἀπ. εἰδ.* NBCDL; *ἀπαρν.* not elsewhere with an inf.), cp. 1 Jo. 2. 22 ὁ *ἀρνούμενος ὅτι Ἰησ. οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Χριστός* (as in Demosth. 9. 54 *ἀρν.* ὡς *οὐκ εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι*), H. 12. 19 *παρηγήσαντο μὴ* (om. NBCDL) *προστεθῆναι*, G. 5. 7 *τίς ίμᾶς ἐνέκοψεν ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι*; (*ἐγκόπτεσθαι* takes *τοῦ ἐλθεῖν* in R. 15. 22, cp. Kühner 768 c.). But in H. 11. 24 we have *ἥρνήσατο* ('scorned') *λέγεσθαι*; and *κωλύειν* is regularly used without a subsequent *μή*, a construction which is also admissible in classical Greek, Kühner 767 f.; see however § 71, 2 and 3.

5. The **participle**.—Here the tendency of the later language to use *μή* is noticeable even in writers like Plutarch; the Attic language on the other hand lays down rules as to the particular negative required according to the meaning of the participle in individual cases. Hardly any exceptions to the N.T. usage occur in Mt. and John: Mt. 22. 11 *εἶδεν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἐνδεινμένον ἐνδυμα γάμου*, = ὃς οὐκ ἐνεδέντο (Attic Greek would therefore have *οὐ*; but C<sup>3</sup>D have *μή* perhaps correctly, cp. 12), Jo. 10. 12 ὁ *μισθωτὸς καὶ οὐκ ὁν ποιμῆν* (no definite person is referred to, therefore Attic would use *μή*): in this passage *οὐ* is no doubt a Hebraism, since in the case of a participle with the article the LXX. render NBCDL by *οὐ*, as in G. 4. 27 O.T. *ἥ οὐ τίκτουσα κ.τ.λ.*, R. 9. 25 (Viteau, p. 217 f.). There are more exceptions in Luke: 6. 42 *αὐτὸς ... οὐ βλέπων* (D is different), A. 7. 5 *οὐκ ὄντος αὐτῷ τέκνου*, 26. 22 *οὐδὲν ἐκτὸς λέγων*, 28. 17 *οὐδὲν ... ποιήσας* (all correct Attic Greek). *Οὐχ ὁ τυχών 'no ordinary person'* explains itself (it is the single idea in *τυχών* which is negated, *supra* 4)

<sup>1</sup> 'Ἐπεὶ μή instead of ἐπεὶ οὐ is an established usage in Clem. Hom. (ix. 14, xviii. 6), and for many instances of ἐπεὶ μή in Philostratus see W. Schmid Atticism. iv. 93; but at any rate in the passage of Hebrews *μήποτε* (*μὴ τότε NBCDL\**) is clearly interrogative ('never' would be *μηδέποτε* or *οὐδέποτε*). Cp. further § 82, 2.

<sup>2</sup> It is said (Viteau, p. 213 f.) that the second *μή* is here occasioned by assimilation to the first, i.e. the use of *μή* is explained as a piece of carelessness, which I should rather attribute to the copyist than to the author.

A. 19. 11, 28. 2; there is a different reason for *οὐ* in 28. 19 (1 Th. 2. 4) *οὐχ* ὡς ἔχων κ.τ.λ. ('I have not done this as one who,' etc.). Instances of *οὐ* in Paul (Hebrews and Peter): (R. 9. 25 O.T. [vide supra] *τὸν οὐ λαὸν κ.τ.λ.* after the Hebrew, = *τὸν οὐκ ὄντα λ.* in class. Greek; cp. 1 P. 2. 10), 2 C. 4. 8 f. *θλιβόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐ στενοχωρούμενοι κ.τ.λ.* (here again it is the single idea in *στενοχωρούμενοι* which is negated), Ph. 3. 3 καὶ οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ πεποιθότες, Col. 2. 19 καὶ οὐ κρατῶν κ.τ.λ. (elsewhere καὶ μή is used, as in L. 1. 20 ἔσῃ σιωπῶν καὶ μή δυνάμενος λαλῆσαι)<sup>1</sup>; H. 11. 1 *πραγμάτων οὐ βλεπομένων* (= Att. ὃν ἀν τις μὴ ὁρᾷ), 35 οὐ *προσδεξάμενοι* (correctly): 1 P. 1. 8 ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες ἀγαπᾶτε correctly, but the writer continues with εἰς ὃν ἥρτι μὴ ὁρῶντες πιστεύοντες δὲ, where it is artificial to wish to draw a distinction between the two negatives. With ὡς (with which Attic prefers to use *οὐ*, Kühner 755) we have 1 C. 9. 26 οὐκ ἀδήλως ... οὐκ ἀέρα δέρων.

**6. Combined negatives.**—For μὴ οὐ vide supra 2 and 3; for οὐ μή (frequently used) see § 64, 5, with the conj. or fut. indic.; once we find as a v.l. μήποτε οὐ μὴ Mt. 25. 9 BCD al., vide supra 3 ad fin.—The only examples of οὐ ... οὐ, οὐ ... μή neutralizing each other are 1 C. 12. 15 οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος (cp. μή ... μή in L. 14. 29 D, ἵνα μήποτε ... μὴ ισχύσῃ), A. 4. 20 οὐ δυνάμεθα ... μὴ λαλεῖν (classical usage corresponds), apart from the instances where the second negative stands in a subordinate clause, viz. οὐδεὶς – ὁς (class. ὁστις) οὐ (but here we do not find the classical practice of directly connecting οὐδεὶς with, and assimilating it to, the relative, Kühner 919, 5) Mt. 10. 26, L. 12. 2, οὐ ... ὁς οὐ Mt. 24. 2 al.; the same meaning is expressed by giving an interrogative form to the principal clause and omitting the first negative (Buttmann 305), τίς ἔστιν ... ὁς οὐ A. 19. 35.—The classical combination of negatives οὐ (μὴ) ... οὐδεὶς (μηδεὶς) and the like, to intensify the negation, is not excessively frequent: the instances are Mc. 15. 4 οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδέν; 5 οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίθη, L. 10. 19 οὐδὲν .. οὐ μὴ (not in D), 23. 53 οὐκ ἦν οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς, A. 8. 39 οὐκ ... οὐκέτι, Mc. 11. 14 μηκέτι ... μηδεὶς, etc. (οὐδέποτε μοι οὐδεὶς Herm. Mand. iii. 3); on the other hand we find (contrary to the classical rule, Kühner 758, but cp. 760, 4) οὐχ ἄρπασει τις Jo. 10. 28, οὐ ... ὑπό τινος 1 C. 6. 12, οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει Mt. 11. 27, 12. 19, οὐτε ... τις A. 28. 21, οὐ δυνήσῃ ἔτι οἰκονομεῖν L. 16. 2, οὐ ... ποτέ 2 P. 1. 21.

**7. Form and position of the negative.**—The strengthened form οὐχί, besides being used in questions (supra 2), is also specially frequent where the negative is independent = 'no,' L. 1. 60, οὐχί, λέγω ὑμῖν 12. 51, 13. 3, 5 (the opposite to which is *vai* [Attic never has *vaiχί*], λέγω ὑμῖν 7. 26; οὐ λ. ὑμῖν would not have been quite clear, though οὐ also appears elsewhere for 'no,' Mt. 13. 29 etc., and in a strengthened form οὐ οὐ like *vai* *vai* Mt. 5. 37<sup>2</sup>); the longer

<sup>1</sup> In E. 5. 4 *τὰ οὐκ ἀνήκοντα* is only a v.l. for & οὐκ ἀνήκεν, see § 63, 4. In 1 C. 11. 17 read οὐκ ἐπανῶ (with a stop before it, and *παραγγέλλω*).

<sup>2</sup> So too in 2 C. 1. 17 ἵνα γὰρ ἐμοὶ τὸν *vai* *vai* καὶ τὸν οὐ οὐ; but in Ja. 5. 12 the words should apparently be divided, ητῶ δὲ ὑμῶν τὸν *vai* *vai* ('let your yea be a yea, and nothing more') καὶ τὸ οὐ οὐ.

form of the negative is also occasionally used elsewhere, Jo. 13. 10 f. οὐχὶ πάντες, 14. 22, 1 C. 10. 29, πῶς οὐχὶ R. 8. 32, οὐχὶ μᾶλλον 1 C. 5. 2, 6. 7, 2 C. 3. 8.—The position of the negative is as a matter of course before the thing to be negated, especially therefore does it stand before the verb; frequently negative and verb coalesce into a single idea, as in οὐκ ἔω (or the more colloquial οὐκ ἀφίω) ‘prevent,’ A. 19. 30 etc. A separation of the negative from the verb may cause ambiguity, as in A. 7. 48 ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὁ ὑψιστος ἐν χειροποιήτοις κατοικεῖ (as if the writer’s intention was to state that someone else dwelt therein); Ja. 3. 1 μὴ πολλοὶ διδάσκαλοι γίνεσθε; hence the tendency is to place it immediately before the verb, ἐνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν G. 3. 20. A difficulty is caused by οὐ πάντως R. 3. 9, 1 C. 5. 10, which looks like a **partial** negation (a general negation being expressed by πάντως οὐκ ἦν θέλημα 1 C. 16. 12), but at any rate in R. 3. 9 the meaning must be ‘by no means.’ But in this passage οὐ π. stands by itself, and one can understand that πάντως οὐ would not be written (a final position for the negative is quite unusual, and cp. οὐ παντελῶς Herm. Sim. vii. 4); Herodotus also has οὐδὲν (οὐδέν τι) πάντως in this sense, v. 34, 65, vi. 3. In the other passage the meaning appears to be rather ‘not altogether’ (Winer, § 61, 5, cp. Clem. Hom. iv. 8, xix. 9, xx. 5). The meaning of the passage 1 C. 15. 51 is uncertain on critical grounds: πάντες (μὲν) οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα the reading of B al. gives a quite unsatisfactory sense (unless πάντες οὐ is taken as = οὐ πάντες, as it is at any rate used in Herm. Sim. viii. 6. 2 πάντες οὐ μετενόησαν ‘not all’), but there are several other readings supported by the authority of MSS. and Fathers, see Tischendorf.—The order of words in H. 11. 3 is correct in classical Greek, εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων (= ἐκ μὴ φ.) τὸ βλεπόμενον γεγονέναι (2 Macc. 7. 28 ὅτι οὐκ ἔξ ὄντων ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὁ θεός), since participles and adjectives used in connection with a preposition have a tendency to take any adverbial words which are in apposition with them before the preposition, as in οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς A. 1. 5, L. 15. 13 D (al. μετ’ οὐ πολλὰς, as in A. 27. 14 μετ’ οὐ πολύ), Demosth. 18. 133 οὐκ ἐν δέοντι ‘unseasonably’ (like ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστα, οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω and many others).

## § 76. OTHER ADVERBS.

**1. Adverb as predicate.**—Adverbs like ἐγγύς and πόρρω may, as in the classical language, be joined with εἶναι as predicates, or be used as predicates with an ellipse of εἶναι, e.g. ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς Ph. 4. 5, no less than prepositions with their cases which are so abundantly used in this way, e.g. ἦν τῇ πόλει. The use of οὔτως as a predicate is less classical: Mt. 1. 18 ἡ γένεσις οὔτως ἦν (for τουατή ἦν or οὔτως ἔσχεν), 19. 10 εἴ οὔτως ἔστιν ἡ αἵτια τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κ.τ.λ., R. 4. 18 O.T., 1 P. 2. 15 (although ἔστεται οὔτως, i.e. ὡς λέγεις, and ἔστιν οὔτως in an answer are also classical constructions); besides this use we have οὔτως ξεῖν in A. 7. 1 etc. Another predicative use of οὔτως occurs in R. 9. 20 τί με ἐποίηρας οὔτως, = τοιοῦτον. The phrase τὸ εἶναι τοα (an adverbial neut. plur.) θεῷ Ph. 2. 6 is in agreement with an old usage

of the language, cp. Thuc. iii. 14 ἵστα καὶ ἴκέται ἐσμέν, Winer, § 27, 3. With γίνεσθαι (with which verb the use of an adverb is in itself quite unobjectionable) we have 1 Th. 2. 10 ὡς ὄστις καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀμέμπτως ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύοντις ἐγενήθημεν (beside 2. 7 ἐγενήθημεν ἥπιοι) ‘we have behaved’; cp. A. 20. 18 πῶς ... ἐγενόμην (D ποταπῶς ἥν).

2. There is a tendency in Greek to express certain adverbial ideas by **particular verbs**: thus ‘secretly’ or ‘unconsciously’ is expressed by λανθάνειν with a participle, § 73, 4 (H. 13. 2; elsewhere the adverb λάθρᾳ is used as also in class. Greek, Mt. 1. 19 etc.), ‘continuously,’ ‘further,’ ‘incessantly’ by διατελεῖν, ἐπιμένειν, οὐδεὶς διαλείπειν, vide ibid.; cp. with an infinitive φιλοῦσι προσένχεσθαι ‘gladly’ (Mt. 6. 5, Winer, § 54, 4), and (with an imitation of Hebrew) προσέθετο πέμψαι L. 20. 11 f. (not in D)=πάλιν ἐπεμψεν in Mc. 12. 4, although (according to A. 12. 3 προσέθετο συλλαβεῖν καὶ Πέτρον) it must rather be rendered ‘he proceeded to’ (Hebr. נָשׁרְיוֹנָה with an inf.); the same meaning is elsewhere given by the participle of προστιθέναι, προσθεῖς εἰπεν L. 19. 11, like προσθεῖσα ἔτεκεν LXX. Gen. 38. 5 ‘further.’

3. Of the **correlative adverbs** (§ 25, 5) the interrogative form is used instead of the relative in exclamations: πῶς δύστοκολόν ἐστι Mc. 10. 23, cp. 24, L. 18. 24, πῶς συνέχομαι L. 12. 50, πῶς ἐφίλει αὐτὸν (Attic ὅστον) Jo. 11. 36 (Herm. Mand. xi. 20, xii. 4. 2). Cp. the Pronouns, § 51, 4. Still in R. 10. 15 O.T. we have ὡς ὠραῖοι κ.τ.λ., 11. 33 ὡς ἀνεξερεύνηται κ.τ.λ.—‘Οπως (D ὡς) in an indirect question representing πῶς is only found in L. 24. 20 (cp. § 50, 5). On πῶς=ὡς=ὅτι see § 70, 2.—(‘Οτὲ μὲν ... ὅτε δὲ for ‘now ... now,’ instead of τότε μὲν ... τότε δὲ, occurs in Barn. 2. 4, 5 [a Hellenistic use; cp. ὃς μὲν ... ὃς δὲ, § 46, 2]; but we also find ποτὲ μὲν .. ποτὲ δὲ in Barn. 10. 7, which is classical; in the N.T. no instances of these phrases are attested).

4. Instances of **attraction with adverbs of place**, as for instance in class. Greek we have ὁ ἐκεῖθεν πόλεμος (for ὁ ἐκεῖ ὁν) δεῦρο ἥξει (Demosth. 1. 15; Buttm. p. 323), cannot be quoted from the N.T., except the passage L. 16. 26 μηδὲ οἱ ἐκεῖθεν (οἱ before ἐκ. is omitted by N\*BD) πρὸς ὑμᾶς διαπερῶσιν, where however we might supply θέλοντες διαβῆναι from the preceding clause. Still we find a corresponding use of ἐξ instead of ἐν: L. 11. 13 ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δώσει πνεῦμα ἄγιον (ὁ before ἐξ om. N\*BD), Mt. 24. 17 μὴ καταβάτω ἅρα τὰ (D ἅραι τι=Mc. 13. 15) ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ, Col. 4. 16 τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας (ἐπιστολὴν) ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀναγνῶτε, the letter which you will find there. (But in Ph. 4. 22 οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας membership is denoted by ἐξ, as also in οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς R. 4. 12, cp. § 40, 2; ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας H. 13. 24 is ambiguous and obscure, as the place where the letter was written is unknown.)—An attraction, corresponding to that of the relative (§ 50, 2), is found in the case of an adverb in Mt. 25. 24, 26 συνάγων ὅθεν (=ἐκεῖθεν οὐδεὶς διεσκόρπισα).

## § 77. PARTICLES (CONJUNCTIONS).

1. One part of the functions of the particles (including the conjunctions) is that they serve to give greater prominence to the **modal character** of the sentence, as is the case with the particle *ἄν* and the interrogative particles, but their more usual function is to express the mutual relations existing between the sentences and the clauses which compose them: membership of a single series, antithesis, relation between cause and effect, or between condition and result etc. The number of particles employed in the N.T. is considerably less than the number employed in the classical language, see § 26, 2; still in spite of this it appears excessively large in comparison with the poverty displayed by the Semitic languages in this department.

2. On the particle *ἄν*, cp. §§ 63; 65, 4-10; 66, 2 (70, 5; 74, 6).—**Direct interrogative sentences**, which are not introduced by an interrogative pronoun or adverb, but expect the answer ‘yes’ or ‘no,’ do not require a distinguishing particle any more than in classical Greek, since the tone in which they are uttered is a sufficient indication of their character, though it is true that when they are transmitted to writing the general sense of their context is the only thing which distinguishes them, and this in certain circumstances may be ambiguous (§ 4, 6; instances of this are Jo. 16. 31, 1 C. 1. 13, Viteau p. 23, 50). If an affirmative answer is to be intimated, this character of the sentence is marked by the insertion of *οὐ*, if a negative answer, by the insertion of *μή* (*μήτι*); and this is a case where a question is distinguished as such by an external symbol, since the use of *μή* with an indicative where the particle is in no way dependent can certainly not be found except in an interrogative sentence, cp. § 75, 2. Double questions with the distinguishing particles *πότερον...ἢ* occur nowhere in the N.T. in direct speech (in indirect speech only in John 7. 17; also Barn. 19. 5); more often the first member of the sentence is left without a distinguishing particle, as in G. 1. 10 ἄρτι γὰρ ἀνθρώπους πείθω ἢ τὸν θεόν; (the simple interrogative *ἢ=an ‘or’* occurs in Mt. 20. 15, 26. 53, 2 C. 11. 7, where FG have *ἢ μή ‘or perhaps,’* a combination of particles not elsewhere attested). Still there are certain **interrogative particles**, of which may be mentioned in the first place *ἄρα* or *ἄρά γε*; this, it is true, can only be distinguished from the inferential *ἄρα* (*γε*) by the prosody, and it is moreover quite rare and only represented in Luke and Paul (therefore a literary word): L. 18. 8 ἄρα εὑρήσει τὴν πίστιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; A. 8. 30 ἄρα γε γινώσκεις ἢ ἀναγνώσκεις; G. 2. 17 ἄρα Χριστὸς ἀμαρτίας διάκονος; *μὴ γένοιτο* (this phrase *μὴ γ.* in the Pauline Epp. is always an answer to a question, 66, 1: therefore *ἄρα* cannot be read here; still *ἄρα* in this passage has the meaning of ‘therefore’ which *ἄρα* elsewhere has, § 78, 5). We have a kindred use of *ἄρα* (as in classical Greek) after *τίς* in Mt. 18. 1 τίς ἄρα μείζων ἔστιν κ.τ.λ., L. 1. 66 etc. (in indirect speech in 22. 23): after *εἰ* (indirect and direct) in Mc. 11. 13, A. 7. 1, 8. 22 (*εἰ ἄραγε* 17. 27); after *μήτι* in 2 C. 1. 17; it

denotes astonishment in A. 21. 38 οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἰ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος; ('not then'), while in other cases it corresponds to our 'well' or 'then'; τίς ἄρα in Mt. 19. 25, 27 is inferential, 'now,' 'then,' cp. supra on G. 2. 17. Again the ε of indirect questions (§ 65, 1, cp. 6) may also be attached to a direct question: Mt. 12. 10 ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες. Εἰ ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασιν θεραπεῦσαι; 19. 3 λέγοντες Εἰ ... (it introduces similar words in indirect speech in Mc. 10. 2, Viteau p. 22, 1), A. 1. 6, 7. 1 etc. (most frequently in Luke, Win. § 57, 2); the usage is unclassical, but is also found in the LXX. (Gen. 17. 17 etc., Winer loc. cit.).<sup>1</sup> The alternative use of the interrogative η, like the use of the same word affirmatively, is entirely wanting.

3. Sentences which denote **assurance**, both direct and indirect (in the latter case the infinitive is used), are in classical Greek introduced by η μήν, which in the Hellenistic and Roman period is sometimes written in the form of εῑ (accent ?) μήν<sup>2</sup>; so in the LXX. and in a quotation from it in H. 6. 14 εῑ μήν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε (η̄ KL\*). Another corroborative word is the particle ναί = 'yea,' to which the opposite is οὐ οὐχῑ 'nay,' § 75, 7. Ναί is also used in the emphatic repetition of something already stated, 'yes indeed,' L. 12. 5 ναί, λέγω ίμιν, τοῦτον φοβήθητε, 11. 51, Ap. 1. 7, 14. 13, 16. 7; also in a repeated request Ph. 4. 3, Philem. 20 (it is a favourite word in classical Greek in formulas of asseveration and adjuration, e.g. ναὶ πρὸς τῶν γονάτων Aristoph. Pax 1113). Ναί is not the only form for expressing an affirmative answer, the statement made may also be repeated and endorsed (as in class. Greek): Mc. 14. 61 f. σὺ εἰ...; ...έγώ είμι, cp. A. 22. 27 where the β text has είμι for ναί of the α text; another formula is σὺ λέγεις Mt. 27. 11, Mc. 15. 2, L. 23. 3, i.e. 'you say so yourself, not I' (§ 48, 1), which always to some extent implies that one would not have made this particular statement spontaneously if the question had not been asked; in Jo. 18. 37 we have σὺ λέγεις, οὐτι (not 'that,' but 'since,' 'for,' § 78, 6) βασιλεὺς είμι, which is similar to L. 22. 70 ίμεις λέγετε, οὐτι έγώ είμι.—A certain extenuation, and at the same time a corroboration, of a proposition made is contained in the word δίπου 'surely,' 'certainly' (an appeal to the knowledge possessed by the readers as well): it is only found in H. 2. 16 (a classical and literary word).

4. The particle γε which serves to emphasize a word (known by the old grammarians as the σύνδεσμος παραπληρωματικός) in the N.T. is almost confined to its use in connection with other conjunctions, in which case it often really sinks into being a mere unmeaning appendage. Thus we have ἄρα γε, ἄρα γε (supra 2; § 78, 5), καίτοι γε, μενοῦνγε § 77, 14; frequently εῑ δὲ μή γε with an ellipse of the verb, 'otherwise' (classical), Mt. 6. 1, 9. 17 (B omits γε), L. 5. 36 etc., 2 C. 11. 16 (on the other hand Mc., Jo., and Ap. have this phrase without γε), μήτιγε § 75, 2. Still γε keeps its proper meaning in

<sup>1</sup> It is probably a Hebraism (Viteau), being another rendering (besides μή) of the Hebrew נ.

<sup>2</sup> Blass Ausspr. 33<sup>3</sup> n. 77; so also Berl. Aegypt. Urk. 543.

ἀλλά γε ἵμιν εἰμι 1 C. 9. 2 ‘yet at least I am so to you,’ which class. Greek would express by separating the particles ἀλλ’ ἵμιν γε (and the particles are somewhat differently used in L. 24. 21 ἀλλά γε καὶ σὺν πᾶσιν τούτοις ‘but indeed’); also in καί γε ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους A. 2. 18 O.T. (Herm. Mand. viii. 5 καί γε πολλά) ‘and also’ (or ‘and indeed’), where again class. Greek would separate the particles καὶ ἐπί γε, as St. Paul does in 1 C. 4. 8 καὶ ὅφελόν γε ἔβασιλέύσατε ‘and I would also that ye did ...’ (D\*FG omit γε)<sup>1</sup>; and in εἴ γε si quidem (R. 5. 6 v.l.) 2 C. 5. 3, E. 3. 2, 4. 21, Col. 1. 23 (classical). It appears without another conjunction in L. 11. 8 διά γε τὴν ἀναίδειαν αὐτοῦ, cp. 18. 5, R. 8. 32 ὃς γε qui quidem ‘One who,’ Herm. Vis. i. 1. 8 ἀμαρτία γε ἔστι (‘indeed it is’), καὶ μεγάλη.

5. Particles which connect sentences or clauses with one another or place them in a certain relation to each other, fall into two classes, namely those which indicate that the clauses possess an equal position in the structure of the sentence (**co-ordinating** particles), and those which subordinate and give a dependent character to the clauses introduced by them (**subordinating** particles). The former are of the most diverse origin, the latter are for the most part derived from a relative stem. They may be divided according to their meaning as follows: (only co-ordinating)—(1) copulative, (2) disjunctive, (3) adversative; (only subordinating)—(4) comparative, (5) hypothetical, (6) temporal, (7) final, (8) conjunctions used in assertions and in indirect questions; (partly co-ordinating, partly subordinating)—(9) consecutive, (10) causal, (11) concessive conjunctions.

6. The **copulative conjunctions** in use in the N.T. are *καὶ*, *τε*, *οὐτε* *μήτε*, *οὐδέ μηδέ*. In the case of *καὶ* a distinction is made between its strictly copulative meaning (‘and’) and its adjunctive meaning (‘also’). The excessive and uniform use of *καὶ* to string sentences together and combine them makes the narrative style, especially in Mark, but also in Luke as e.g. in A. 13. 17 ff., in many ways unpleasant and of too commonplace a character, cp. § 79, 1: whereas elsewhere in Luke as well as in John the alternative use of the particles *τε*, *δέ*, *οὖν*, and of *asyndeton* gives a greater variety to the style, apart from the fact that these writers also employ a subordinating or participial construction. *Kaὶ* may be used even where a **contrast** actually exists: Mc. 12. 12 *καὶ ἔξητον αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι*, *καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν ὄχλον*, cp. L. 20. 19 (but D in Luke reads *ἐφοβ.* δὲ), Jo. 1. 5. It frequently = ‘and yet’ (*καὶ ὅμως*, *ὅμως δὲ* are not in use): Mt. 6. 26 οὐ σπείρουσιν ..., *καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐρανίος τρέφει αὐτά*, 10. 29, Jo. 1. 10, 3. 11, 32 etc. (with a negative in Mt. 11. 17, A. 12. 19 etc., where this meaning is less striking), and hence the mutual relation of the several clauses is often very vaguely stated, and must be helped out with some difficulty by the interpretation

<sup>1</sup> L. 19. 42 is a difficult passage, *εἰ ἔγρως καὶ σὺ καὶ γε ἐν τῷ ἡμέρᾳ σου ταῦτη τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην σου*, where Eusebius has *καὶ γε σὺ ἐν*, and D *καὶ σὺ ἐν* (*καὶ γε* must mean ‘at least,’ = class. *ἐν γε τῷ κ.τ.λ.*); also A. 17. 27, for which cp. § 74, 2.

which is put upon the passage, e.g. in Jo. 7. 28 καὶ μὲν οἴδατε καὶ οἴδατε πόθεν εἰμί (as you say), καὶ ἀπ' ἐμαντοῦ οὐκ ἐλήλυθα, ἀλλ' κ.τ.λ., i.e. ‘and yet in reality I did not’ etc., =classical καὶ μὴν, καίτοι, or with a participle καὶ ταῦτα ἀπ' ἐμ. οὐκ ἐληλυθότα. A different use is that of the so-called consecutive καί, in English ‘and so’ or ‘so’: Mt. 5. 15 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν (τιθέσιν), καὶ λάμπει κ.τ.λ. (=ώστε λάμπειν; in L. 8. 16=11. 33 expressed by ἵνα), H. 3. 19 καὶ βλέπομεν ‘and so we see,’ ὅρῶμεν οὖν; this use is specially found after imperatives, Mt. 8. 8 εἰπὲ λόγῳ, καὶ (so) ιαθήσεται, cp. L. 7. 7 where BL give a closer connection to the clauses by reading καὶ ιαθήτω: Ja. 4. 7 ἀντίστητε τῷ διαβόλῳ, καὶ φεύξεται ἀφ' ἡμῶν (=φεύξεται γὰρ, εὐθὺς γὰρ φ.); still we have a similar classical use, θέσθε ... καὶ ... οἴστε Soph. O.C. 1410 ff., πείθου λέγοντι, κούχ ἀμαρτήσῃ ποτέ El. 1207, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 792, 5. On καί with a future following sentences of design with a conjunctive, to denote an ulterior result, see § 65, 2; cp. also Mt. 26. 53, H. 12. 9; further L. 11. 5 τίς ἔξι ἡμῶν ἔξει φίλον, καὶ πορεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ... καὶ εἰπῇ αὐτῷ—κάκεινος ... εἰπῇ (§ 64, 6), instead of subordinating the clauses by means of ἐάν or a gen. abs., just as the first καί might also have been avoided by writing ἔχων φίλον. Co-ordination in place of subordination occurs in statements of time: Mc. 15. 25 καὶ ἦν ὥρα τρίτη καὶ (‘when’ or ‘that’) ἐσταύρωσαν (but D ἐφύλασσον which gives a better sense) αὐτὸν (the crucifixion has already been narrated in 24), which differs from L. 23. 44 καὶ ἦν ὥρα ἔκτη, καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο, which may be paralleled from classical Greek (Plat. Sympos. 220 C, Win. § 53, 3); still even Luke has the unclassical use ἤξουσιν ἡμέραι ... καὶ (‘when’) L. 19. 43: Mt. 26. 45, H. 8. 8 O.T. The use of καὶ with a finite verb after καὶ ἐγένετο, ἐγένετο δέ, instead of the acc. and inf. which is likewise found (§ 65, 5), is an imitation of Hebrew: L. 19. 15 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐπανελθεῖν αὐτὸν ... καὶ (om. syr. latt.) εἶπεν, 9. 28 ἐγ. δὲ μετὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους, ὡσεὶ ἡμέραι ὄκτω (§ 33, 2) καὶ (om. \*BH latt. syr.) ... ἀνέβη, cp. A. 5. 7 (here all MSS. read καὶ), although in constructions of this kind the καὶ is more often omitted: Mc. 4. 4 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ σπείρειν, ὃ μὲν ἐπεσεν κ.τ.λ., Mt. 7. 28 etc.; the ἐγένετο which is purely pleonastic owes its origin solely to a disinclination to begin a sentence with a statement of time (§ 80, 1). Another Hebraistic use of καὶ is to begin an apodosis<sup>1</sup>: L. 2. 21 καὶ ὅτε ἐπλήσθησαν ..., καὶ (om. D) ἐκλήθη κ.τ.λ., 7. 12 ὡς δὲ ἡγγισεν ... καὶ ᾧδον ἐξεκομίζετο κ.τ.λ., where the reading of D shows that this use is scarcely different from the use with ἐγένετο, viz. ἐγένετο δὲ ὡς ἡγγισεν ..., ἐξεκομίζετο, cp. also A. 1. 10 (καὶ ᾧδον), 10. 17 (καὶ ᾧδ. CD al., ΚΑΒ omit καὶ), Ap. 3. 20 after a sentence beginning with ἐάν (AP omit καὶ). But the case is different with 2 C. 2. 2 εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ λυπῶ ὑμᾶς, καὶ τις ὁ εὐφραίνων με, i.e. ‘who then,’ as Winer correctly explains it, comparing Mc. 10. 26 καὶ τις δύναται σωθῆναι (cp. also Mc. 9. 12 D: εἰ Ἡλίας ἐλθὼν ἀποκαθιστάνει πάντα, καὶ πᾶς γέγραπται ... ἵνα ... ἤξουσιν θηγῆ);, Jo. 9. 36, 14. 22 & al. (a classical use, Xenoph. Cyr. v. 4. 13 etc., Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 791 f.); Ph. 1. 22 should accordingly

<sup>1</sup> Found also in Homer, e.g. Il. A. 478.

be interpreted in the same way, εἰ δὲ τὸ ξῆν ἐν σαρκὶ, τοῦτό μοι καρπὸς ἔργουν, καὶ τί αἱρήσομαι; οὐ γνωρίζω, συνέχομαι δὲ κ.τ.λ.<sup>1</sup>

7. *Kai* meaning ‘and indeed’ (epexegetic *kai* as Winer calls it, cp. Kühner 791) appears in Jo. 1. 16 καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος, 1 C. 3. 5, 15. 38 καὶ ἑκάστῳ; with a demonstrative it gives emphasis, καὶ τοῦτον ἐσταιρωμένον 1 C. 2. 2, καὶ τοῦτο *idque* R. 13. 11, 1 C. 6. 6, 8 (in 8 there is a v.l. καὶ ταῦτα, as in H. 11. 12 and in class. Greek, Kühner *ibid.*). With A. 16. 15 ὡς δὲ ἐβαπτίσθη, καὶ ὁ οἶκος αὐτῆς ('and likewise,' 'together with'; so 18. 2) cp. Aristoph. Ran. 697 f. οἵ μεθ' ἴμων πολλὰ δὴ χοὶ πατέρες ἐνανμάχησαν. It is used after πολύς before a second adjective, pleonastically according to our usage (a classical and literary use), in A. 25. 7 πολλὰ καὶ βαρέα αἰτιώματα (Tit. 1. 10?). It is not used as in class. Greek after ὁ αὐτός, ὅμοιώς and the like (Kühner 361 note 18).—For *kai* ‘also’ in and after sentences of comparison vide infra § 78, 1; it = ‘even’ in Mt. 5. 46 etc., and before a comparative in 11. 9, but in H. 8. 6 ὥστε καὶ κράττονος κ.τ.λ. the *kai* is the same as that in comparative sentences; there is a tendency to use it after διό, διὰ τοῦτο to introduce the result, L. 1. 35, 11. 49. On *kai* γάρ see § 78, 6; a kindred use to this (*kai* occupying another position) is seen in H. 7. 26 τοιοῦτος γάρ ἦμιν καὶ ἐπρεπεν ἀρχιερεύς. In μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος Ph. 4. 3 it is pleonastic, cp. Clem. Cor. i. 65. 1 σὺν καὶ Φουρτυνάτῳ. On καὶ ... δὲ vide infra 12. A peculiar (but classical) use of it is after an interrogative, as in τί καὶ βαπτίζονται 1 C. 15. 29, ‘why at all?’ (or ‘even as much as’), cp. R. 8. 24, L. 13. 7, Kühner 798.

8. *Tē* by no means appears in all writings of the N.T., and would not be represented to any very great extent at all but for the Acts, in which book alone there are more than twice as many instances of it as occur in the rest of the N.T. together (the instances are equally distributed over all parts of the Acts; next to the Acts the greatest number of instances occur in Hebrews and Romans; there are only eight instances in Luke’s Gospel<sup>2</sup>). The use of the simple *tē* (for *tē* ... *kai*, *tē* *kai*, *tē* ... *tē* vide infra 9) is also foreign for the most part to cultured Atticists, while the higher style of poetry uses it abundantly. In the N.T. *tē* is not often used to connect single ideas (this use in classical Greek is almost confined to poetry, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 786), as in H. 6. 5 θεοῦ ρῆμα δυνάμεις *tē* μέλλοντος αἰώνος, 9. 1, 1 C. 4. 21, cp. further infra 9; in the connection of sentences it denotes a closer connection and affinity between them: A. 2. 40 ἐτέροις *tē* (δὲ male D) λόγοις πλείοσιν διεμαρτύρατο ('and likewise'), 37 κατενύγγησαν τὴν

<sup>1</sup> In Ja. 4. 15 it is perfectly admissible to let the apodosis begin with *kai* (both) ξήσομεν instead of beginning it at *kai* πισήσομεν, Buttm. 311 note.—Coordination with *kai* instead of a subordinate clause: L. 1. 49 ὁ δυνατός, καὶ ἄγον τὸ δυναμα αὐτοῦ (=οὐ τὸ δυ. ἄγ.), L. 8. 12 οἱ ἀκούσαντες, εἴτε ἔρχεται, Mt. 13. 22.

<sup>2</sup> The simple *tē* only occurs in L. 21. 11 *bis*, although here too it is followed by a *kai*, σεισμοί *tē* ('and', *tē* οὐν. AL) μεγάλοι καὶ ... λίμαι ... ἔσονται, φόβητρά *tē* ('and') καὶ σημεῖα ... ἔσται: unless this is rather a case of asyndeton, vide 9 (since *tē* is not a suitable word for a connecting particle). In 24. 20 for ὅπως (*ώς* D) *tē* αὐτὸν the correct reading may be that of D ὅπως (*ώς*) τοῦτον. (Still in 23. 36 D has ὅξος *tē* προσέφερον αὐτῷ λέγοντες.)

*καρδίαν, εἰπόν τε ('and so they said'), 27. 4 f. ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κύπρον ... τό τε πέλαγος τὸ κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν ... διαπλεύσαντες κ.τ.λ.* (in pursuance of the course adopted).<sup>1</sup>

9. We find the following **correlative** combinations (meaning 'as well ... as also') *καὶ ... καὶ ...*, *τε ... καὶ* (*τε καὶ*), *τε ... τε*. The last (which in classical Greek is more frequent in poetry than in prose, though in prose it is commoner than a simple *τε*, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 788), besides its use in *οὐτε ... οὐτε* etc. (inf. 10) occurs in *εἴτε ... εἴτε*, see § 78, 2; also in *έάν τε ... έάν τε* R. 14. 8 *bis*; but otherwise only in A. 26. 16 *ἄν τε εἰδεῖς ἄν τε ὀφθήσομαι σοι*; the combined phrases are in this way placed side by side (often = even as ... so ...). *Τε ... καὶ* affords a closer connection than the simple *καὶ*: in Attic Greek it is generally avoided if *καὶ* would immediately follow *τε*, since in this case *τε* might appear to have no point; in the N.T. however it is found in this case as well, Mt. 22. 10 *πονηρούς τε καὶ ἀγαθούς*, A. 1. 1 *πιοιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν*, 2. 9 f., 4. 27, R. 1. 12 *ἱμῶν τε καὶ ἐμοῦ*, 3. 9 *'Ιουδαίους τε καὶ Ἐλληνας*, etc. The connection of *'Ιουδαῖοι* and *'Ἐλληνες* is almost always made by means of *τε καὶ* or *τε ... καὶ*: A. 14. 1 (18. 4 *ἔπειθέν τε Ἰ. καὶ Ἐλληνας*, for an obvious reason), 19. 10 (without *τε* D), 17 (om. *τε* DE), 20. 21, R. 1. 16 (*τε* om. s\*), 2. 9, 10. 12 (without *τε* DE), 1 C. 1. 24 (*τε* om. FG); but in 10. 32 we have *ἀπρόσκοποι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι γίνεσθε καὶ Ἐλλησιν καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ*, where the distinction of the different nationalities is kept, whereas in the other passages with *τε καὶ* the difference is rather removed. For *καὶ ... καὶ* cf. Mt. 10. 28 *καὶ* (not in all MSS.) *ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα*, which however may mean 'even soul and body' (as is still more clearly the meaning in 8. 27 = Mc. 4. 41 = L. 8. 25 *καὶ ὁ ἀνεμος καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπακούοντιν αὐτῷ*), L. 5. 36 *καὶ τὸ καινὸν σχίσει, καὶ τῷ παλαιῷ οὐ συμφωνήσει κ.τ.λ.* ('on the one hand ... on the other,' so that there is a double injury); the use is somewhat more frequent in John, *ἴνα καὶ ὁ σπείρων ὄμοῦ χαίρῃ καὶ ὁ θερίζων 4. 36*, where the two clauses are sharply distinguished: 7. 28 (supra 6), 11. 48 (in these two passages the particles have a less definite meaning), 12. 28, 15. 24 *νῦν δὲ καὶ ἔωράκαστιν καὶ ('and yet') μεμισήκαστιν καὶ ἔμε καὶ τὸν πατέρα μον* (Who appear to them to be different Persons). Paul uses a double *καὶ* in R. 14. 9 *bis*, 1 C. 1. 22 etc.; a peculiar instance is Ph. 4. 12 *οὖθα καὶ ταπεινοῦσθαι, οὖθα καὶ περισσεύειν*, where *καὶ* even in the first clause has rather the meaning of 'also.'—In longer enumerations *τε (...)* *καὶ* may be followed by a further *τε*, as in A. 9. 15 *ἐθνῶν τε* (*τε* om. HLP) *καὶ βασιλέων νιῶν τε Ἰσραὴλ*, 26. 10, Clem. Cor. i. 20. 3 (on the other hand in L. 22. 66 *τὸ πρεσβυτέριον τοῦ λαοῦ, ἀρχιερέis τε καὶ γραμματέis* the last words are an explanatory apposition, since otherwise the article must have been used [D *καὶ ἀρχ. καὶ γρ.*]); we have *τε ... τε ... καὶ* in H. 6. 2 (*ἀναστάσεως* and *κρίματος* being closely connected by *τε ... καὶ*), ... *τε καὶ ... καὶ ... τε καὶ ... καὶ* in 11. 32, an enumeration of names, where however the

<sup>1</sup> So in Clem. Cor. i. 20. 10 twice, i. 3 – ii. 1 four times. It cannot be wondered at that *τε* was often confused in course of transmission with *δέ*; thus *τε* is inadmissible in a parenthesis, as in A. 1. 15 NAB have *ἢν τε* for *ἢν δέ* (infra 12).

first three conjunctions are wanting in §A: in this passage the  $\tau\epsilon$  must be taken as a connective particle and not as correlative to  $\kappa\lambda$  (similarly in A. 13. 1, 1 C. 1. 30), whereas in the long enumerations in A. 1. 13 and 2. 9 ff. couples are formed by means of  $\tau\epsilon \kappa\lambda$  or a simple  $\kappa\lambda$ , and the relation between the several couples is one of asyndeton (cp. Mt. 10. 3 f., 24. 38, R. 1. 14, 1 Tim. 1. 9, Clem. Cor. i. 3. 2, 35. 5, Herm. Mand. xii. 3. 1; in L. 6. 14 ff. there is a v.l. in §BD al. [opposed to A. al.] with a continuous use of  $\kappa\lambda$ , as in the reading of all the MSS. in Mc. 3. 16 ff.).—Position of the correlative  $\tau\epsilon$ : where a preposition precedes which is common to the connected ideas, the  $\tau\epsilon$  is notwithstanding placed immediately after this preposition, A. 25. 23 σύν  $\tau\epsilon$  χιλιάρχους  $\kappa\lambda$  ἀνδράσιν, 28. 23, 10. 39 (a v.l. repeats the  $\epsilon\nu$ ), as also in classical Greek (Winer. § 61, 6); on the other hand we have  $\tau\omega\nu \epsilon\nu\tau\omega\nu \tau\epsilon \kappa\lambda$  Ιονδαίων A. 14. 5 ( $\tau\omega\nu \epsilon.$   $\kappa\lambda$   $\tau\omega\nu$  D).

10. The use of **correlative negative clauses** with οὐτε...οὐτε or μήτε...μήτε respectively, and of οὐδὲ or μηδὲ respectively as a **connecting particle** after **negative sentences** (and of  $\kappa\lambda$  οὐ,  $\kappa\lambda$  μὴ after **positive sentences**) remains the same as in classical Greek. Therefore οὐ..., οὐτε...οὐτε is 'not ... neither ... nor,' Mt. 12. 32 etc.; cp. L. 9. 3 μηδὲν..., μήτε...μήτε κ.τ.λ. with Mt. 10. 9 f. (Winer). In 1 C. 6. 9 f. a very long enumeration which begins with οὐτε...οὐτε etc. finally veers round to asyndeton with οὐ...οὐ (once also in Mt. 10. 10 μὴ is interposed between several cases of μηδὲ). Of course it often happens, as in profane writers, that οὐτε—οὐδέ, μήτε—μηδέ are confused in the MSS., as is also the case with δέ and  $\tau\epsilon$  (supra 8)<sup>1</sup>. If οὐδέ or μηδέ stands at the beginning of the whole sentence, or after an οὐ or μὴ within the same clause of the sentence, it then means 'not even,' 'not so much as': Mc. 8. 26 μηδὲ (μὴ Ι\*) εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσέλθης (with many vv.ll.; the sense requires εἴπης in place of εἰσέλθης), Mt. 6. 15 etc., Mc. 3. 20 ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτὸς μηδέ (male μήτε §CDE al.) ἄρτον φαγεῖν.<sup>2</sup> The positive term corresponding to this οὐδὲ is  $\kappa\lambda$  'even,' as the positive equivalent for οὐ..., οὐδὲ etc. is a series of words strung together by  $\kappa\lambda$ , but the equivalent for οὐτε...οὐτε is  $\kappa\lambda$ ... $\kappa\lambda$ , or  $\tau\epsilon$ ... $\kappa\lambda$  ( $\tau\epsilon$ ): hence the reading in Mc. 14. 68 οὐτε οἶδα οὐτε ἐπίσταμαι of §BDL appears to be inadmissible, since the two perfectly synonymous words could not be connected by  $\kappa\lambda$ ... $\kappa\lambda$ ,  $\tau\epsilon$   $\kappa\lambda$ , and therefore the right reading is that of AKM οὐκ...οὐδὲ (CE al. read οὐκ...οὐτε, which seems to be the origin of the

<sup>1</sup> In L. 20. 36 οὐτε γὰρ is wrongly read by §Q al. for οὐδὲ γὰρ (§ 78, 6). In Ap. 9. 21 all MSS. read οὐτε several times after οὐ, as in 21. 4; in 5. 4 nearly all have οὐδεὶς...οὐτε, but in 5. 3 they are divided: in 12. 8, 20. 4 οὐδὲ preponderates (as also in Jo. 1. 25): in 7. 16, 9. 4, 21. 23 all have οὐδέ. Ja. 3. 12 is quite corrupt.

<sup>2</sup> The sequence οὐτε...οὐτε...οὐτε...οὐδὲ ('nor at all,' as though a *single* οὐ or οὐδαμοῦ had preceded) is perfectly admissible, A. 24. 12 f., Buttm. 315 note. But we also find μὴ...μηδὲ (§ABCE μήτε)...μήτε A. 23. 8, where two ideas are connected and the second is subdivided, cp. for class. exx. Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 829 c; accordingly in G. 1. 12 οὐδὲ γὰρ ('since not even')...παρελαβον οὐτε ἐνδάχθην (B al.) would be possible, though οὐδὲ ἐδ. is better attested and is more regular.

confusion). A disjunctive expression with a negative preceding may also be equivalent to οὐ ..., οὐδὲ, or οὐ ... οὔτε ... οὔτε : Mt. 5. 17 μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἥλθον καταλώσαι τὸν νόμον ἡ τοὺς προφήτας = οὐκ ἡ. κατ. οὔτε τ. ν. οὔτε τ. πρ.; A. 17. 29 etc.; cp. inf. 11.—Of course a correlation of negative and positive members is allowable, though this is not a frequent construction in the N.T.: Jo. 4. 11 οὔτε ἄντλημα ἔχεις, καὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἐστὶν βαθύ (D has οὐδὲ, which seems preferable), 3 Jo. 10 οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐπιδέχεται ... καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους κωλύει (in class. Greek οὔτε ... καὶ is very rare, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 831 a). A 27. 20 μήτε ... μήτε ... τε (however this τε is hardly a correlative, but rather a connecting particle). Καὶ οὐ after **negative** sentences, as in Mt. 15. 32 (Jo. 5. 37 f. οὔτε ... οὔτε ... καὶ ... οὐ) does not imply a correlation, but an independent continuation, Buttm. p. 316. (In L. 18. 2 we have τὸν θεὸν οὐ φοβούμενος καὶ ἀνθρωπὸν οὐκ ἐντρέπομενος, somewhat incorrectly, but in v. 4 Ι&B etc. read οὐδὲ ἀνθρ. ἐντρέπομαι while AD etc. again read καὶ ... οὐκ.)

11. The **disjunctive** particle is ἢ, also ἢ καὶ ‘or even’ (L. 18. 11 al.); correlatively ἢ...ἢ ‘either...or’ (for which we have the classical ἢτοι ... ἢ in R. 6. 16, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 837); in addition to this we have εἴτε ... εἴτε sive ... sive, which strictly introduces subordinate clauses, but in virtue of an ellipse may also (as in class. Greek) be used without a finite verb, as in 2 C. 5. 10 ἵνα κομίσηται ἔκαστος ... εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε κακόν, E. 6. 8, Ph. 1. 18 etc., and not solely in a disjunctive sense, but equally well (as τε is included in it) as a copula; cp. § 78, 2. H also approximates, especially in negative sentences, to the meaning of a copula : A. 1. 7 οὐ... χρόνοντος ἢ καιρούς (synonymes), 11. 8 κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον οὐδέποτε κ.τ.λ., cp. 10. 18 οὐδέποτε ἔφαγον πᾶν κοινὸν καὶ (ἢ CD al.) ἀκάθαρτον : Jo. 8. 14 οὐδὲ πόθεν ἥλθον καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγω. ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ οἶδατε πόθεν ἔρχομαι ἢ ποῦ ὑπάγω, 1 C. 11. 27 ὃς ἀν ἐσθίῃ ... ἢ πίνῃ ... ἀναξίως; similarly in interrogative sentences, which in meaning are equivalent to a negative sentence, 1 Th. 2. 10 τίς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐλπὶς ἢ χαρὰ ἢ στέφανος (in 20 the positive statement runs ἢ δόξα καὶ ἢ χαρά). “H an in interrogative sentences, vide supra 2, is sharply disjunctive (‘otherwise this must be the case’). A singular instance of its use is in 1 Th. 2. 19 (vide supra) τίς γὰρ ... στέφανος ; ἢ (ἢ is wanting in Ι&B\*) οὐχὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς ... ; where ἢ has probably been foisted into the text for the sake of the τίς (‘who else but’); cp. Jo. 13. 10 v.l. (and ἄλλ’ ἢ inf. 13).

12. The **adversative** particles most in use are δέ and ἀλλά, the former of which has its correlative in μέν, while the latter usually refers to a preceding negative (‘but on the contrary’). This reference, however, may also be expressed, though not so strongly, by δέ : A. 12. 9 οὐκ ἢδει ... ἐδόκει δέ (‘but rather’), 14, H. 4. 13, 6. 12 etc. A distinction must also be made between contradiction (ἀλλά) and antithesis (δέ) : H. 2. 8 οὐδὲν ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ ἀνυπότακτον· νῦν δέ οὐπω δρῶμεν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ὑποτεταγμένα (‘but,’ ‘on the other hand’). The correlation of μέν and δέ, which is so essentially characteristic of the classical Greek style, is very largely reduced in the N.T., so that μέν is wholly absent from Ap., 2 P., 1, 2 and 3 Jo.

2 Th., 1 Tim., Tit. (*μέν* in 1. 15 is spurious) and Philemon, and is practically unrepresented in Ja. (3. 17 πρῶτον μὲν... ἔπειτα, an antithesis also found in classical Greek without δὲ; cp. Jo. 11. 6, 1 C. 12. 28), Eph. (4. 11 τὸν μὲν... τὸν δὲ), Col. (2. 23, an anacoluthon without an answering clause), and 1 Th. (2. 18 ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος, the antithetical clause being omitted but sufficiently intimated by *μέν*; classical Greek has a similar use, Hdt. iii. 3 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιθανός ['to me at least'], Kühner 813 f.); it is also comparatively rare in the Gospels as a whole, and only occurs with any frequency in Acts, Hebrews (1 Peter) and some of the Pauline epistles.<sup>1</sup> Moreover a large number of these instances, especially those in Luke, are instances of the resumptive *μέν* οὖν, § 78, 5, where the *μέν* in very few cases indicates a real antithesis: other examples of anacoluthic *μέν* are also fairly common in Luke, where the style and structure of the sentence are more or less harshly violated, as in L. 8. 5 f. ὁ μὲν... καὶ ἔτερον (occasioned by a development of the idea being interposed: so in Mc. 4. 4 f.), A. 1. 1, 3. 13, 21, 17. 30, 27. 21 (cp. also 2 C. 11. 4, H. 7. 11): not to mention the instances, where the omission of δὲ is excusable or even classically correct, viz. πρῶτον μὲν R. 1. 8, 3. 2, 1 C. 11. 18 (perhaps 'from the very outset'), A. 28. 22 περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αἰρέσεως ταύτης γνωστὸν ἡμῖν ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ. ('so much we do indeed know'), R. 10. 1 ἡ μὲν εὐδοκία κ.τ.λ. ('so far as my wishes are concerned'), 11. 13 ἐφ' οὖσον μὲν οὖν εἴμι ἐγὼ ἐθύων ἀπόστολος κ.τ.λ., cp. Kühner 814.—In Jo. 7. 12 οἱ μὲν is followed by ἄλλοι (ἄ. δὲ BTX) with the asyndeton of which this gospel is so fond (§ 79, 4); in H. 12. 9 οὐ πολλῷ δὲ (M<sup>o</sup>D\*, the other MSS. omit δὲ) is probably the correct reading; we have instances of μὲν... ἄλλα, μὲν... πλὴν (Kühn. 812 f.) in A. 4. 16, R. 14. 20, 1 C. 14. 17: L. 22. 22; and a kindred use to this occurs in Mt. 17. 11 f. Ἡλίας μὲν ἔρχεται..., λέγω δὲ ἴμῦν, with which cp. Mc. 9. 12 μὲν... (om. DL), 13 ἄλλα..., where μὲν means 'indeed,' 'certainly,' and δὲ (or ἄλλα) is an emphatic 'but.'—Δέ introduces a parenthesis in A. 12. 3 ἥσαν δὲ αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἀξύμων, cp. 1. 15 ἦν δὲ κ.τ.λ. (τε is wrongly read by SAB al.): 4. 13 ἐπέγινωσκον δὲ (so D reads instead of τε). It introduces an exclamation or a climax ('but,' 'and indeed') in R. 3. 22 δικαιοσύνη δὲ θεοῦ, 9. 30, 1. C. 2. 6, Ph. 2. 8.—We find καὶ... δὲ in connection with each other in A. 2. 44, 3. 24 καὶ πάντες δὲ κ.τ.λ., 'and also all,' 22. 29 καὶ ὁ χιλιάρχος δὲ, Mt. 16. 18 κάρυψε δὲ σοὶ λέγω, Jo. 8. 16 etc. (Tisch. on 6. 51), etc.: whereas δὲ καὶ means 'but also,' A. 22. 28 etc.

13. Ἀλλά, besides its use in opposition to a preceding οὖν<sup>2</sup> (with which must be classed οὐ μόνον... ἄλλα καὶ<sup>3</sup>), is also found with οὐ,

<sup>1</sup> Μέν is not unfrequently interpolated in the inferior MSS., Buttm. p. 313. Also in Clem. Cor. i. (62, 1 anacol.), Cor. ii., Barnabas (i. 2 anacol.) and Hermas it is only rarely represented.

<sup>2</sup> Οὖν μόνον... ἄλλα may also mean 'not so much... as,' Mc. 9. 37 οὐν ἐμὲ δέχεται, ἄλλα τὸν ἀποστελλαντά με, Mt. 10. 20, Jo. 12. 44, A. 5. 4 etc., the first member of the sentence being not entirely negated, but only made subordinate.

<sup>3</sup> Οὐ μόνον... ἄλλα is used without a καὶ if the second member includes the first, A. 19. 26, 1 Jo. 5. 6, or as in Ph. 1. 12 ἄλλα πολλῷ μᾶλλον κ.τ.λ.

in opposition to a foregoing positive sentence ('but not'): 1 C. 10. 23 πάντα ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα συμφέρει, ibid. 5, Mt. 24. 6; it is further used where no negative precedes or follows it, as in 1 C. 6. 11 καὶ ταῦτά τινες ἦτε, ἀλλὰ ἀπελούσασθε, ἀλλὰ ἡγιάσθητε, where one can easily supply 'but you are so no longer' and render ἀλλὰ by 'on the contrary': 1 C. 3. 6 ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, Απολλώς ἐπότισεν, ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς ηὔξανεν (but He Who gave the increase was not I nor he, but God), 7. 7, Jo. 16. 2. It stands at the beginning of the sentence with or without a negative: R. 10. 16 ἀλλ' οὐ πάντες ὑπήκουοσαν, where the difference is more strongly marked than it would be with δέ, 10. 18 f. ἀλλὰ λέγω..., 11. 4, 1 C. 12. 24, 15. 35; similarly before commands or requests, A. 10. 20, 26. 16, Mt. 9. 18, Mc. 9. 22 etc. A similar meaning is expressed in Mt. and Lc. (not in Acts) by πλὴν, 'yet,' 'howbeit' (in Acts and Mc. it is a preposition meaning 'except' as in class. Greek, § 40, 6; we also have πλὴν ὅτι [class.] 'except that' in A. 20. 23): Mt. 26. 39 (L. 22. 43) πλὴν οὐχ ὡς ἐγὼ θέλω ἀλλ' ὡς σύ, = Mc. 14. 36 ἀλλ' οὐχ κ.τ.λ.; Mt. 11. 22, 24, 26. 64 πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, but in Mc. 9. 13 ἀλλὰ λέγω ὑμῖν (cp. Mt. 17. 12 λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν); Mt. 18. 7 πλὴν οὐαὶ κ.τ.λ., = L. 17. 1 οὐαὶ δὲ (πλὴν οὐαὶ δὲ κBDL); it even takes the place of an ἀλλά corresponding to a negative in L. 23. 28 μὴ κλαίετε ἐπ' ἐρέ, πλὴν ἐφ' ἔαντας κλαίετε (ἀλλ' D); 12. 29, 31 (D ζητεῖτε δὲ); it is obvious that πλὴν was the regular word in the vulgar language. (In Paul it has rather the meaning of 'only,'<sup>1</sup> 'in any case,' being used at the end of a discussion to emphasize the essential point, 1 C. 11. 11, E. 5. 33, Ph. 3. 16, 4. 14; so also in Ap. 2. 25, and there is a parallel use (?) in Ph. 1. 18 τί γάρ; πλὴν (om. B) ὅτι (om. DEKL) παντὶ τρόπῳ ... Χριστὸς καταγγέλλεται, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χαίρω, where τί γάρ appears to mean as in R. 3. 3 'what matters it?'; and πλὴν, with or without ὅτι, seems to denote 'at all events,' and is moreover superfluous.)—'Αλλά is used after an *oratorical question* as in class. Greek, in Jo. 12. 27 τί εἴπω; πάτερ, σῶσόν με...; ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο ἥλθον κ.τ.λ. (there are simpler sentences in 7. 49, 1 C. 10. 20); or in a succession of questions (the answer being either given in each case or suppressed), Mt. 11. 8 f. = L. 7. 24 ff. τί ἔξηλθατε...; ... ἀλλὰ τί ἔξηλθατε; κ.τ.λ. (class.). A peculiar instance is H. 3. 16 τίνες γὰρ ἀκούοντες παρεπίκραναν; ἀλλ' οὐ πάντες οἱ ἔξελθόντες ἔξι Αἰγύπτου...; where however the ἀλλά (cp. the Syriac VS.) may have only originated from a misunderstanding of the preceding τίνες as if it were τίνες.<sup>2</sup>—'Αλλά is used in the *apodosis* after εἰ, ἔαν, εἴπερ, meaning 'still,' 'at least' (class.): 1 C. 4. 15 ἔαν μυρίους παιδαγωγοὺς ἔχητε ἐν Χριστῷ, ἀλλ' οὐ πολλοὺς πατέρας, 2 C. 4. 16, 11. 6, (13. 4 v.l.), Col. 2. 5 etc.; cp. ἀλλά γε ὑμῖν εἴμι 1 C. 9. 2 (supra 4).—Besides its use in this passage ἀλλά γε καὶ... is found in L. 24. 21 (vide ibid.), introducing an accessory idea in an emphatic way,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Aristotle's use, Bonitz Index Arist. s.v. πλὴν.

<sup>2</sup> The use is different in L. 17. 7 f. τις... ἐρεῖ αὐτῷ... ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἐρεῖ αὐτῷ...; 'and not rather.' D here omits οὐχὶ, according to which the second half of the sentence is not interrogative.

cp. ἀλλὰ καὶ ibid. 22, 12. 7, 16. 21, ‘not only this, but also,’ as in Ph. 1. 18 χαίρω, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαρίσομαι, 2 C. 11. 1 ὅφελον ἀνείχεσθε . . . , ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνέχεσθε (not only will I utter the wish, but I entreat you directly); to this corresponds ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ in 1 C. 3. 2 οὐπω γάρ ἐδύνασθε. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἔτι νῦν δύνασθε, A. 19. 2, L. 23. 15. The simple ἀλλά also has this force of introducing an accessory idea, in 2 C. 7. 11 πόσην ἴμιν κατηργάσατο σπουδήν, ἀλλά (‘and not only that, but also’) ἀπολογίαν, ἀλλὰ ἀγανάκτησιν, ἀλλά φόβον κ.τ.λ. (ἀλλά 6 times repeated). We further have ἀλλὰ μενοῦν γε (without γε in BDF al.) καὶ (om. ή\*) ἡγοῦμαι Ph. 3. 8, cp. inf. 14.—Notice must be taken of the elliptical ἀλλ’ ἵνα ‘on the contrary (but) this has happened (or a similar phrase) in order that,’ Mc. 14. 49, Jo. 1. 8, 9. 3, 13. 18, 15. 25; but this must be distinguished from Mc. 4. 22 οὐ γάρ ἔστιν τι κριπτὸν, ἔαν μὴ ἵνα φανερωθῇ· οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἀπόκρυφον, ἀλλ’ ἵνα ἔλθῃ εἰς φανερόν, where ἀλλ’ = εἰ μὴ ‘save that,’ and from the use of ἀλλ’ (i.e. ἄλλο) ή in L. 12. 51 οὐχί, λέγω ἴμιν, ἀλλ’ ή (D ἀλλὰ) διαμερισμόν, ‘nothing else but’ (classical, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 824, 5 and 6, 825 note 4), cp. 2 C. 1. 13 οὐ γάρ ἀλλα . . . ἀλλ’ (ἄλλο om. BFG) ή (om. A) ἀ (om. AD\*) ἀναγινώσκετε<sup>1</sup> (ἄλλο ή is an interpolation in 1 C. 3. 5), Clem. Cor. i. 41. 2.

14. Other **adversative** particles are μέντοι ‘however,’ οὐ(δεὶς) μέντοι Jo. 4. 27, 7. 13, 20. 5, 21. 4 (Herm. Sim. vi. 1. 6), ὅμως μέντοι 12. 42; this particle occurs very rarely except in John, viz. ὁ μέντοι θεμέλιος 2 Tim. 2. 19, Ja. 2. 8, Jd. 8 (in the two last passages with a weaker meaning = ‘but.’). “Ομως apart from the instance quoted occurs only again in 1 C. 14. 7, G. 3. 15, where it is used in a peculiar way: ὅμως τὰ ἄψυχα φωνὴν διδόντα . . . , ἔαν διαστολὴν φθόγγον μή δῷ, πῶς γνωσθήσεται κ.τ.λ., and ὅμως ἀνθρώπουν κεκυρωμένην διαθῆκην οὐδεὶς ἀθετεῖ; the latter passage is explained (Fritzsche) as a substitution for καίπερ ἀνθρ., ὅμως οὐδεὶς ἀθ. ‘if it be only a man’s will, yet,’ somewhat like Xenoph. Cyrop. v. 1. 26 σὺν σοὶ ὅμως καὶ ἐν τῷ πολεμίᾳ ὄντες θαρροῦμεν, Kühner p. 645; but as in both passages a comparison is introduced by it, and as οὐτῶς also follows in the passage of 1 Cor., it appears to be rather an instance of the old word ὅμως ‘in like manner’ being brought into play, which should accordingly be rendered simply by ‘also’ or ‘likewise.’<sup>2</sup>—Κατότοι in classical Greek means ‘and yet,’ and rarely takes a participle with the meaning ‘although,’ cp. § 74, 2; in the N.T. it introduces a **parenthesis** in Jo. 4. 2 καίτοι γε (§ 77, 4) Ἰησοῦς αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐβάπτιξεν κ.τ.λ. (= ‘although He did not baptize’), and has a more independent character in A. 14. 17, though here also it may be rendered ‘although’ (on A. 17. 27 see § 74, 2; for κατότοι with a participle H. 4. 3).—Καὶ μήν ‘and yet’ (class.) does not occur in the N.T.; but Hermas uses it in Mand. iv. 1.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Ἄλλο’ is rendered pleonastic by a preceding ἄλλος, but the use is nevertheless not unclassical, Kühner 824, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Hom. i. 15 (= Epitom. 14) has καὶ ὅμως ἔμαθον καὶ τῷ πυλῶνι ἐπέστην, = ἀμα ‘at the same time’; xix. 23 καὶ ὅμως τοιαῦτα τινα μυρία κ.τ.λ., = καὶ ὅμως. (In 1 C. 1.c. the accentuation ὅμως is supported by Wilke Neut. Rhetorik p. 225.)

8, v. 1. 7, with an intensifying force in an answer, somewhat like *immo* (class., Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 690).—Μὲν οὖν in classical Greek is specially used in answers with heightening or corrective force, and is always so placed that the *μὲν* here as in other cases has another word before it; but in the N.T. *μενοῦν* or *μενοῦνγε* with the same meaning stands at the beginning of a sentence: L. 11. 28 *μενοῦν* (ins. γε B<sup>3</sup>CD al.) *μακάριοι οἱ κ.τ.λ.* ('rather'), R. 9. 20 (γε is omitted by B only), 10. 18 *μενοῦνγε* (*μενοῦνγε* om. FG); we also find ἀλλὰ *μενοῦν*(γε) in Ph. 3. 8, vide supra 13. Cp. Phryn. Lob. 342. But the classical position of the word is seen in 1 C. 6. 4 *βιωτικὰ μὲν οὖν κριτήρια κ.τ.λ.*, ep. 7 (οὖν om. σ\*D\*).

### § 78. PARTICLES (continued).

1. The comparative particles which are followed by a subordinate clause are *ὡς* and *ὡσπερ*, also frequently in nearly all writers *καθώς*, a Hellenistic word, see Phrynicus p. 425 Lob., who strongly disapproves of it and requires instead *καθά* (only in Mt. 27. 10 O.T. and L. 1. 2 according to D and Euseb., certainly the right reading, see p. 49 on *παρέδοσαν*) or *καθό* (which is found in R. 8. 26, 2 C. 8. 12, 1 P. 4. 13); the equally Attic form *καθάπερ* occurs only in Paul and Hebrews. The uses of *ὡς* are manifold, and some of them, as being too well known and commonplace, need not be discussed at all in this grammar. The correlative terms are *ὡς* (*ὡσπερ*, *καθώς*, *καθάπερ*) — *οὐτώς* or *οὐτώς καὶ*; or the term corresponding to *ὡς* may be simply *καὶ*, as in Mt. 6. 10, or again *καὶ* may be attached to *ὡς* and may even stand in both portions of the comparison, as in R. 1. 13 *ἴνα τινὰ καρπὸν σχῶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν*, Mt. 18. 33 etc. (as in class. Greek, Kühner p. 799, 2).—When used to introduce a sentence *ὡς* and more particularly *καθώς* may also to some extent denote a reason: R. 1. 28 *καθὼς οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς κ.τ.λ.* ('even as' = 'since,' *quandoquidem*), 1 C. 1. 6, 5. 7, E. 1. 4, Ph. 1. 7 (Mt. 6. 12 *ὡς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν*, = L. 11. 4 *καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν*), ep. *ὡς* with a partic. § 74, 6.—A parable is introduced by *ὡς* in Mc. 13. 34, by *ὡσπερ* *γὰρ* (γὰρ om. D) in 25. 14, though no corresponding term follows, and there is also no close connection with the preceding words, ep. 81, 2.—Before ideas the place of *ὡς* is taken by *ώστε* (especially in the Gospels and Acts, also in Herm. Sim. vi. 2. 5, ix. 11. 5), with much variety of reading in the MSS.; this particle is also used before numerical ideas = 'about,' Mt. 14. 21 (D *ὡς*), Jo. 4. 6 (*ὡς* has preponderant evidence) etc. (classical); *ώσπερει* (in comparisons) only occurs in 1 C. 15. 8 (*ὡσπερ* D\*) and as a v.l. in 4. 13; *ώστάν* (*ὡς ἄν*) only in 2 C. 10. 9 *ώστάν* ('as it were') *ἐκφοβεῖν*, cp. § 70, 5. A very wide use is made of *ὡς* in connection with a predicate, whether in the nominative, Mt. 22. 30 *ὡς ἀγγελοι θεοῦ εἰσιν*, 18. 3 *ἔὰν μὴ γένησθε ὡς τὰ παιδία*, 1 C. 7. 7 *ἔὰν μείνωσιν ὡς κάγω*, or in the accusative, L. 15. 19 *ποιήσον με ὡς ἔνα τῶν μισθίων σου*, especially with the verbs *λογίζεσθαι*, *ἡγεῖσθαι* etc., § 34, 5 (all unclassical uses; but in the LXX. we have in Gen. 3. 5 *ἔστεθε ὡς θεοί*, = class. *ἰσόθεοι*, or *ἴσα καὶ*

*θεοὶ* according to Thuc. iii. 14, cp. [§ 76, 1] *εἶναι ἵστα θεῷ* Ph. 2. 6). With *τὴν ὥσην ὡς καὶ ἡμῖν* A. 11. 17 cp. classical exx. in Kühner 361, note 18. Πορεύεσθαι ὡς (*ἔως* & ABE) *ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν* A. 17. 14 is a Hellenistic usage, *ὡς ἐπὶ* = *versus* in Polyb. i. 29. 1 etc., see Wetstein ad loc.; *ὡς τάχιστα* ibid. 15 is classical (literary language; § 44, 3). On *ὡς* with a partic. and in abbreviated sentences see § 74, 6. On exclamatory *ὡς* § 76, 3; *ὡς (ώς ὅτι)* in assertions § 70, 2; on temporal *ὡς* infra 3; with an infinitive § 69, 3.

2. The hypothetical particles are *εἰ* and *ἴαν*, see § 65, 4 and 5; Paul (and 1 Pet. 2. 3, but *\*AB* read *εἰ*) also uses *εἰπερ* ‘if on the other hand,’ R. 3. 30 (v.l. *ἐπείπερ*), 8. 9, 17, 2 Th. 1. 6, referring to an alternative condition (or fact); *ἴανπερ* is similarly used in H. 3 (6 v.l.) 14, 6. 3; but the particle is differently used in 1 C. 8. 5 *καὶ γὰρ εἰπερ εἰσὶν λεγόμενοι θεοὶ ...*, *ἀλλ’ ἡμῖν εἰς ὁ θεός*, where it has a concessive sense, ‘however true it may be that,’ as in Homer (Kühner 991, note 2)<sup>1</sup>. *Εἴγε* is similarly used, but makes a more definite assumption (G. Hermann), § 77, 4. The correlative terms in use are *εἴτε ... εἴτε* (*ἴαν τε ... ἔαν τε* R. 14. 8 twice), only found in Paul and 1 Peter, either with a finite verb, as in 1 C. 10. 31 *εἴτε κανὸν ἐσθίετε εἴτε πίνετε εἴτε τι ποιεῖτε, πάντα εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ ποιεῖτε*, ‘whether it be that ... or that,’ or still more frequently without a verb by abbreviation (classical, Kühner 839), ibid. 3. 21 f. *πάντα γὰρ ὑμῶν ἔστιν, εἴτε Παῦλος εἴτε Ἀπολλῆως εἴτε Κηφᾶς*, where perhaps no definite verb can be supplied, but the meaning is ‘whether one mentions,’ ‘whether it be,’ ‘whether one is concerned with’<sup>2</sup>; similarly 13. 8 *εἴτε δὲ προφητεῖαι, καταργηθήσονται, εἴτε γλῶσσαι, παύσονται, εἴτε κ.τ.λ.*, and R. 12. 6 ff. *ἔχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα ... εἴτε προφητείαν* (sc. *ἔχοντες*), *κατὰ τὴν ... εἴτε διακονίαν, ἐν ... εἴτε διδάσκων, ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ εἴτε ὁ παρακαλῶν, ἐν κ.τ.λ.* The meaning of *εἴτε ... εἴτε* in such passages approximates very closely to that of *καὶ ... καὶ*, and the construction is also of the same character as that with *καὶ*; the passage R. 12. 7 like other cases of enumeration (R. 2. 17-20; § 79, 3) concludes with an asyndeton, *ὁ μεταδιδοὺς ἐν ἀπλότητι κ.τ.λ.*—Further correlative terms are *εἰ μὲν ... εἰ δὲ*, as in A. 18. 14 f.; here we may note the thoroughly classical suppression of the first apodosis in L. 13. 9 *κανὸν μὲν ποιήσῃ καρπόν* (sc. it is well). *εἰ δὲ μῆγε, ἐκκόψεις αὐτήν* (cp. Kühner 986). On *εἰ δὲ μῆ,* *εἰ δὲ μῆτε* (the second protasis being abbreviated) see § 77, 4; on *εἰ (ἴαν) μῆ (τι)* ‘except,’ ‘except that’ see §§ 65, 6; 75, 3. In imitation of Hebrew *εἰ* is used after formulas of swearing (= Hebr. **מִנְ**): Mc. 8. 12 *ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, εἰ* (‘there shall not’) *δοθήσεται τῷ γενεᾷ ταῦτη σημεῖον* (cp. Mt. 16. 4 a principal sen-

<sup>1</sup> We also have 1 C. 15. 15 *δν (τὸν Χρ.) οὐκ ἔγειρεν, εἰπερ ἄρα νεκροί οὐκ ἔγειρονται*, but the clause *εἰπερ ... ἔγειρp.* is absent (through homoeoteleuton? cp. 16) in DE and other witnesses; the sense can perfectly well dispense with it, and is better without it; moreover the classical use of *ἄρα* (‘as they say’) is remarkable. Here also *εἰπερ* means ‘if on the other hand’ (as they say).

<sup>2</sup> For this in 2 C. 8. 23 we have *εἴτε ὑπέρ Τίτου, κοινωνὸς ἐμὸς κ.τ.λ.*, but here again the sentence continues in the nominative, *εἴτε ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν, ἀπόστολος ἐκκλησιῶν*.

tence with οὐ), H. 3. 11 = 4. 3 O.T.—On concessive εἰ καὶ, ἐὰν καὶ etc. see § 65, 6; on εἰ in indirect and direct questions, and its use to express expectation (also expressed by εἰ πως, si forte) see §§ 65, 1 and 6; 77, 2.

3. The **temporal** particles, used to denote time **when**, are ὅτε, ὅταν, ὅπότε (ἐπειδή is generally causal, as is ἐπειδήπερ; ἐπειδή in temporal sense only occurs in L. 7. 1 with vv.ll. ἐπεί, ὅτε), and exceptionally in Paul ἡνίκα (a literary word, but also found in LXX. e.g. Exod. 1. 10, Deut. 7. 12) 2 C. 3. 15 f. from LXX. Exod. 34. 34 (a particle which strictly refers to a period of an hour or a year, but is already in Attic used interchangeably with ὅτε). Another equally rare word is ὅπότε, if it is correctly read in L. 6. 3 ὅπότε (ὅτε ΙBCDL al., as in Mt., Mc.) ἐπείνασεν. In addition to these we find ὡς not unfrequently used in the narrative of Luke (Gospel and Acts) and John: L. 1. 23 ὡς ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι, Jo. 2. 9 ὡς δὲ ἐγείνατο ὁ ἀρχιτρίκλινος κ.τ.λ. (classical; LXX. especially 1 Macc., Win.-Grimm); in Paul we have R. 15. 24 ὡς ἂν πορεύωμαι εἰς τὴν Σπανίαν ‘in my approaching journey to Spain,’ 1 C. 11. 34 ὡς ἂν ἔλθω ‘when I come (shall come),’ Ph. 2. 23 ὡς ἂν ἀφίδω—a use of ὡς ἂν which finds only distant parallels in classical Greek<sup>1</sup>; it takes the pres. indic. in G. 6. 10 ὡς καιρὸν ἔχομεν (male -ωμεν ΙBC\*) cum, ‘now while’ (Clem. Cor. ii. 8. 1, 9. 7), and in L. 12. 58 ὡς γὰρ ὑπάγεις ... ἐπ’ ἄρχοντα, ἐν τῷ ὁδῷ (Mt. 5. 25 is differently expressed, using ἔως ὅτου; in Lc. ἔως ὑπάγεις would be tautological beside ἐν τῷ ὁδῷ).—Time **during** **which** is expressed, as in classical Greek, by ἔως (with a present), Jo. 9. 4 ἔως ἡμέρα ἐστίν, cp. 12. 35 f. where in 35 ABD al., and in 36 the same MSS. with Ι, read ὡς, which after the instances of ὡς that have been quoted is not impossible, though the meaning ‘as long as’ appears more correct at least in verse 35<sup>2</sup>; see also Mc. 6. 45, Jo. 21. 22, 1 Tim. 4. 13, § 65, 10. Elsewhere for ‘as long as’ we have ἔως ὅτου Mt. 5. 25 (as ἔως has become a preposition, § 40, 6), or ἀχρις οὐ H. 3. 13, A. 27. 33, or ἐν φι Mc. 2. 19, L. 5. 34, Jo. 5. 7. The same expressions together with ἔως οὐ, ἀχρι, μέχρι, μέχρι οὐ when used with the aor. conj. (or fut. indic.) mean ‘until,’ § 65, 9 and 10.—‘Before’ is πρίν, πρίν η̄, usually with an infinitive; also πρὸ τοῦ with an infin., ibid.

4. For the **final** particles ινα, θπως, μή see § 65, 2; on the extended use of ινα, § 69; on μή, μήπως, μήποτε after φοβεῖσθαι etc. § 65, 3.—For **assertions** with θτι (ώς, ως ὅτι, πώς), § 70; for indirect questions with εἰ (πότερον ... η̄ Jo. 7. 17), § 77, 2.

5. The **consecutive** **subordinating** particles are ώστε, see § 69, 3, and ινα, ibid.—With a **co-ordinate** construction οὐν is particularly frequent, being one of the commonest of the particles in the N.T., and fairly represented in all writings, though a far larger use is made of

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. iv. 172 τῶν δὲ ως ἔκαστος οἱ μιχθῆ, διδοῖ δῶρον. But the LXX. has the same use, e.g. in Jos. 2. 14; also Herm. Vis. iii. 8. 9.

<sup>2</sup> In modern Greek ως (from ἔως) also means ‘until’; but in the N.T. the two words are not elsewhere confused (ώστε with an inf. = ‘until’ in ‘Jo.’ 8. 9 D?), and we should therefore perhaps write with Ι in verse 35 έως ‘as long as,’ and in verse 36 ως quando ‘now when.’

it in narrative than in epistolary style, and the greatest of all in John's Gospel (whereas in the Johannine Epistles it only occurs in 3 Jo. 8 [being interpolated in 1 Jo. 2. 24, 4. 19]). Of course it does not always imply a strictly causal connection, but may be used in a looser way of a temporal connection, and therefore to resume or continue the narrative. Luke is accustomed in the Acts, if the narrative sentence begins with a noun or pronoun (or a participle with the article), to emphasize the *οὖν* by the addition of *μὲν*, which need not be succeeded by a contrasted clause with *δὲ*: 1. 6 *οἱ μὲν οὖν συνελθόντες κ.τ.λ.*, 18 *οὗτος μὲν οὖν κ.τ.λ.*, 2. 41 *οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀποδεξάμενοι*, 9. 31 *αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησίαι* etc.; this combination of particles is used sometimes to state what further took place, sometimes to summarize the events which have been previously narrated, before passing on to something new (cp. for the class. use Kühner 711); the same use occurs in Luke's Gospel 3. 18 *πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἔτερα παρακαλῶν εὐηγγελίζετο τὸν λαόν* (the only instance of *μὲν οὖν* in that Gospel). The simple *οὖν* is used after a participle in A. 10. 23 (15. 2 v.l.), 16. 11, 25. 17 (cp. 26. 22 etc.); in Luke's Gospel only in 23. 16 = 22; D has it also in 5. 7. *Οὖν* is used after parenthetical remarks to indicate a recurrence to the original subject in Jo. 4. 45, 6. 24, 1 C. 8. 4, 11. 20 (also classical; but the classical *δὲ οὖν* to indicate this recurrence is unrepresented). The interrogative *ούκον* 'therefore,' 'then' (Kühner 715 f.) occurs only in Jo. 18. 37 *ούκον βασιλεὺς εἰσιν*; On *μὲν οὖν, μενοῦν* see § 77. 14.—Another consecutive particle is *ἄρα* 'therefore,' 'consequently,' especially frequent in Paul, who sometimes makes it, as in classical Greek, the second word in the sentence, R. 7. 21 *εἰρίσκω ἄρα*, sometimes contrary to classical usage the first, as in R. 10. 17 *ἄρα* (FG *ἄ. οὖν*) *ἡ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς*, 1 C. 15. 18, 2 C. 7. 12 etc. (H. 4. 9); we also find the strengthened form *ἄρα οὖν* R. 5. 18, 7. 3, 25, 8. 12, 9. 16, 18 etc., G. 6. 10, E. 2. 19 (om. *οὖν* FG), 1 Th. 5. 6, 2 Th. 2. 15. It is strengthened by *γέ* and given the first position in the sentence in Mt. 7. 20, 17. 26, A. 11. 18 EHLP, where other MSS. have *ἄρα* as in L. 11. 48 (for which Mt. 23. 31 uses *ἄστε* with indic.). Also in an apodosis after a protasis with *εἰ*, the simple *ἄρα* is always used and is always the first word: Mt. 12. 28 = L. 11. 20, 2 C. 5. 14 according to  $\aleph$  C\* al. (most MSS. omit *εἰ*, but it would easily be dropped before *εἰς*), G. 2. 21 (*ibid.* 18 interrogatively, therefore *ἄρα* § 77, 2), 3. 25, H. 12. 8. On *ἔπειτα ἄρα* in Paul cp. inf. 6; on *ἄρα, ἄρα* in interrogative sentences § 77, 2.—Another quite rare particle is *τοιχαροῦν* (classical), 1 Th. 4. 8, H. 12. 1, placed at the beginning of a sentence; and *τοινῦν* is not much commoner, standing as the second word (as in class. Greek) in L. 20. 25 ACP al., as the first word (unclassical<sup>1</sup>) in  $\aleph$  BL, and omitted in D (as it is in Mc. 12. 17; Mt. 22. 21 has *οὖν*); as second word also in 1 C. 9. 26 (in Ja. 2. 24 it is spurious), as first word in H. 13. 13 (Clem. Cor. i. 15. 1).—Another particle of kindred meaning is *δῆ*, which is found (though rarely) according to classical usage in sentences containing a request, 1 C. 6. 20 *δοξάσατε δῆ* ('therefore') *τὸν*

<sup>1</sup> But found in other late writers, see Lob. Phryn. 342.

*θεὸν κ.τ.λ.* (but *¶\** and some Latin witnesses omit *δῆ* and present an asyndeton); in L. 2. 15, A. 13. 2, 15. 36 at the beginning of a speech ('come now'); a quite different and thoroughly classical use of it occurs in Mt. 13. 23 ὃς δὴ καρποφορεῖ 'who is just the man who' (for ὃς δὴ D has *τότε*, the Vulgate and others *et*).—Lastly we have the consecutive particle *διό*, i.e. δ' ὃ, and therefore strictly used to introduce a subordinate relative sentence, but its subordinating character is forgotten, Mt. 27. 8, L. 1. 35 (A\* wrongly has *διότι*, which is often confused with *διό*): in the latter passage we have the combination, also a favourite one in classical Greek,<sup>1</sup> διὸ καὶ, and the corresponding δὸ οὐδὲ in 7. 7; it is frequent in the Acts and Epistles; we also have *διόπερ* 1 C. 8. 13, 10. 14 (in 14. 13 most MSS. read διὸ). *Οθεν* is similarly used in Mt. 14. 7, A. 26. 19, and often in Hebrews, e.g. 2. 17, 3. 1, denoting a reason like our 'hence.'<sup>2</sup>

6. The principal causal subordinating particle is *ὅτι* 'because,' for which Luke and Paul (H., Ja., 1 P.) also use *διότι* (classical). But the subordination both with *ὅτι* and *διότι* is often a very loose one (cp. διό, *ὅθεν*, supra 5), so that it must be translated 'for': 1 C. 1. 25 *ὅτι τὸ μωρὸν τοῦ θεού σοφώτερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν κ.τ.λ.*, 4. 9, 10. 17 2 C. 4. 6, 7. 8, 14, with *διότι* R. 1. 19, 21, 3. 20, 8. 7 (*ὅτι* FG) etc. A similar use is made of *ἐπεὶ*, which in the N.T. is regularly a causal particle: R. 3. 6 *ἐπεὶ* ('for') *πῶς κρινεῖ ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον*, where as in other passages it has the additional meaning of 'if otherwise' (classical, Xenoph. Cyr. ii. 2. 31 etc.), which it has in assertions in R. 11. 6 *ἐπεὶ ἡ χάρις οὐκέτι γίνεται χάρις*, 22 *ἐπεὶ καὶ σὺ ἐκκοπήσῃς*. *Ἐπειδή*, which is likewise a causal particle (supra 3), has not this additional meaning, though like *ὅτι* it implies a loose subordination: 1 C. 14. 16 (B *ἐπεὶ*), 1. 22 (FG *ἐπεὶ*). *Ἐπειδήπερ* occurs only in L. 1. 1 'inasmuch as already,' referring to a fact already well known, cp. *εἰπερ* supra 2.—On *ἐφ* φ cp. supra § 43, 3; on *καθὼς* supra 1. *Καθότι* (only in Luke) strictly means 'according as,' 'just as,' and is so used in A. 2. 45, 4. 35; but in Hellenistic Greek it passes over to the meaning of *διότι*: L. 1. 7 *καθότι ἦν ἡ Ἐλισαβήτ στείρα*, 19. 9, A. 17. 31 (*διότι* HLP).—The co-ordinating particle is *γάρ*, one of the commonest of the particles (least often, in comparison with the rest of the N.T., in John, especially in his Epistles; there are also not many instances of it in the Apocalypse). Its usages agree with the classical usages; it is also frequently found in questions, where we use 'then,' Mt. 27. 23 *τί γάρ κακὸν ἔποιησεν*; 'what evil then has he done?', A. 8. 31 *πῶς γάρ ἀν δυναίμην*; giving the reason for a denial or refusal which is left unexpressed, or for a reproach (whether expressed or not) as in Mt. 9. 5 *τί γάρ ἐστιν εὐκοπώτερον κ.τ.λ.*, 23. 17 *μωρὸν καὶ τυφλού, τίς γάρ κ.τ.λ.*, A. 19. 35 etc., unless it should be rendered literally by 'for who,' as in L. 22. 27. In answers it corroborates a statement about which a question has been raised (Kühner ii. 724), 'yes in truth,' 'indeed,' as in 1 C. 9. 10 ἡ δ' ἡμᾶς *πάντως*

<sup>1</sup> E.g. in Aristotle's *Ἀθηναῖων πολιτεῖα*.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. *Ἀθ. πολ. 3. 2* etc.

λέγει; (an oratorical question) δὲ ἵμᾶς γάρ ἐγράφη, 1 Th. 2. 20 (and it is similarly used where a statement is repeated, R. 15. 26 f. ηὐδόκησαν γάρ .... ηὐδόκησαν γάρ, καὶ κ.τ.λ.); there is a somewhat different use after an indignant question in A. 16. 37 of οὐ γάρ, *non projecto* (classical; see the author's note on the passage), and a different use again in Jo. 9. 30 in the retort of the man born blind, ἐν τούτῳ γάρ (οὗν D) τὸ θαυμαστόν ἔστιν, δτι κ.τ.λ., which is equivalent to an interrogative (vide supra) οὐ γάρ ἐν τούτῳ κ.τ.λ.—Καὶ γάρ is 'for also,' so that there is no closer connection between the two particles (= ἐπιιδὴ καὶ); the well-known use of καὶ γάρ for *etenim* (Kühner 855), where καὶ quite loses its force, is sometimes traced in passages like 1 C. 5. 7, 11. 9, 12. 13 (where οὕτως καὶ ὁ Xρ. precedes); but in reality καὶ keeps its meaning of 'also' in these places, though it refers not to a single idea, but to the whole sentence.<sup>1</sup> (There is however an instance of the classical καὶ γάρ in L. 22. 37 [D omits γάρ], cp. Jo. 12. 39 D καὶ γάρ instead of δτ.). Οὐδὲ γάρ is similarly used in R. 8. 7 (but in Jo. 8. 42, where D reads οὐ γάρ, it rather = *neque enim*, corresponding to a positive *etenim*). In τε γάρ R. 7. 7 τε has nothing whatever to do with γάρ: if τε and γάρ are genuine (τε is omitted by FG and the Latin MSS.), one must suppose it to be an instance of anacoluthon.

7. The concessive subordinating particles are εἰ καὶ, ἂν καὶ, § 65, 6; also καῦ meaning 'even if,' Mt. 21. 21, 26. 35, Jo. 8. 14, 10. 38; on the other hand καὶ εἰ is only found, where the reading is certain, in the sense of 'and if' (Mc. 14. 27 εἰ καὶ ΚBC al., καὶ ἂν or καῦ D, καὶ εἰ A al.; 2 C. 13. 4 καὶ γάρ εἰ ΚA al., which is more correct than καὶ γάρ without εἰ as read by \*BD\*F al.; Origen reads εἰ γάρ καὶ, see Tisch.). On καίπερ, καίτοι with a participle, and καίτοι(γε) with a finite verb see § 74, 2. Καίτοι takes alternately a hypotactical or a paratactical construction, vide ibid., as it alternately has an adversative or a concessive meaning, § 77, 14.—On the use of οὕτως corresponding to classical καίπερ vide ibid.

### § 79. CONNECTION OF SENTENCES.

1. We find the methods of connecting sentences in Greek already divided in Aristotle's terminology<sup>2</sup> into two opposite classes, namely the **continuous** or **running style** (*ειρουένη*) and the **compact** (*κατεστραμμένη*) or **periodic style** (*ἐν περιόδοις*). In the latter the whole discourse is subdivided into units consisting of coherent and well-balanced members; in the former the subsequent section is always loosely appended to the section preceding it, and there is never a definite conclusion within view of the reader. The periodic style is characteristic of artistically developed prose, the continuous style is that which we find in the oldest, and still quite unsophisticated, prose, and on the whole is that which characterizes the N.T. narrative,

<sup>1</sup> On 2 C. 13. 4 vide inf. 7. The classical use also appears in Herm. Sim. ix.  
8. 2 καὶ γάρ (*etenim*) καὶ ('also') οὕτως κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> Arist. Rhet. iii. 9.

agreeing as it does with the manner of the Semitic models on which that narrative is based. To the idea which is given the first place and which is complete in itself there is appended a second and similar idea, the connecting link being in most cases *καὶ* = Hebrew *וְ*, then follows a third, and so on in an unending series: this tedious character of uniformity is an especially noticeable feature of the narrative of Mark, but is also not wanting in the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John. Another class of continuous style is that where the opening sentence is developed by appending to it a participle, or a clause introduced by *ὅτι*, or a relative sentence, or in some similar way, since in this case also there is no end or termination in view; this manner of writing, which is freely employed by Paul in large portions of the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, is indeed still more tedious and presents still greater obscurity than the simple linking together of sentences by means of *καὶ*.

2. Besides the connection of clauses by means of a conjunction, a relative, a subordinate participle etc., there is further the unconnected or paratactical construction (known as **asyndeton**); this is on the whole repugnant to the spirit of the Greek language, both with regard to sentences and the members which compose them, as also with regard to parallel portions of a single clause, and accordingly in the N.T. also is only used to a limited extent. Those sentences are *not* to be regarded as strict cases of asyndeton, where the new sentence begins with a demonstrative pronoun or a demonstrative adverb, referring back to something which has preceded: A. 16. 3 *τοῦτον* (Timothy) *ἡθέλησεν* ὁ Παῦλος *σὺν αὐτῷ ἔξελθεῖν*, Jo. 5. 6 *τοῦτον* *ἰδὼν κ.τ.λ.* (ibid. 21. 21 AX al., but ΚΒCD have *τοῦτον οὐν*), the person having been previously introduced and described; a quite parallel instance may be quoted e.g. from Demosth. 21. 58 *Σαυνίων ἔστιν δῆμου τις ... οὗτος ἀστρατείας γέλω ... τοῦτον μετὰ κ.τ.λ.* An unclassical use, on the other hand, is that of *τότε* as a connecting particle, which is particularly characteristic of Matthew, though also occurring in Luke (esp. in the Acts), to introduce something which was subsequent in point of time, not something which happened at a definite point of time: Mt. 2. 7 *τότε Ἡρώδης κ.τ.λ.*, 16, 17, 3. 5, 13, 15, 4. 1, 5, 10, 11 etc., L. 14. 21 (D *καὶ*), 21. 10 *τότε ἐλεγεν αὐτοῖς* (om. D), 24. 45, A. 1. 12, 4. 8 etc. (esp. frequent in D, e.g. 2. 14, 37); John uses the combination *τότε οὖν*, 11. 14 (*οὖν* om. A), 19. 1, 16, 20. 8, *τότε* in that case having a fuller meaning ‘at this time’ (as opposed to previous time). Other circumstantial formulas with similar meaning, which can hardly be interpreted in their literal sense, are: Mt. 11. 25, 12. 1 *ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ* (14. 1, where D has *ἐν ἐκ. δὲ*), *ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ* Mt. 18. 7 (*ἐν ἐκ. δὲ* BM), *ἐν ἐκείναις* (*δὲ add. D*) *ταῖς ἡμέραις* Mc. 8. 1 (*ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμ. ἐκ.* Mt. 3. 1, but DE al. om. *δὲ*); *ἐν αὐτῇ* (*δὲ add. D*) *τῇ ὥρᾳ* L. 10. 21 (7. 21 v.l. *ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥ.*; with *δὲ AD al.*). ‘*Απὸ τότε* may also be noticed in Mt. 4. 17 (with *γὰρ* in D), 16. 21, L. 16. 16 (*καὶ ἀ. τ.* Mt. 26. 16). *Μετὰ τοῦτο* (*ταῦτα*) without a conjunction occurs in John’s Gospel, 2. 12, 3. 22, 5. 1, 14, 6. 1 etc. (in 19. 38 *μετὰ δὲ τ.*, but *δὲ* is omitted by EGK al.), and the Apocalypse (4. 1, 7. 9,

18. 1, 19. 1, 20. 3, with καὶ 7. 1 [καὶ om. AC], 15. 5); see also A. 18. 1 according to ΣΑΒ (v.l. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα), and the reading of nearly all Greek MSS. in L. 10. 1, 18. 4.—In the case of ἐπέτα and ἐπέτη Attic Greek is not fond of inserting a δέ (Krüger Gr. § 69, 24), and the N.T. usage is the same, L. 16. 7, Jo. 11. 7, Mc. 4. 17 etc. (Ja. 4. 14 ἐπ. καὶ ΣΑΒΚ, ἐπ. δὲ καὶ only LP). The N.T. also uses ἐπι without a conjunction: L. 8. 49 ἐπι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος, A. 10. 44, Mt. 12. 46 (with δὲ CE al.), cp. 26. 47 (where Latin MSS. omit the conj., and there are var. lect. καὶ ἐπι and ἐπι δὲ).

**3. Asyndeton between individual words** or ideas is quite a natural occurrence for the sake of convenience in lengthy enumerations, but here there is a tendency at any rate to connect the words in pairs to avoid ambiguity, see § 77, 9, until at last even this becomes tedious to the writer, 1 Tim. 1. 9, 10; still, if the ideas are not strictly summed up, but merely enumerated, the use of asyndeton may be an actual necessity. Thus we have in 1 P. 4. 3 πεπορευμένους ἐν ἀστελγείαις, ἐπιθυμίαις, οἰνοφλυγίαις, κύμοις, πότοις καὶ ἀθεμίτοις εἰδωλολατρίαις (with the last word the adjective necessitates the insertion of καὶ); the use of καὶ in this passage would lay too great a charge against individual persons. 2 Tim. 3. 2 ἔσονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι φίλαντοι, φιλάργυροι, ἀλαζόνες, ὑπερήφανοι, βλάσφημοι κ.τ.λ. (but the same men do not possess all these faults). If the particle is used in enumerations of this kind, the construction is known as **polysyndeton**, a figure of speech which may be used just as well as asyndeton for a rhetorical purpose, only in a different way: polysyndeton by evidently summing up the different ideas produces an impression of greatness and fulness, asyndeton, by breaking up the separate ideas and introducing them one after the other in a jerky manner, gives an impression of vivacity and excitement. Still neither asyndeton nor polysyndeton is used with a rhetorical effect in every case where they occur: L. 18. 29 (=Mt. 19. 29, Mc. 10. 29) οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὃς ἀφῆκει οἴκιαν ἢ γυναῖκα ἢ ἀδελφὸνς κ.τ.λ. cannot well be otherwise expressed; also L. 14. 21 τοὺς πτωχοὺς καὶ ἀναπείρους καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ χωλὸὺς εὐσάγαγε ὅδε is a simple and straightforward expression, no less than Jo. 5. 3 πλῆθος τῶν ἀσθενούντων, τυφλῶν χωλῶν ξηρῶν (in the latter passage καὶ would be superfluous, in Lc it is not so because the different persons are summed up). Where there are only two ideas N.T. (like classical) Greek is not fond of asyndeton, except where opposites are connected, as in 2 Tim. 4. 2 ἐπίστηθι εὐκαίρως ἀκαίρως, cp. ἄνω κάτω, nolens volens, Kühner 865 d, Win. § 58, 7<sup>1</sup>. But polysyndeton is used with a really rhetorical effect in R. 9. 4 ὅν ἡ νιόθεσία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ αἱ διαθῆκαι καὶ ἡ νομοθεσία καὶ ἡ λατρεία καὶ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι (cp. 2. 17 ff.), or in Ap. 5. 12 λαβεῖν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πλούτον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ εὐλογίαν; just as asyndeton is used in 1 C. 3. 12 εἰ τις ἐποικοδομεῖ ἐπὶ τῷ θεμέλιον χρουσίον, ἀργυρον, λίθους τιμίους,

<sup>1</sup> If the negative idea (with οὐ) is attached to the positive, καὶ may be inserted or omitted: 1 C. 10. 20 δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ, 3. 2 γάλα ..., οὐ βρῶμα (DEFG ins. καὶ), 7. 12 etc.

ξύλα, χόρτον, καλάμην, which should be recited in a vivid way, giving emphasis to the studied anti-climax.

4. If the connected ideas are finite verbs, this leads us at once to asyndeton between sentences; but there are certain **imperatives** which deserve a separate mention. Mt. 5. 24 ὑπαγε πρῶτον διαλλάγηθι, 8. 4 etc. (18. 15 ὑπαγε ἔλεγχον <sup>N</sup>BD, a v.l. inserts καὶ; similarly Mc. 6. 38; but in Ap. 16. 1 all uncials have καὶ), cp. the classical use of ἀγε and ἵθι (N.T. does not use ἔρχον thus, but has ἐ. καὶ ἵθε Jo. 1. 47, 11. 34, Ap. 6. 1, 3, 5, 7 [in Ap. there is a *correct* v.l., omitting καὶ ἵθε]; ἔγειρε ἄρον Mc. 2. 11 (in 9 most MSS. insert καὶ), but in L. 6. 8 only A has ἔγ. στῆθι, and there is preponderant evidence for καὶ, in Mt. 9. 6 <sup>N</sup>C al. read ἔγειρθείς ἄρον, B reads as in Mc., D ἔγειρε καὶ ἄρον: we further have ἔγειρεσθε ἀγωμεν in Mt. 26. 46 = Mc. 14. 42; also ἀνάστα is so used at least as a v.l. of D\* in A. 11. 7 ἀνάστα Πέτρε θῦσον, § 74, 3. Further we have ὥρα ὄρατε, βλέπετε = *cave(te)* (cp. § 64, 2), Mt. 9. 30 ὄρατε μηδείς γινωσκέτω, 24. 6 ὄρατε μὴ θροεῖσθε (Buttm. p. 209), and accordingly ὄρατε (*βλ.*) μὴ with conjunctive in Mt., Mc., Lc. is also apparently to be regarded as an instance of asyndeton, Mt. 24. 4 βλέπετε μὴ τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ, although in passages like Col. 2. 8 *βλ.* μὴ τις ἔσται, A. 13. 40, H. 12. 25 the μὴ subordinates the following clause no less than it does in βλεπέτω μὴ πέσῃ 1 C. 10. 12. On ἀφες with conj. see § 64, 2. Not far removed from these instances is σιώπα πεφίμωσο Mc. 4. 39 (*σ.* καὶ φιμώθητι D). The corresponding use of asyndeton with indicatives is limited to ἔγένετο with a finite verb, § 77, 6, and to the asyndeton after τοῦτο in an explanation of the preceding clause (classical, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 864) L. 3. 20 προσέθηκε καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, κατέκλεισε κ.τ.λ. (<sup>N</sup>\*BD al.); a peculiar instance is 1 C. 4. 9 δοκῶ γὰρ (*ὅτι* add. <sup>N</sup>D<sup>o</sup> al.) δ θεὸς ἀπέδειξεν, which should be compared with the insertion of δοκεῖτε and μαρτυρῶ inf. 7.—Again, where we have to do with really distinct clauses and sentences, a distinction must be drawn between narrative style on the one hand, and didactic and homiletic (or conversational) style on the other. In **narrative** the connecting link is generally retained, at least by Mt., Mc. and Lc., for John certainly shows a remarkable difference from them in this respect: thus in 1. 23 ἔφη, 26 ἀπεκρίθη, 29 τῇ ἐπαύριον βλέπει, similarly in 35, 37 ἡκουσαν (καὶ ἦκ. <sup>N</sup>ABC al.), 38 στραφεῖς (with δὲ <sup>N</sup>ABC al.), 40 λέγει, 41 ἦν (A al. ἦν δὲ), 42 εὑρίσκει, 43 ἤγαγεν (καὶ ἤγ. AX al.) and ἐμβλέψας αὐτῷ etc., beside which he uses the connecting particles οὖν, δέ, καί. These instances of asyndeton give the impression of ease, not so much of vividness or hurry on the part of the narrator. (Hermas has similar instances, e.g. Vis. iii. 10. 2 ἀποκριθεσά μοι λέγει, 9 ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ λέγω — ἀπ. μοι λέγει, and again in 10, so that he uses asyndeton just in these formulas of narrated dialogue, where most of John's instances occur, and like John he is fond of using it with the historic present, Winer § 60, 1; he also uses it with μετὰ πολλὰ ἔτη, μ. χρόνον τινά etc., Vis. i. 1. 1 ff., cp. supra 2 ad fin.)—In the **didactic style** of the Gospels asyndeton is very commonly found between the individual precepts and utterances, e.g. almost throughout the whole passage Mt. 5. 3-17, and not only where there is no

connection of thought,<sup>1</sup> but also in spite of such connection : ibid. 17 μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἥλθον καταλῦσαι ... οὐκ ἥλθον καταλῦσαι κ.τ.λ. (instead of οὐ γάρ), L. 6. 27 ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ..., καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς ..., προσεύχεσθε περὶ .... (29) τῷ τύπτοντι ..., καὶ ἀπὸ κ.τ.λ. (from this point onwards there is more connection). John also frequently employs it: 3. 6 τὸ γεγεννημένον ..., 7 μὴ θαυμάσῃς ..., 8 τὸ πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ. Here too the asyndeton is used with no rhetorical purpose, although it perhaps gives greater solemnity and weight to the discourse. The style of the exhortations and precepts in the Epistles is similar. But in the Epistles, especially the Pauline Epistles, we also find many instances, some of them brilliant instances, of rhetorical asyndeton, see § 82.

5. New sections in doctrinal writings of some length usually have, as in classical works, some link to connect them with the preceding section, and this is at any rate essentially requisite in a work that lays claim to careful execution. On the other hand, the epistolary style is apt to make use of asyndeton, when a further subject is started, and there are moreover numerous instances in Paul and other writers where such a fresh start is made (*ἐξ ἀποστάσεως*, i.e. ‘with a break’), quite apart from the Epistle of James, which has the appearance of being a collection of aphorisms, and the first Epistle of John which is hardly less loosely put together. In the Epistle to the Romans there are connecting links till we reach 8. 16 αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα συμμαρτυρεῖ κ.τ.λ., where one may very well speak of a *figure* of *ἐξ ἀποστάσεως*; the thought is so directly the outcome of the feeling (as also in 10. 1). The absence of a connecting link at the beginning of the second main section of the letter (9. 1), which is so distinct from the preceding section, may be surprising, but a mere conjunction would here be quite inadequate to produce a connection. In 1 Corinthians the *ἐξ ἀποστάσεως* construction is profusely and effectively employed; but new subjects are also sometimes introduced without a conjunction, as in 5. 9, 6. 1, 12, but in 7. 1, 25, 8. 1, 12. 1, 16. 1 we have *περὶ δὲ*, in 15. 1 *γνωρίζω δὲ*, etc. In the Epistle to the Hebrews the connection of sections is regularly preserved, except in the hortatory sections which are not connected with one another.

6. The other class of construction, the **compact** or **periodic**, has never been entirely wanting in any form of Greek literature; it is found for instance where the first-mentioned part of the thought defines the time of what follows, and this statement of time is not given in a few words (such as *ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις*), but at such length that a pause is required after it; thus we have a clause standing first which though it stands by itself gives a broken and incomplete meaning, and must therefore be succeeded by a second clause to complete the sense. This style is also found where the first part of the sentence is a condition etc., or where the subject of

<sup>1</sup> In this case Attic writers also employ asyndeton in admonitions, Isocrates R. i. ii. iii.: cp. his statement on this subject in xv. 67 f.

the sentence which is placed at the beginning is expanded by means of attributive words into a separate clause; there is a weaker, but still a true, connection of clauses, where two members of an antithesis, or a disjunction, or a parallelism, are set side by side, and the link between the first member and the second is expressed by a particle such as *μέν*, *οὐ*, *τε* or *καί*. Even a particle is not absolutely necessary to produce connection, so that we may even speak of periods where asyndeton is used, as in 1 C. 7. 27 δέδεσαι γυναικί μὴ ξήτει λύσιν· λέλυσαι ἀπὸ γυναικός μὴ ξήτει γυναικα, = εἰ μὲν δέδεσαι ... εἰ δὲ λέλυσαι, cp. § 82, 8. We, it is true, are accustomed only to speak of a periodic style, where the number of clauses which combine to form a single unit and which only receive their full meaning from the last of them is far in excess of two, and we consequently fail to discover a periodic style in the N.T., since as a matter of fact there are not many sentences of this kind to be found in it. We have indeed the preface to Luke's Gospel, L. 1. 1-4 ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχειρησαν | ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων | καθὰ (sic D) παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου | ἔδοξε κάμοὶ παρηκολούθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς | καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι κρατιστε Θέόφιλε | ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, where, if the sentence is divided as above, and regard is had to the appropriate length of the clauses, erring neither on the side of excessive length or brevity, a beautiful relation is seen to exist between the protasis with its three clauses and the apodosis with its corresponding structure. Since *πολλοὶ* is answered by *κάμοὶ*, and *ἀνατ. διήγησιν* by *γράψαι*, and the *καθὰ* clause by *ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς κ.τ.λ.*, we see that the last clause, which is appended to a sentence already complete, is at least demanded by the correspondence which prevails throughout the whole passage. The same writer, however, in the rest of his Gospel has by no means taken the trouble to construct artistic periods, and his second work, the Acts, does not even open with a tolerably well-constructed sentence; the only similar period to be found besides in that author occurs at the beginning of the Apostolic letter, A. 15. 24 ff. The artificially-constructed sentence at the beginning of the Epistle to the Hebrews is of a different character. Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυντρόπως πάλαι ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις | ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν νῦν (this according to ancient ideas is a complete period with two clauses or members, to which some looser clauses are then directly appended): ὃν ἐθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων | δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας (with a rhetorical anaphoric use of the relative with asyndeton, § 82, 5; as in the subsequent passage) | δις ὃν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ | φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ρήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ | καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος | ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς (a period with four clauses) | τοσούτῳ κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων | ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον παρ' αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα (an appended period consisting of two clauses connected by *τοσούτῳ* ... *ὅσῳ*). The rest of the Epistle is composed in a similarly fluent and beautiful rhetorical style, and the whole work must, especially

with regard to the composition of words and sentences, be reckoned as a piece of artistic prose, cp. § 82, 2. Paul, on the other hand, generally does not take the trouble which is required for so careful a style, and hence it happens that in spite of all his eloquence artistic periods are not to be looked for in his writings, while harsh parentheses and anacolutha abound.

7. In the case of a parenthesis the direct course of a sentence is interrupted by a subordinate idea being inserted into the middle of it. We also freely make use of parentheses in writing, but prevent the irregularity of the construction from interfering with the intelligibility of the passage by enclosing the interruption within brackets or dashes, unless indeed we throw the clause, which might be a parenthesis, into a foot-note. The need of a parenthesis usually arises from the fact that some idea or thought which occurs in the sentence necessitates a pause, such for instance as the introduction of a foreign word which requires explanation. In that case a sentence, which should strictly be closely joined together, is divided in two; this is done either in such a way that the whole construction still preserves its unity, as in Mt. 27. 33 *εἰς ... Γολγοθά, ὃ ἐστιν Κρανίον τόπος*<sup>1</sup>, or else the insertion entirely destroys the structure of the sentence (anacoluthon), or again after the insertion, which is expressed as an independent clause, the writer returns to the original construction. In this last case we have a parenthesis. An instance of it is Mt. 24. 15 f. *ὅταν ὥητε τὸ βδέλυγμα ... (ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω)*, *τότε οἱ κ.τ.λ.* Or again an accessory but indispensable thought cannot be brought into line with the construction which has already been begun, and is thrown into the sentence just as it arises, e.g. in A. 12. 3 *προσέθετο συλλαβεῖν καὶ Πέτρον—ἥσαν δὲ αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἀξύμων—δν καὶ πιάσας ἔθετο εἰς φυλακήν*, where it would have been possible to bind the sentence more closely together by saying *περὶ αὐτὰς τὰς ἡμέρας τὰς τῶν ἀξύμων καὶ Πέτρον συλλαβὼν εἰς φυλακὴν ἔθετο*; but that would be the artistic style, not the style of the New Testament. Cp. 1. 15, 4. 13, (§ 77, 12). The parenthesis in A. 5. 14 *μᾶλλον δὲ προσετίθετο κ.τ.λ.* is harsh; it is true that the sentence runs smoothly on from 13, but the return to the main sentence after the parenthesis is awkwardly executed; the clause *ὡστε καὶ εἰς τὰς πλατείας κ.τ.λ.* in reality expresses a result not of verse 14 but of 13, though it looks as if the former were the case. But many of the worst instances of this sort occur in the Pauline Epistles. If the thread of St. Paul's thought, when considered as a whole and in larger sections, includes many lengthy digressions (Win. § 62, 4), it is not to be wondered at that in smaller matters also the connection of clauses suffers in the same way. A parallel passage to A. 5. 14 is

<sup>1</sup> If an explanatory clause of this kind is inserted into the report of a direct speech, of which it can form no part, it must certainly be enclosed in brackets, in spite of the fact that the construction is not broken by it. Thus Mc. 7. 11 *ἐὰν εἴπῃ ... κορβᾶν (δὲ ἐστιν δῶρον)*, Jo. 1. 39. (It is different if a scholium of this kind is appended to a direct speech, as in Jo. 9. 7, 1. 42 etc., Winer § 62, 2 note.)

R. 1. 13 ὅτι πολλάκις προεθέμην ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐκωλύθην ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο, ἵνα τινὰ καρπὸν σχῶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν, where the *ἵνα* clause is to be joined with *προεθέμην*. As here there is a lacuna in the thought between the words *δεῦρο* and *ἵνα*, so is there in 2. 15 f. between *ἀπολογουμένων* and *ἐν ᾧ ἡμέρᾳ*, so that it might appear best to suppose that in the latter passage there is a parenthesis; but it is not till a long way back in the sentence that one reaches a definite point, to which *ἐν ᾧ* κ.τ.λ. may be smoothly and logically joined according to the original conception of the thought.<sup>1</sup> But to all appearance it is Marcion's text (which is known from some quotations) which alone affords us real help here, by omitting the *ἐν ᾧ ἡμέρᾳ* (or *ἐν ᾧ μ. ᾧ*, or *ἐν ᾧ μ. ὅτε*), and introducing a very expressive asyndeton, cp. 1. 22, 7. 24, 8. 16 etc. But these details are matters for the commentator to discuss as they severally arise. Another grammatical point to note is that, as in classical Greek, a finite verb is occasionally inserted in the middle of the construction (which there would be no point in isolating from the rest of the sentence by marks of parenthesis, and to do so might even give a wrong meaning): L. 13. 24 πολλοί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ἔγινον οὐκέτι κ.τ.λ. ('I tell you'), 2 C. 8. 3 ὅτι κατὰ δύναμιν, μαρτυρῶ, καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν κ.τ.λ., H. 10. 29 πόσῳ δοκεῖτε χείρονος ἀξιωθήσεται τιμωρίας (Herm. Sim. ix. 28. 8 τί δοκεῖτε ποιῆσει), in all which passages it would be very easy to work the word into the construction; classical writers however have the same construction in numerous passages with *οἴδα*, *όράσ*, *οἶμαι* etc., Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 873 f. (Aristoph. Ach. 12 πῶς τοῦτ' ἔσεισέ μον δοκεῖς τὴν καρδίαν;). To this category belong the Pauline phrases *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω* R. 3. 5, *ἐν ἀφροσύῃ λέγω* 2 C. 11. 21, *ὡς τέκνοις λέγω* 6. 13, which are epidiorthoses and prodiorthoses expressed in the concisest way. But the insertion of *φασίν*, *ἔφη* etc. does not come under this head, as this is only a case of displacement in the position of the word in the sentence: 2 C. 10. 10 ὅτι αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ μὲν φασιν βαρεῖαι (= ὅτι φασίν "Αἱ μὲν" κ.τ.λ.), Mt. 14. 8, A. 23. 35 etc. Also proper names and temporal statements placed in the nominative in defiance of the construction (§ 33, 2) are not parenthetical, because they form an essential part of the main thought, and occur in their right place in the sentence.

8. **Anacoluthon** is due to a failure in carrying out the originally intended structure of the sentence; since the continuation and sequence do not correspond with what has gone before. In artistic prose instances of anacoluthon must generally be reckoned as blemishes, although they are not entirely wanting even in the prose of Isocrates; on the other hand its occurrence in writings where there is an imitation of a natural conversational tone, as in the cases where Plato has it, is quite justified, and it may therefore be considered justifiable in epistolary style as well, so long as it does not interfere with the understanding of the passage, though this limitation certainly seems not unfrequently to be transgressed by St. Paul.

<sup>1</sup> Wilke d. neutest. Rhetorik (Dresden 1843) p. 216, 228 f. makes the suggestion that verses 14 and 15 were added as a marginal note.

Of the very various forms of anacoluthon I give the first place to a peculiar instance, which appears in the simplest periods, consisting of two members or clauses (*supra* 6). Mt. 12. 36 πᾶν ρῆμα ἀργὸν δὲ λαλήσοντιν οἱ ἀνθρωποι | ἀπόδοσοντιν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον, 10. 32, Jo. 6. 39,<sup>1</sup> 17. 2, L. 12. 48, 2 C. 12. 17 μή τινα δὲ ἀπέσταλκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς | δι' αὐτοῦ ἐπλεονέκτησα ὑμᾶς; In these instances the two halves of the sentence required to be placed in opposition to each other, with a pause between them and a reference in the second half back to the first, and a certain weightiness is given to the style by treating each part of the sentence independently, instead of writing for instance ὅσα δὲν ρήματα ἀργὰ λαλήσων, περὶ πάντων (*τούτων*) ἀπόδοσοντιν λόγον. In the passage from St. Paul *τινα* is obviously occasioned by *ἀπέσταλκα*; with this is compared 1 Jo. 2. 27 καὶ ὑμεῖς τὸ χρῖσμα δὲ ἔλαβετε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ | μένει ἐν ὑμῖν, where the pronoun occurs in both members, and in the first is to be taken with *ἔλαβετε*, whereas the passage might have run without anacoluthon καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν τὸ χρ. δὲ ἔλ. ἀ. a. μένει. A similar case occurs ibid. 24 ὑμεῖς δὲ ἡκούσατε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς | ἐν ὑμῖν μενέτω<sup>2</sup> (*μένει* or *μενέτω* by itself was not sufficient to make a clause, and the contrast between beginning and continuance required to be sharply expressed). Other instances of anacoluthon of this or a kindred sort are: A. 7. 40 δὲ Μωϋσῆς οὗτος, ὃς ..., οὐκ οἶδαμεν τί ἐγένετο αὐτῷ (O.T. Ex. 32. 1),<sup>3</sup> Jo. 7. 38 δὲ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ ... ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ βεύσοντιν κ.τ.λ.<sup>4</sup>, Mc. 9. 20 καὶ ἴδων αὐτόν, τὸ πνεῦμα συνεσπάραξεν αὐτόν (instead of *συνεσπαράχθη* ὑπὸ τοῦ πν.), A. 19. 34 ἐπιγύρνοντες δὲ ὅτι Ἰουδαῖος ἐστιν, φωνὴ ἐγένετο μία ἐκ πάντων (instead of *ἐβόησαν* δύον πάντες, which would not conveniently suit the following words). A very awkward instance occurs in Ap. 2. 26 and 3. 12, 21 δὲ νικῶν, δώσω αὐτῷ; on the other hand in 2. 7, 17 we have τῷ νικῶντι, δώσω αὐτῷ, cp. 6. 4, Mt. 4. 16 O.T., 5. 40 (the pronoun referring back to the preceding clause, § 48, 2). Herm. Mand. iv. 5 is like an instance of nominative absolute of the old sort (§ 74, 5), ἀμφότερα τὰ πνεύματα ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κατοικοῦντα, ἀσύμφορόν εστιν ... ἔκεινων ἐν φ. κατοικοῦσιν.

9. Another kind of anacoluthon is found in sentences of greater length, where the interruption of the original construction by intervening sentences causes that construction to be forgotten, so that in the mind of the writer another is substituted for it. Thus A. 24. 6

<sup>1</sup> Here we find *ἴνα πᾶν* δέ δέδωκάς μοι, μὴ ἀπολέσω ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ., with *πᾶς* ... μὴ for *οὐδείς*, § 47, 9, though here no doubt the negative looks on to the second positive half of the sentence, Buttmann p. 106, as in Jo. 3. 16. According to Buttm. 325 the *πᾶν* in all these instances is nominative ('nominative absolute,' cp. § 74, 4); as it also is according to him in Jo. 15. 2 πᾶν κλῆμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μὴ φέρων καρπόν, αἱρει αὐτό.

<sup>2</sup> Therefore this is not a case of the subject being thrown forward before the relative (§ 80, 4), whereas 1 C. 11. 14 ἀνήρ μὲν ἐὰν κομᾷ, ἀτιμά αὐτῷ ἐστιν κ.τ.λ. may be so explained, as = ἐὰν μὲν ἀνήρ.

<sup>3</sup> In L. 21. 6 there is no reference in the second clause to the *ταῦτα* δ, and we should probably follow D in omitting δ.

<sup>4</sup> Herm. Mand. vii. 5 τῶν δὲ μὴ φυλασσόντων ... (the genitive is due to assimilation with the preceding antithetical clause), οὐδὲ ζωῆ ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς.

(in the speech of Tertullus, which is transmitted by Luke with greater negligence than any other), εὐρόντες γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον λοιμόν..., ὃς καὶ..., ὃν καὶ ἐκρατήσαμεν κ.τ.λ.; this ὃν καὶ, which is occasioned by ὃς καὶ preceding, should have been dropped, in order to make the period run correctly, whereas the writer here continues as though he had begun with εὔρομεν. The narrative portions of the N.T. do not contain many anacolutha of this kind: the passage Jo. 6. 22-24 has been transmitted with too much variation in the MSS. for us to be able to clearly recognize the hand of the author; according to the usual reading the τῇ ἐπαύριον ὁ ὄχλος at the beginning is taken up again in 24 with ὅτε οὖν εἶδεν ὁ ὄχλος, in a manner that is not unknown in classical writers, where there is no question of forgetfulness at all; cp. 1 Jo. 1. 1-3. But the Pauline Epistles (though not all to the same extent, as the care with which they were written varied considerably) contain numerous and more flagrant instances. In G. 2. 6 ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι ... δόποιοι ποτε ἡσαν, οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει· πρόσωπον θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει ... ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδέν προσανέθεντο, instead of ἐμοὶ οὐδέν προσανετέθη, the author may either have forgotten his opening clause or else considered it convenient to repeat it in a new form. At all events the passage is easily understood<sup>1</sup>; but just before in 4 διὰ δὲ τὸν παρεισάκτον ψευδαίλφους ... οἰς (οὐδὲ) πρὸς ὥραν εἴξαμεν κ.τ.λ., it is by no means easy to say what was the drift of St. Paul's thought in the opening clause, unless the οἰς (which is omitted by Latin MSS.) is spurious.<sup>2</sup> In many cases defective transmission or criticism of the text is certainly to blame: in R. 2. 17 ff. an obvious remedy is by adopting the reading ἵδε for εἰ δὲ (which can hardly be called a variant: εΙΔΕ – ΙΔΕ, ide – ide) to change what appears to be a protasis without a correct apodosis into a principal clause.<sup>3</sup> But in 1 Tim. 1. 3 ff. the construction which began with καθὼς παρεκάλεσά σε κ.τ.λ. through innumerable insertions and appended clauses is unmistakably reduced to utter confusion.

10. Frequent instances of anacoluthon are occasioned in St. Paul by the **free use of the participle**, which he is fond of using, and sometimes in a long series of clauses, instead of a finite verb. Thus 2 C. 7. 5 οὐδεμίαν ἔσχηκεν ἀνεστιν ἡ στάρξ ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμενοι. ἔξωθεν μαχαὶ, ἔσωθεν φόβοι, where one may no doubt supply ἔσμεν in the first clause as εἰσίν in the second, though this does not do away with the harshness and the want of accurate sequence in the passage. Similarly in 5. 12 οὐ ... συνιστάνομεν ..., ἀλλ' ἀφορμὴν διδόντες (sc. γράφομεν ταῦτα). So ibid. 8. 18 ff. συνεπέμψαμεν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ..., οὐ

<sup>1</sup> Belser (die Selbstvertheidigung des. P. im Gal. br., Freiburg im Br. 1896, p. 69) says with regard to the attempt (of Spitta and others) to give a uniform construction to this sentence: 'A philologist, who with a sane mind proceeds to expound the verse, cannot οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν be in doubt as to the perverseness of the undertaking.'

<sup>2</sup> In any case in R. 16. 27 φ should be removed (with B), not only because of the anacoluthon, but especially in order to give διὰ Ι. Xρ. its proper connection.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Wilke (op. cit. p. 282, note 1) p. 215 f., who, it is true, decides conclusively in favour of ει δε.

ὅ ἔπαινος... διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειροτονηθέεις (instead of ἔχειρονήθη) ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν συνέκδημος ἡμῶν σὺν τῇ χάριτι τη̄ διακονούμενη̄ ὑφ' ἡμῶν, στελλόμενοι τοῦτο, μή τις ἡμᾶς μωμῆσθαι κ.τ.λ., where στελλ. is closely connected not so much with συνεπέμψαμεν (i.e. sent with Timothy), as with συνέκδημος ἡμῶν etc., so that it is an undoubted case of anacoluthon, the participle standing for στελλόμεθα γάρ. In E. 5. 21 there is no direct anacoluthon, but ὑποτασσόμενοι has not the same closer connection with the last finite verb πληροῦσθε 18, which λαλοῦντες etc. 19, and εὐχαριστοῦντες 20 have; the style is the same as in R. 12. 9 ff., where in the exhortations (after the style has already been entirely broken up in 6 ff., cp. § 78, 2) participles (or adjectives) are appended to each other in an unending series, with no possibility of bringing them into any construction. Thus in the opening verse 9 ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος interrupts the remarks about what the Romans should be, individually (8) or collectively; after the interruption, however, he continues with ἀποστυγοῦντες ... φιλόστοργοι etc. up to διώκοντες 13; then in 14 f. there is a fresh interruption of clauses in the imperative or infinitive; in 16 we again have participles φρονοῦντες etc. and again an imperative γίνεσθε, in 17 ff. there is a continuation of the series of participles; it looks as though St. Paul regarded the descriptive participle (whether ἔστε is mentally supplied or not) as completely equivalent to the imperative. Cp. further E. 4. 20 παρακαλῶ ἡμᾶς περιπατῆσαι ... ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων ... σπουδάζοντες (cp. 2 P. 3. 3), 3. 18, Col. 3. 16 f. ὁ λόγος ἐνοικεῖτω... διδάσκοντες κ.τ.λ., where the participle follows upon imperatives and is equivalent to them as in Rom. loc. cit.; but there is a similar anacoluthon in 2 C. 9. 11 πλοντιξόμενοι after an assertion in the future tense, in 13 δοξάζοντες κ.τ.λ. there is an extension of the preceding διὰ πολλῶν εὐχαριστῶν τῷ θεῷ (the subject of the part. being the recipients of the benefit), cp. 1. 7; participles are used without anacoluthon, but in a very long series in 2 C. 6. 3-10. The constant element in all these instances is the *nominative* of the participle, which is therefore essentially connected with this free use. Cp. λέγων, λέγοντες § 30, 6. The reverse use is occasionally found, namely the use of a finite verb in place of a participle. Col. 1. 26 τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον..., νῦν δὲ ἔφανερώθη (Δ φανερωθέν); 2 Jo. 2 τὴν μένουσαν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἔσται, Jo. 15. 5 ὁ μένων ἐν ἐμοί, καγὼ (sc. μένω) ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗτος φέρει καρπόν, 5. 44 (but κ\*ε etc. regularly ξητοῦντες), 2 C. 6. 9; Ap. 3. 7; it is less harsh in 1 C. 7. 37 ὃς ἔστηκεν ... μὴ ἔχων ... ἔξουσίαν δὲ ἔχει, cp. Jo. 5. 44, 1. 32. Parallels may undoubtedly be quoted from classical writers for this use, as also for the free use of appended participles in the nominative, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 661 ff.; it is the frequency, harshness, and awkwardness of its use in the N.T. which makes the difference; since anacolutha such as A. 15. 22 f. ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις (= the Apostles determined)... πέμψαι..., γράψαντες might be equally well written by a classical author, as Thuc. iii. 36. 2 writes ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ... ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐπικαλοῦντες.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Cor. i. 11. 1 may be noticed, Λώτ ἔσωθη ἐκ Σοδόμων, τῆς περιχώρου κριθέοντος..., πρόδηλον ποιήσας ὁ δεσπότης κ.τ.λ., as though ἔσωσεν had preceded.

11. On the absence of a particle corresponding to the particle *μέν*, which strictly requires a *δέ* corresponding to it, see § 77, 12. A unique case of anacoluthon occurs in A. 27. 10 θεωρῶ ὅτι... μέλλειν (§ 70, 4), where the *ὅτι* was required to prevent ambiguity, and the infinitive is due to forgetfulness (*supra* 8), cp. Xenoph. Hell. ii. 2. 2 etc., Winer § 44, 8, note 2. To a **relative clause** there is sometimes appended a further clause with a co-ordinating particle (such as *καὶ*), in which the relative cannot be supplied in the same form as in the first clause (classical, Kühner 936 f.): Tit. 1. 2 f. ζωῆς, ἦν ἐπηγγείλατο ..., ἐφανέρωσεν δὲ νῦν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ, Ap. 17. 2 (also 1 C. 7. 13 with the reading *ἥτις*, but a better reading is *εἴ τις* in *D\** al.), L. 17. 31. The construction is rather one of *oratio variata* than of anacoluthon in R. 2. 6 ff. διὰ ἀποδόσει ... τοῖς μὲν ... ζωῆν τοῖς δὲ ... ὄργῃ καὶ θυμός (*sc.* ἔσται; the idea conveyed by *δώσει* would not admit of being supplied with these nouns), the passage continues with the same construction, but a fresh contrast is formed, θλῖψις καὶ στενοχωρία ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχήν ..., δόξα δὲ κ.τ.λ. Cp. 11. 22; G. 4. 6 f. ὅτι δέ ἐστε νιοί, ἔξαπέστελνεν ... εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν .... "Ωστε οὐκέτι εἶ κ.τ.λ. (but *ibid.* 6. 1 σκοπῶν σεαυτόν κ.τ.λ. is a real case of anacoluthon).

12. **Mixture of direct and indirect speech.**—It has already been remarked that the employment of the indirect form of speech, whether with *ὅτι* and the optative, or with the accusative (nomin.) and infinitive, is not in the manner of the N.T. writers of narrative, as it is foreign to the style of popular narrators in general (§§ 66, 3; 70, 4); from this it follows that not only does *ὅτι* ordinarily take the indicative instead of the optative (a tendency which it also has in classical Greek), but it may also be followed by an accurate reproduction of the direct form of the speech, so that *ὅτι* thus performs the function of our inverted commas (Kühner p. 885). An example which shows this is Jo. 10. 36 (Buttm. p. 234) ... νύμεις λέγετε ὅτι "βλασφημεῖς," ὅτι εἶπον κ.τ.λ., instead of *βλασφημεῖν*, which would have linked on much better to the protasis δὲν κ.τ.λ.<sup>1</sup> But it is quite impossible for a N.T. writer to do what is so common in classical Greek (and Latin) writers, namely to continue the indirect form of speech for any length of time; on the contrary they never fail to revert very soon to direct speech, a habit which is also not unusual in classical authors, Kühner p. 1062 f. Thus A. 1. 4 παρήγγειλεν ... μὴ χωρίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν ... ἦν ἡκουσάτε, 23. 22, Mc. 6. 8 f. παρίγγειλεν ἵνα..., ἀλλ' ὑποδεδεμένους ... (as though an inf. had preceded), καὶ μὴ ἐνδύσησθε κ.τ.λ., L. 5. 14. Inversely, the direct form of speech is occasionally abandoned in favour of the indirect or a narrative form: A. 23. 23 εἶπεν ἐτοιμάσατε ..., (24) κτήνη τε παραστῆσαι κ.τ.λ. (the β text is different and runs more smoothly), Mc. 11. 31 f. ἐὰν εἴπωμεν ..., ἐρεῖ ... ἀλλὰ εἴπωμεν ...; ἐφοβούντο τὸν λαόν κ.τ.λ. (instead of φοβούμεθα, as in Mt. 21. 26 and as D<sup>2</sup> al. read here from the passage of Matthew). A different use from this is that in Mc. 2. 10 ἵνα δέ εἰδῆτε ... (addressed to the Pharisees like the preceding words), λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ. "Σοι λέγω

<sup>1</sup> Herm. Mand. ix. 1 even uses *ὅτι* before a question: λέγων ὅτι πῶς δύναμαι κ.τ.λ.

*κ.τ.λ.*" (as in L. 5. 24, while Mt. 9. 6 has *τότε λέγει*); the speech is related just as it was made, and the apostrophe to the sick man is indicated by the parenthetical words (the use of *īva* etc. in this way, with an ellipse of 'I will say this,' is also classical, Krüger Gr. § 54, 8, note 14; and see § 81, 3).

### § 80. POSITION OF WORDS (POSITION OF CLAUSES).

1. The Greek language is not one of those which are fettered with regard to the position of the different parts of the sentence, and it does not act contrary to its nature in this respect in the N.T., and the tendency for it to do so was reduced by the fact that the Semitic languages also have no strict rules about the order of words. In spite of this, both in the Semitic languages, and in the Greek of the New Testament, particularly that of writers of narrative, certain tendencies and habits are apparent. In general the verb, or the substantival predicate with its copula, is placed immediately after the conjunction; then follows the subject, then the object, the complementary participle etc.; unemphatic pronouns, however, have a tendency to be placed in immediate connection with the verb, also anything else that is dependent on the verb, especially if the subject is extended.<sup>1</sup> The same rules hold good for infinitival and participial clauses (and for a participle placed at the head of a sentence<sup>2</sup>) as for clauses with a finite verb. Thus we have (Luke 1. 11) ὁ φθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐστὼς ἐκ δεξιῶν. (12) καὶ ἐταράχθη Ζαχαρίας ἴδων. (13) εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἄγγελος. (18) καὶ εἶπεν Ζ. πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον. (19) καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἄγγ. εἶπεν αὐτῷ. With a nominal predicate: Mc. 2. 28 ὥστε κύριος ἐστιν ὁ νῦν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου (cp. L. 6. 5), for which Mt. 12. 8 has κύριος γάρ ἐστιν τοῦ σαββ. ὁ νῦν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, since here the extended subject possessed more weight than the genitive, unemphasized by *καὶ*. Mt. 13. 31, 33 ὅμοια ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τ. οὐρ. κόκκω ..., = 24 ὥμοιώθη *κ.τ.λ.* But the participle stands after the subject: L. 2. 33 ἦν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἦ μήτηρ θαυμάζοντες, A. 12. 6 ἦν ὁ Πέτρος κοιμώμενος, Mc. 1. 6, 14. 4, 40. Still in all these cases there is by no means any binding rule about the order, so that in L. 1. in the middle of the clauses quoted above we find in verse 12<sup>b</sup> καὶ φόβος ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτόν, clearly because φόβος offers more of a parallel to ἐταράχθη in 12<sup>a</sup> than ἐπέπεσεν does: whereas in A. 19. 17 we have καὶ ἐπέπεσεν φόβος ἐπὶ πάντας αὐτούς, L. 1. 65 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πάντας φόβος (D φόβος μέγας ἐπὶ π.) τοὺς περιοικοῦντας αὐτούς, where the reason for placing πάντας early in the sentence in the ordinary reading is to give it stress and preserve the parallelism, as the passage continues καὶ ἐν δεῃ τῇ ὄρειν γ ... διελαλεῖτο πάντα τὰ ρήματα ταῦτα, καὶ ἔθεντο πάντες οἱ ἀκούσαντες ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν. Any emphasis whatever on any part of a sen-

<sup>1</sup> E.g. L. 2. 13 καὶ ἔξαφνης ἐγένετο σὺν τῷ ἄγγελῳ πλῆθος στρατιᾶς οὐρανίου των κ.τ.λ., A. 27. 2 ὅντος σὺν ἡμῖν Ἀριστάρχον Μακεδόνος Θεσσαλονικέως.

<sup>2</sup> For details see Gersdorf, Beiträge zur Sprachcharakteristik d. Schriftst. d. N.T., Leipzig 1816, p. 90 f., 502 ff.

tence generally tends at once to throw that part into the forefront of the sentence : *ibid.* 67 καὶ Ζαχαρίας ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ... (as opposed to the neighbours etc., who were the last subjects of discourse), 57 τῷ δὲ Ἐλισαβέτῃ ἐπλήσθη ὁ χρόνος τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτῆν. Statements of time, which mark a transition, also have a tendency to stand at the beginning; but there too the inclination to begin a sentence with a verb occasions the introduction of a meaningless ἐγένετο, which does not in all cases affect the construction, before the temporal statement : L. 2. 1 ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἔξηλθεν δόγμα κ.τ.λ., cp. § 77, 6; so 1. 8 ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερατεύειν αὐτὸν ... ἔλαχε κ.τ.λ., 23 καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἐπλήσθησαν ... ἀπῆλθεν κ.τ.λ.

2. **Closely related parts of the sentence**, e.g. noun and attribute, noun and dependent genitive, several subjects or objects connected by *καὶ* etc., are usually in simple and plain discourse placed together, whereas not only in poetry, but also in discourse which has any claims to a rhetorical style, they are frequently severed from each other, in order to give greater effect to the separated words by their isolation. Thus the epistolary formula runs χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη, not χάρις καὶ εἰρ. ὑμῖν, an order of words which is partly occasioned by the tendency which from early times exists in Greek as in cognate languages, to bring unemphasized (enclitic) pronouns and the like as near as possible to the beginning of the sentence (though not to put them actually at the beginning<sup>1</sup>); hence we find also R. 1. 11 ἵνα τι μεταδῶ χάρισμα ὑμῖν πνευματικόν, A. 26. 24 τὰ πολλά σε γράμματα εἰς μανίαν περιτρέπει, Jo. 13. 6 σύ μου νίπτεις τοὺς πόδας, 9. 6 (NBL) ἐπέχριστεν αὐτὸν τὸν πηλὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄφθαλμούς, H. 4. 11 ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τις ὑποδείγματι πέσῃ κ.τ.λ., 1 C. 5. 1 ὥστε γυναικά τινα τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχειν (also to emphasize both γυν. and πατρὸς), L. 18. 18 καὶ ἐπηρώτησέν τις αὐτὸν ἄρχων λέγων. But here again there is no obligation to use this order of words : thus we have 2 C. 11. 16 κανὸν ὡς ἄφρονα δέξασθέ με, where no doubt the object was to give δέξασθέ the prior position. A prior position gives emphasis, a position at the end of the sentence does so only indirectly, where the word is torn from its natural context and made independent ; the later position may also be influenced by the connection with the following clause, as in 1 P. 2. 7 ὑμῖν οὖν ἡ τιμὴ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἀπειθοῦσιν δε κ.τ.λ. Sometimes the regular order of words would be too cumbrous and unpleasant : A. 4. 33 ΑΕ μεγάλη δυναμεὶς απεδίδοντι οἱ ἀπόστολοι τὸ μαρτύριον τῆς ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ χρ. τοῦ κυρίου, but N.B. etc. have a better reading τὸ μαρτ. οἱ ἀπόστολοι, and B also has τοῦ κ. Ἰησ. τῆς ἀναστ. We even have in Ap. 3. 8 μικρὰν ἔχεις δύναμιν (cp. 4 with v.l.).—The Epistle to the Hebrews not unfrequently has a really oratorical and choice order of words : 1. 4 τοσούτῳ κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον παρ' αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα (it was necessary to make ἀγγ. and ὄνομα stand out ; the latter word also forms a link with the following clause), 5 τίνι γὰρ εἴπεν ποτε τῶν ἀγγέλων (for the

<sup>1</sup> See J. Wackernagel, Ueber ein Gesetz der indogerm. Wortstellung, Indo-germ. Forschungen i. 333 ff.

same reason), 11. 32 ἐπιλείψει με γάρ (v.l. γάρ με, infra 4) διηγούμενον δ χρόνος περι Γεδεών κ.τ.λ., which offers a close parallel to Demosth. 18. 29 f. ἐπιλείψει με λέγονθ' ή ήμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ὄνόματα, 12. 1 τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες (τοσ. emphatic) περικέμενον ἥμīν νέφος μαρτύρων, ὅγκον ἀποθέμενοι (ὅ. emphatic) πάντα καὶ τὴν εὐπερίστατον ἀμαρτίαν. But many similar instances may also be cited from Paul and 1 Peter; such is the versatility of the Greek language that lively and animated discourse everywhere gives rise to these dislocations of words.

3. With regard to the position of the **adjectival attribute**, the rule holds good that it generally stands *after* its substantive<sup>1</sup>; i.e. the principal word comes first, and then the word which defines it more closely, just in the same way that the **adverb** which gives a nearer definition of an adjective (or a verb) is given the second place: ἵψηλὸν λίαν Mt. 4. 8, ἑθυμώθη λίαν 2. 16. But we also find λίαν (om. D) πρωΐ Mc. 16. 2, λίαν γάρ ἀντέστη 2 Tim. 4. 10, and in the case of an attribute δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων Mt. 12. 43 (ἀν. is the principal idea), καλὸν σπέρμα 13. 27 (κ. ditto), ἔχθρὸς ἀνθρώπος 28, καλοὺς μαργαρίτας 45 etc. The rule cannot be laid down for a substantive which is provided with an article: πνεῦμα ἄγιον is the correct phrase without an article, but with it we have both τὸ πν. τὸ ἄγ. and τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα as in Mt. 28. 19, A. 1. 8, which then becomes a single idea. Cp. § 47, 6; τὴν ἄγιαν πόλιν (Jerusalem) Mt. 4. 5, 27. 53 (but η π. η ἄγ. in Ap. 11. 2, 21. 2, 22. 19).—On the attributive genitive see § 35, 6<sup>2</sup>; on οὗτος and ἕκεῖνος § 49, 4.—Matthew has a habit of putting **adverbs** after **imperatives**, while he makes them precede indicatives: thus 27. 42 καταβάτω νῦν, 43 ῥύσασθω νῦν, 3. 15 ἀφες ἄρτι, 18. 16 (ἔτι), and on the other hand 19. 20 ἔτι ἴστερῶ, 26. 65 (5. 13 ἰσχύει ἔτι, but D omits ᔾτι), 9. 18 (ἄρτι; in 26. 53 before παρακαλέσαι according to AD al.), 26. 65 (νῦν).<sup>3</sup>—The order of words has become established by custom in certain frequently occurring combinations with **καὶ**, Winer § 61, 4, such as ἀνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, γυν. καὶ παιδία (τέκνα), but cod. D in Mt. 14. 21 puts παιδ. first, as §D do in 15. 38; also ἔσθίειν καὶ πίνειν, οἱ πόδες καὶ αἱ χεῖρες (the reverse order in L. 24. 39, but not in §), etc.; but all these are peculiarities of a lexical rather than a grammatical nature.—The **vocative** stands either at the beginning, as in Mt. 8. 2 and often, or near the beginning of the sentence, as in ὅθεν, ἀδελφοὶ ἄγιοι H. 3. 1 etc., or in proximity to the pronoun of the second person, 1 C. 1. 10 παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί μου (this may be compared with the ordinary sequence of verb—subject; there is the same position of the voc. in Jo. 14. 9 τοσοῦτον ... καὶ οὐκ ἔγγωκάς με Φίλιππε, where Φ. could not well have stood earlier); it also stands after a 1st pers. plur. in which the persons addressed are included, H. 10. 19 ἔχοντες οὖν, ἀδελφοί, κ.τ.λ. It

<sup>1</sup> Gersdorf (op. cit. supra 1) p. 334 ff. (the rule applies to adjectives of *quality*, since those of *quantity* may stand first in all cases, as may also μικρός).

<sup>2</sup> See also op. cit. 295 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 106.

rarely stands at the end of the sentence: L. 5. 8, A. (2. 37), 26. 7, the last passage occurring in Paul's speech before Agrippa, in which there are other instances of the vocative being purposely given a peculiar position (verses 2 and 13).

4. To the obvious rule, that a **subordinating conjunction** stands at the beginning of the subordinate clause dependent upon it, there are some exceptions, as in classical Greek, especially in St. Paul, since emphasized portions of the subordinate sentence are placed before the conjunction: *τὴν ἀγάπην ἵνα γνῶτε* 2 C. 2. 4, 12. 7, 1 C. 9. 15, G. 2. 10, Col. 4. 16, A. 19. 4; *βιωτικὰ μὲν οὖν κοιτήρια ἐὰν ἔχητε* 1 C. 6. 4, 11. 14 (§ 79, 7 note), 14. 9, Mt. 15. 14, Jo. 10. 9; R. 12. 3 *ἐκάστῳ ὡς ἐμέρισεν κ.τ.λ.*, 1 C. 3. 5, 7. 17 (*bis*); 2 Th. 2. 7 ἔως; Jo. 7. 27 ὅταν. We have further A. 13. 32 καὶ ἴμεις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμεθα, *τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν γενομένην, διτὶ ταῦτην δὲ θεὸς ἐκπεπλήρωκεν κ.τ.λ.*, instead of *διτὶ τὴν*—without *ταῦτην* (p. 90, note 1). The same thing happens sometimes with the relative, Jo. 4. 18 *νῦν δὲ ἔχεις*, 1 C. 15. 36 *σὺ δὲ σπείρεις*, and akin to this is the habit in interrogative sentences of putting the emphasized idea before the interrogative: Jo. 1. 19 (= 8. 25, 21. 11, R. 9. 20, 14. 4, Ja. 4. 12) *σὺ τίς εἶ*; cp. Jo. 9. 17, 8. 25 (*ὅ*, *τι*, § 50, 5), L. 9. 20, 16. 11 f., Jo. 21. 21 *οὗτος δὲ τί* etc., Buttmann 333 c.—Of the **co-ordinating conjunctions** some stand in the first place, such as *καὶ*, *ἢ*, *ἀλλά*, others in the second (on deviations from classical usage in this respect see §§ 77, 13; 78, 5); the latter class, however, are occasionally found also in the third, fourth, or fifth place, partly from necessity, as in 1 Jo. 2. 2 *οὐ περὶ τῶν ἥμετέρων δὲ μόνον*, Jo. 8. 16 *καὶ ἐὰν κρίνω δὲ ἐγώ* ('even if I however'), partly at the option of the writer, for instance where there is a preposition governing a case, or a noun with an attributive genitive: 2 C. 1. 19 *δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ γὰρ νῖστας* AB al., which gives greater prominence to *θεοῦ* than the reading of DF al. *δὲ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ νῖστας*, 1 C. 8. 4 *περὶ τῆς βράσεως οὖν τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων* (instead of *οὖν* DE insert *δὲ* after *περὶ*): Herm. Sim. viii. 7. 6 *ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς δὲ*, ix. 21. 1 *ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν δὲ*, Mand. ix. 3 *οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ*, Vis. iii. 13. 2 *ὡς ἐὰν γὰρ*.—On the position of *τε* see § 77, 9; on the position of the negative § 75, 7; on that of the secondary class of prepositions § 40, 6 (with *οὐ* *χωρὶς* H. 12. 4 cp. *διν* ἀνευ Xenoph. Hell. vii. 1. 3; *χάριν* is placed after its case except in 1 Jo. 3. 12 *χάριν τίνος*).

5. The adoption of a **hyperbaton**, i.e. a departure from the natural arrangement of words, is a very old expedient for the purpose of exegesis: it is at any rate found as early as Plato, who makes Socrates use it (Protagoras 343 E), in order to compel Simonides the poet to use the expression which Socrates regards as correct. It is employed in a similar way, and with scarcely more justification, by the exegetes of the N.T., see Win. § 61, 5.

6. The question of the arrangement within the **whole sentence** of the **principal** and **subordinate clauses** which compose it, is a matter

<sup>1</sup> This final position of *τι* is also found in Demosthenes: *ταῦτα δ' ἔστι τι*; 9. 39 etc.—Cp. also *τὸ σκότος πόσον* Mt. 6. 23, *οἱ δὲ ἐννέα ποῦ*; L. 17. 17. Wilke (op. cit. § 79, 7) p. 375.

rather of style than of grammar. Grammar should perhaps take note of licenses that are permitted, such as the insertion of a final sentence before its due place: Jo. 19. 28 μετὰ ταῦτα Ἰ. εἰδὼς ... ἵνα τελειωθῇ ἡ γραφή, λέγει Διψῶ, 19. 31, R. 9. 11. On the other hand it is a very forced explanation which makes in 1 C. 15. 2 τίνι λόγῳ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν dependent on the following εἰ κατέχετε; it appears rather that εἰ, like the reading in D\* δοφείλετε κατέχειν, is an explanatory gloss, so that we only have a protasis standing before a principal clause (*κατέχετε*)<sup>1</sup>. Jo. 10. 36 has the appearance of being an *oratorical* sentence, since the subordinate clause ὃν δὲ πατήρ ἥγιασεν κ.τ.λ. is placed before the principal clause ἡμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι βλασphemεῖς (see § 79, 12, = *βλασphemēin*); in reality however the sentence with its defective structure (*ὅν* referring to *βλασphemēis*) is one of the instances of the loose formation of sentences with two members, found elsewhere in John's Gospel, § 79, 8.

### § 81. ELLIPSE (BRACHYLOGY), PLEONASM.

1. An *ellipse* is where it is left to the reader or hearer to complete for himself the thought which is incompletely expressed: not because the writer is afraid of saying something—that is the figure of *apopesis*—but because he finds any further addition superfluous. Still *every* omission of this sort is not therefore to be regarded as an ellipse. It is equally superfluous to insert what would be a mere repetition of something already stated, as for instance in the case of a preposition repeated before a second noun which is connected by *kai* with a previous noun, the omission or insertion of which preposition is an optional matter (see Winer § 50, 7); again the verb in the protasis sufficiently indicates the verb which should stand in the apodosis, in 2 C. 5. 13 εἴτε γὰρ ἔξεστημεν, θεῷ (sc. ἔξεστ.). εἴτε σωφρονοῦμεν, ὑμῖν (sc. σωφρ.). this is the figure known as ἀπὸ κοινοῦ (Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 1066).<sup>2</sup> Moreover some slight alterations or changes in the form of the word may require to be supplied: Mc. 14. 29 εἰ πάντες σκανδαλισθήσονται, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἐγώ, sc. σκανδαλισθήσομαι, which is actually inserted in D and in Mt. 26. 33 (a harsher instance is G. 3. 5 ἐξ ἤργων νόμου, where ἐπιχορηγεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐνεργεῖ κ.τ.λ. must be supplied from the participles). The omission becomes of a somewhat different character where positives and negatives are combined, as in 1 C. 10. 24 μηδεὶς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔχειτω, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου, sc. ἔκαστος (to be understood from μηδείς); and entirely different in 1 Tim. 4. 3 κωλυόντων γαμεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων sc. κελεύόντων (a similar instance is found in Lucian Charon § 2 κωλύσει ἐνεργεῖν καὶ [sc. ποιήσει] ἤμιοῦν, as Dr.

<sup>1</sup> Therefore a full stop should be placed after σύζεσθε, where a fresh sentence begins which is unconnected with the last, § 79, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Wilke (op. cit. in § 79, 7 note) p. 121 ff.—The formula δὲ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ = ‘moreover too’ comes under this category, R. 5. 3, 11, 8. 23, 9. 10, 2 C. 8. 19, where an immediately preceding word or thought has to be supplied, which in 2 C. 7. 7 is actually repeated; it is only in R. 9. 10 that the definite words to be supplied are not given in the preceding clause, cp. Win. § 64, 1 c, who compares Diogenes L. 9. 39 (Antisthenes) and οὐ μόνον γε ἀλλὰ in Plato.

Moulton points out), with which cp. 1 C. 3. 2 γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρῶμα (*sc.* something like ἐψώμισα, § 34, 4): here one verb refers to two objects (or subjects), to only one of which it is applicable in its literal acceptation (the figure of **zeugma**, Kühner Gr. ii.<sup>2</sup> 1075 f.).<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, an **ellipse** proper may only then be supposed to exist, when the idea itself is not expressed in any shape whatever, and there is also no cognate idea which takes its place in the form required. Under these circumstances the following words may be omitted: anything which may obviously be supplied from the nature of the structure of the sentence, such as the **copula**, § 30, 3; the **subject** if it is an ordinary word (such as the thing, or men), or if it is absolutely required by the statement, § 30, 4; the **principal word**, if it is sufficiently indicated by the attribute, therefore especially feminines like ἡμέρα, ὥρα etc., § 44, 1 (also in the case of an article with an attributive genitive, § 35, 2). Omissions of this sort are **conventional**, and parallels may in some instances be found in other languages as well; a specially Greek idiom is the omission of the idea of 'other' or 'at all' in Πέτρος σὺν τοῖς ἔνδεκα A. 2. 14 = σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς τῶν ἔνδ. (ἀποστόλων), cp. 37, where & etc. read τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποστόλους, while D omits λοιπὸν; 5. 29 Π. καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι (D is different); 1 C. 10. 31 εἴτε ἐσθίετε εἴτε πίνετε εἴτε τι (*sc.* ἄλλο 'besides' or 'at all') ποιεῖτε, R. 14. 21 μηδὲ sc. to do anything else, Mt. 16. 14. **Objects** are omitted with verbs like **τελευτᾶν**, viz. τὸν βίον, 'to die,' or διάγειν (ditto) 'to live,' Tit. 3. 3 (*Bίον* is inserted in 1 Tim. 2. 2), also διατελεῖν, διατρίβειν used intransitively show a similar ellipse; we also have προσέχειν *sc.* τὸν νοῦν, cp. § 53, 1, etc. Γλώσσαις λαλεῖν should strictly be ἐτέραις γλ. λαλεῖν, a form which it takes in the narrative of the first appearance of the phenomenon in A. 2. 4 ('Mc.' 16. 17 γλ. καινᾶς); but in similar narratives further on in the Acts (10. 46, 19. 6) the additional word is at best only found in the  $\beta$  text, and in Paul it occurs nowhere (but see 1 C. 14. 21). As an instance of conventional omission of a **verb** may be reckoned the omission of 'he said' in the report of a conversation, where the recurrence of the word would be superfluous and wearisome: A. 25. 22 Ἀγρίππας δὲ πρὸς τὸν Φῆστον (with ἔφη CEHLP); ibid. 9. 5, 11 the verb might be supplied from the previous clause (ἀπὸ κοινοῦ). Somewhat different is καὶ (ἰδοὺ) φωνῇ, *sc.* ἐγένετο Mt. 3. 17 etc., § 30, 3. In letters we always find χαιρεῖν without λέγει, § 69, 1, unless indeed even χαιρεῖν is omitted, as in Ap. 1. 4 and in Paul, though in his Epistles (and in the Apocalypse) its place is always taken by the Christian greeting χάρις ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ.<sup>2</sup> Verbs of any kind

<sup>1</sup> Wilke p. 130 (1 C. 14. 34 ἐπιτρέπεται: A. 14. 22 παρακαλοῦντες). A kindred use is that in A. 1. 21 εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς = εἰσ. ἐφ' ἡμ. καὶ ἐξ. παρ' ἡμῶν (cp. 9. 28), where the clause which more nearly defines the verb ought to be expressed twice in different forms.

<sup>2</sup> The formula οὐχ ὅτι = οὐ λέγω ὅτι, as we say 'not that,' occurs in Jo. 6. 46 οὐχ ὅτι τὸν πατέρα ἔβρακέν τις, 7. 22, 2 C. 1. 24, 3. 5, Ph. 4. 17, 2 Th. 3. 9; its origin has become so obscured that Paul can even say in Ph. 4. 11 οὐχ ὅτι καθ' ὑστέρησον λέγω, Win. § 64, 6. Cp. for classical instances of it Kühner ii. 800, but in classical Greek it involves the idea of a climax (being followed by ἀλλα).

are omitted in formulas and proverbs, which are apt to be expressed in an abbreviated form: Mt. 5. 38 ὁφθαλμὸν ἀγτὶ ὁφθαλμοῦ κ.τ.λ. (δῶσει according to Ex. 21. 24), Ap. 6. 6 χοίνιξ σίτον δηναρίου (πωλεῖται 'costs'), A. 18. 6 τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἡμῶν, cp. Mt. 27. 25 (sc. ἐλθέτω according to Mt. 23. 35; a Hebrew phrase, see LXX. 2 Sam. 1. 16), 2 P. 2. 22 ὃς λουσαμένη εἰς κύλισμα βορβόρου (classical γλαῦκ' Αθῆναξ etc.; but in the passage from 2 Pet. ἐπιστρέψασα may be supplied from the preceding proverb, Win. § 64, 2). Ὅρα μή (sc. ποιήσῃς) must also have been a common phrase, Ap. 19. 10, 22. 9. On ἵνα τί, τί πρὸς σέ etc. see § 50, 7. Υμεῖς δὲ οὐχ οὔτως (should act) occurs in L. 22. 26. Ἀλλ' ἵνα, but it was, it came to pass etc. for this reason that = the Divine will was, occurs in Jo. 1. 8, 9. 3, 13. 18, 15. 25, Mc. 14. 49.—Εἰ δὲ μή (γε) (§ 77, 4) 'otherwise' has become a stereotyped phrase, so that it may even stand (instead of εἰ δὲ) after a negative sentence, as in L. 5. 36 (a classical use, Kühner 987); also instead of ἐὰν δὲ μή after ἐὰν μὲν ..., L. 10. 6, 13. 9 (in Ap. 2. 5 an explanatory clause with ἐὰν μή is tacked on at the end), see for classical instances Krüger § 65, 5. 12. Also εἰ μή, ἐὰν μή (Mc. 4. 22, G. 2. 16) 'except' were originally elliptical phrases.—In 2 Th. 1. 5 ἔνδειγμα τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως κ.τ.λ. (after ταῖς θλίψεσιν αἷς ἐνέχεσθε) stands for ὅ ἐστιν ἔνδ. κ.τ.λ. (cp. E. 3. 13, Ph. 1. 28), but may be classed with the accusative used in apposition of sentences, Kühner 243 (Buttm. p. 134), as in R. 12. 1 παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ..., τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν (so that this is etc.).—Jo. 7. 35 ποὺς οὗτος μέλλει πορεύεσθαι, ὅτι ήμεις οὐχ εὑρήσομεν αὐτόν; is not elliptical, since ὅτι = δι' ὅ, τι as in 14. 22 (§ 50, 7), 9. 17, Mt. 8. 27, Mc. 4. 41<sup>1</sup>; but Mt. 16. 7 ὅτι ἄρτους οὐκ ἐλάβομεν = τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι κ.τ.λ.; cp. the classical ellipses with ὅτι given in Kühner p. 889, note 4.

2. Omissions which are due to **individual style** and taste go much further, especially in letters, where the writer reckons on the knowledge which the recipient shares with himself, and also imitates ordinary speech, which is likewise full of ellipses, both conventional and such as depend more on individual caprice. Examples: 1 C. 1. 31 ἵνα καθὼς γέγραπται· 'Ο κανχώμενος κ.τ.λ. 'in order that it may come to pass, or 'proceed as' etc.<sup>2</sup>: 4. 6 ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε τὸ μὴ ἴπτερ ἡ γέγραπται (φρονεῖν is added by K<sup>c</sup>D<sup>e</sup> al.): 2 C. 8. 15 O.T. ὁ τὸ πολὺ οὐκ ἐπλεόνασεν, καὶ ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον οὐκ ἡλαττόνησεν, = Ex. 16. 18 which is based on 17 καὶ συνέλεξαν ὁ τὸ πολὺ καὶ ὁ τὸ ἔλαττον, sc.

which is not inherent in it in the N.T. Once Paul uses οὐχ οἶον ὅτι with a similar meaning (= 'it is not as if'), R. 9. 6 οὐχ οἶον δὲ ὅτι ἐκπέπτωκεν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ (as Polyb. iii. 88. 5 uses οὐχ οἶον ... ἀλλὰ with the idea of a climax = class. οὐχ ὅτι). Cp. the elliptical μήτιγε, § 75, 2.

<sup>1</sup> These combinations of particles are ultimately derived from Hebrew, cp. H. 2. 6 = Ps. 8. 5 τί ἐστιν ἀνθρώπος, ὅτι μυνήσκῃ αὐτοῦ; κ.τ.λ., where ὅτι = יְהִי. So in Exod. 3. 11, 16. 7, Judges 19. 18 etc. (Gesenius-Kautzsch § 107, 4. b 3); in 1 Sam. 11. 5 the equivalent in the Greek for יְהִי מַעֲלֵת is τί ὅτι (p. 177) κλαλεῖ ὁ λαός.

<sup>2</sup> Or else (Win. § 64, 7) the literal quotation takes the place of a paraphrase, which would have required the conjunctive.

therefore some word like συλλέξας (cp. Num. 11. 32)<sup>1</sup>: R. 13.. 7 ἀπόδοτε πᾶσιν τὰς ὄφειλάς, τῷ τὸν φόρον (sc. perhaps ὄφειλόμενον ἔχοντι) τὸν φόρον, τῷ τὸ τέλος τὸ τέλος κ.τ.λ.: G. 5. 13 μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκὶ, sc. something like ἔχετε: in the case of this warning ‘(only) not’ we also are inclined to use ellipse (Mt. 26. 5, Mc. 14. 2 μὴ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, where however the ellipse can and must be supplied from the preceding words): Ph. 3. 14 ἐν δὲ (I do): 2 C. 9. 6 τοῦτο δέ (sc. φημι, according to 1 C. 7. 29, 15. 50), ὁ σπείρων φειδομένως φειδομένως καὶ θερίσει: 9. 7 ἔκαστος καθὼς προγρηγραται, may give: G. 2. 9 δεξιάς ἔδωκαν κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς μὲν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη (εὐαγγελιζόμεθα [Win.] according to 2 C. 10. 16), αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν: R. 4. 9 ὁ μακαριστὸς ἐπὶ τὴν περιτομὴν ἦ ...; (sc. λέγεται): 5. 18 ως δι’ ἐνδεικτῶματος εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς κατάκριμα, οὕτως κ.τ.λ., which would be unintelligible without the long exposition preceding, and even so hardly admits of being supplemented by a definite word such as ἀπέβη, ἀποβήσεται; Paul once more emphasizes the correspondence between the two actions (of Adam and Christ)—their opposite cause (*διά*), their equal range or extent (*εἰς*), the opposite nature of their ultimate end (*εἰς*).—**Aposiopesis** (supra 1) is sometimes assumed in L. 19. 42 εἰ ἔγγως καὶ σὺ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην, νῦν δὲ ἐκρύβῃ, because the apodosis is suppressed (cp. 22. 42 where the reading is doubtful, εἰ βούλει παρενέγκαι τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, πλὴν κ.τ.λ., with v.l. παρενέγκειν and παρένεγκε); but since in the former passage nothing else can be supplied but ‘it would be (or is) pleasing to me,’ the passage should rather be compared with the classical omission of the first apodosis with εἰ μὲν ... εἰ δὲ, § 78, 2. There is likewise no aposiopesis in Jo. 6. 62 ἔαν νοῦν θεωρῆτε ..., sc. what could you say then ?, or in A. 23. 9 εἰ δὲ πνεῦμα αὐτῷ ἐλάλησεν, sc. what opposition can we make? (HLP interpolate μὴ θεομαχῶμεν), R. 9 22. Abbreviation in the principal clause is also found in sentences of comparison: καὶ οὐ ('and it is not so') καθάπερ Μωϋσῆς κ.τ.λ., 2 C. 3. 13, Mt. 25. 14, Mc. 13. 34, cp. § 78, 1.

3. Distinct from ellipse is what is known as **brachylogy**, where something is passed over for the sake of brevity, not so much affecting the grammatical structure as the thought: the omission may either be conventional or due to individual style. An instance of the former is to be found in *ἴνα* clauses which are thrown forward in a sentence, and which give the aim or object of the subsequent statement, Mt. 9. 6 *ἴνα* δὲ εἰδῆτε κ.τ.λ. (§ 79, 12)<sup>2</sup>; an instance of the latter is R. 11. 18 εἰ δὲ κατακανχάσαι (you must know then that) οὐ σὺ τὴν ῥίζαν βαστάξεις, ἀλλ’ ἡ ῥίζα σέ, 1 C. 11. 16, Win. § 66, 1.

4. The opposite to ellipse is **pleonasm**, which consists especially in expression being given a second time to an idea which has already been expressed in the sentence, not with any rhetorical object (such

<sup>1</sup> Winer § 64, 4 supplies ἔχων, comparing expressions in Lucian such as ὁ τὸ ξύλον sc. ἔχων ‘the man with the stick.’

<sup>2</sup> Under this head should probably be classed 2 C. 10. 9 *ἴνα* δὲ (δὲ add. H vulg. al.) μὴ δόξω κ.τ.λ. (verse 10 is a parenthesis). We have a final sentence after a question (sc. ‘answer’) in Jo. 1. 22, 9. 36.

as accounts for the emphatic reduplication of a word or sentence, (§ 82, 7), nor again from mere thoughtlessness, but simply in conformity to certain habits of the language. Cp. on *μᾶλλον* with a comparative § 44, 5, on *αὐτοῦ* after *ὅς* (Hebraic) § 50, 4; on pleonastic negatives § 75, 4 and 6, *ἐκτὸς εἰ μή = εἰ μή* § 65, 6; we may also reckon as pleonasms *εἴπεν λέγων* (§ 74, 3), *ἰδὼν εἶδον* (*ibid.* 4), *θανάτῳ τελεντάτῳ* (§ 38, 3) and other cases of Hebraistic prolixity of expression.<sup>1</sup> On *ἄπο μακρόθεν* and the like see § 25, 3; with which must be compared *προδραμῶν* (*εἰς τὸ* ἔμπροσθεν L. 19. 4,<sup>2</sup> *πάλιν ἀνακάμπτειν* A. 18. 21, π. ὑποστρέφειν G. 1. 17 (π. ἐπιστρ. 4. 9), π. ἐκ δευτέρου, δεύτερον, ἄνωθεν Mt. 26. 42, 44, A. 10. 15, Jo. 4. 54, G. 4. 9<sup>3</sup>; *ἔπειτα μετὰ τοῦτο* Jo. 11. 7 (there are similar phrases in classical Greek, Kühner ii.<sup>2</sup> 1087 f.), L. 22. 11 *τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ τῆς οἰκίας* (without *τῆς οἰκ.* in Mc. 14. 14), with which one may class the classical *αιπόλια αἰγῶν* and the like, Kühner *ibid.* 1086.

## § 82. ARRANGEMENT OF WORDS; FIGURES OF SPEECH.

1. The sophists and rhetoricians who about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries B.C. created the Attic artistic prose style, did so with a certain amount of emulation with the only artistic form of speech previously in existence, namely poetry, and accordingly they endeavoured sometimes to borrow its external charms, sometimes to replace them by others equivalent to them. We are here speaking not so much of expression, as of the combination (arrangement, *σύνθεσις*) of words, and anything else that may be regarded as connected with their arrangement. Since verse was excluded, Gorgias of Sicily, the first master of artistic prose, introduced into use as in some way equivalent to it certain figures of speech, which in the language of rhetoric took their name from him (*Γοργίεια σχήματα*). These figures consist in the artificial and formal combination of opposites (antithesis) or parallels (parison, isocolon), the charm of which was enhanced by various assonances at the end of the clauses (*i.e.* rhyme) as also at the beginning and in the middle of them (*παρόμοια, parechesis* etc.). There is here an obvious point of contact with that which poetry elsewhere usually regarded as its distinctive feature, and also a particularly close contact with the old Hebrew parallelism of clauses. These mannerisms of Gorgias were not free from a certain degree of pedantry and indeed of obvious affectation, and for this reason they were subsequently exploded and

<sup>1</sup> On *ἀρξασθαι, ἀρξάμενος* see §§ 69, 4 note; 74, 2; on *ἔγένετο* § 77, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Jo. 20. 4 *προέδραμεν τάχιον τοῦ Πέτρου* there is a superfluity of words: *ἔδραμεν* was sufficient (or *προέδρ. τοῦ Πέτρου*), especially as *καὶ ήλθεν πρώτος εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον* follows. It is somewhat different in L. 1. 76 *προπορεύῃ πρὸ προσώπου* (= *πρὸ τοῦ κυρίου*); since it is a common phenomenon of the language, that if a verb compounded with a preposition has its literal meaning, the preposition is again repeated in the complement (*εἰσβάλλειν εἰς*), § 37, 7.

<sup>3</sup> But Winer § 65, 2 notes with reason that *ἐκ δευτέρου* etc. if it follows *πάλιν* is not superfluous, but a nearer definition.—D has *εὐθέως παραχρῆμα* (classical) in A. 14. 10.

went out of fashion ; they were most unsuitable for *practical* speech, and for this purpose the Attic orators of the fourth century created a very different and flexible artistic style, which is based upon an imitation of lively speech, springing directly from the feelings, with its forms and figures ( $\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ ). But in place of rhyme which had been carried to excess and of assonance in general, the artistic prose of the fourth century, showing herein a certain direct approximation to the style of lyric poetry, had recourse to manifold rhythms, which by their mutual accordance imparted to the language a beautifully harmonious character ; it further borrowed from the poets (a practice of which the beginnings are found in Gorgias himself) a smoothness and absence of friction in the juncture of words, doing away with the harsh collision between vowels at the end and beginning of contiguous words,—the so-called **hiatus**. This avoiding of hiatus continued to be practised by Hellenistic and Atticistic writers of the following centuries with a greater or less degree of strictness.

2. The **Epistle to the Hebrews** is the only piece of writing in the N.T., which in structure of sentences and style shows the care and dexterity of an artistic writer, and so it cannot be wondered at, if it is in this work alone that the principle of avoiding **hiatus** is taken into account. But it is by no means the case that all collisions of vowels are of the same kind : those which are faulty in the strictest sense are only such as are not rendered inaudible by a pause in the thought (end of a sentence or clause), or such as cannot be effaced by elision of the first vowel ( $\grave{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$ ,  $\delta'$ ) or crasis ( $\kappa\grave{a}v$ ), or lastly are not formed by small ‘form-words’ such as  $\kappa\acute{a}$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{i}$ ,  $\mu\acute{y}$ ,  $\tau\acute{o}\bar{v}$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\tau\acute{a}$  (the various forms of the article ; also  $\grave{\delta}$ ,  $\bar{o}\delta$  etc.) in the case of which a prose-writer excuses a license which can hardly be helped. The use of hiatus with  $\tau\acute{i}$ ,  $\tau\acute{u}$ ,  $\grave{o}\tau\acute{u}$ ,  $\pi\acute{e}\rho\acute{u}$ ,  $\pi\acute{r}\acute{o}$  is also allowable, as it is previously in poetry. Elisions of  $\grave{\alpha}$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $o$ , however, are not readily adopted, if the words combined in this way are other than ‘form-words’ (cp. § 5, 1); on the other hand, the  $\alpha i$  of verbal terminations is subject to elision (and is written with elision<sup>1</sup>), being also reckoned for the purpose of the accent as short or almost short. If then in the Epistle to the Hebrews one leaves out of sight in the first place all the O.T. quotations, next chapter xiii. (concluding warnings etc.), and lastly chap. 9. 2-7 (description of the tabernacle), the test of hiatus gives the following results. Hiatus is a matter of indifference where there is a pause (this includes such passages as 2. 11 |  $\grave{\epsilon}\xi$   $\grave{\epsilon}\nu\bar{d}s$ , 3. 3  $o\acute{t}kov$  |  $\delta$ , 6. 17  $a\acute{n}t\acute{o}\bar{v}$  |, 7. 24  $a\acute{l}\grave{w}na$  |, 11. 18 |  $\grave{o}\tau\acute{u}$ , 25 |  $\grave{y}$ ) ; hiatus with  $\kappa\acute{a}$  is also a comparatively indifferent matter. With  $\mu\acute{y}$  there are 7 instances, with  $\delta$  only 4 (6. 16,<sup>2</sup> 9. 25, 10. 23, 11. 28), with  $\tau\acute{o}$  14,  $\tau\acute{a}$  4,  $o\acute{i}$  5,  $\grave{y}$  1,  $\tau\acute{o}\bar{v}$  7,  $\tau\acute{\phi}$  5,  $\tau\acute{y}$  1,  $\grave{\delta}$  1,  $\delta\acute{o}$  2 (10. 5, 11. 16 ; it is avoided by using  $\delta\acute{i}$   $\grave{y}\nu$   $a\acute{i}\tau\acute{ia}\bar{v}$  in 2. 11),  $\bar{o}\delta$  2,  $\grave{\phi}$  1 (instances with art. and rel. amount to 47 in all<sup>3</sup>). With  $\grave{\alpha}$  and  $\epsilon$  (not reckoning  $\grave{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{a}$ ,  $\delta\acute{e}$ ,  $\tau\acute{e}$ ,

<sup>1</sup> E.g. in the Herculanean rolls of Philodemus, Kühner I.<sup>3</sup> i. 238.

<sup>2</sup>  $\Omega$  before  $\delta\rho\acute{os}$  may be quite well dispensed with.

<sup>3</sup> In the **Epistle to the Romans** this number (not reckoning quotations) is already surpassed at 4. 14, in **1 Corinthians** at 6. 19.

and prepositions) there are 17<sup>1</sup> and 7 respectively; with *ai* of verbal terminations 17.<sup>2</sup> Apart from these, the harsher cases of hiatus are as follows: 1. 1 πάλαι ὁ θεός (the article can be dispensed with, § 46, 6), 2. 8 αὐτῷ ἀνυπότακτον (αὐτῷ is superfluous, as just before in the same verse it is removed by Lachm. on the authority of B etc.), οὕπω ὁρῶμεν (βλέπομεν as in 9?), (9 O.T. quot.), 9 θεοῦ ἵπερ (περὶ i.e. cp. 5. 3, 10. 18, 26, 13. 11. 18, § 42, 4), (14 ἐπεῑ οὖν as in 4. 6, ἐπεῑ as a ‘form-word’ may be used with hiatus also in Demosthenes), 15, 16, 3. 1, 2 (αὐτόν is superfluous; ibid. a quotation as in 5), 12 is full of instances of hiatus, two of which are harsh; (4. 7 according to *N\** ὁρίζει τινὰ ἡμέραν; ibid. 11 hiatus is avoided by the insertion of *τις*), (5. 9 read αὐτῷ πᾶσιν with KL al.), 10 θεοῦ ἀρχιερεὺς (to be reckoned as a quotation?), 6. 3 ἐπιτρέπη ὁ θεός (see on 1. 1), 6. 7, 10 (7. 1 O.T. quot.), 3, 14, 8. 7 πρώτη ἐκείνη ἥν, 9. 9, 12, 14, 15, 17,<sup>3</sup> 21, 23, 24, 25 bis, 26 (ἐπεῑ ἔδει), 10 (2 the text is uncertain<sup>4</sup>), 10 three instances of hiatus,<sup>5</sup> (13 quotation), 19, 11. 4, 5 πίστει Ἐνώχ, similarly 21, 22, 11. 7, 8 (τοῦ, excusable), 19 (not without v.l.), (21 quot.), 22, 28. 30 two cases of hiatus with Ἰεριχώ, 31, 34, 12. 8 (the position of ἐστέ varies and the word can be dispensed with), 24 (*Ιησοῦ* superfluous), 25. The attention that has been bestowed on the avoiding of hiatus is accordingly put beyond a doubt,<sup>6</sup> though the different portions of the work seem not to have been executed with quite a uniform amount of care.

3. To look for **verses** and **fragments of verse** (apart from the three quotations, A. 17. 28, 1 C. 15. 33, Tit. 1. 12), i.e. to look for rhythm in the N.T., is on the whole a useless waste of time, and the specimens of verse which have been found are for the most part of such a quality that they are better left unmentioned (Ja. 1. 17 is a hexameter πᾶσα δόσις κ.τ.λ., but contains a tribrach in the second foot). It is somewhat different, however, with the Epistle to the Hebrews, where in 12. 13 there occurs a faultless hexameter, *καὶ τροχιὰς ὁρθὰς ποιήσατε τοῖς ποσὶν ἡμῶν*, and immediately after in 14 f. two equally

<sup>1</sup> 3. 17 κῶλα ἔπεον is a quotation. This calculation includes 4. 1 ἅρα, also 11. 14 πατρίδα ἐπιζητοῦσι, where D\* al. read ζητοῦσι; an additional instance is 4. 7 τινὰ ἡμ., on which see below in the text.

<sup>2</sup> In 12. 7 προσφέρεται ὁ θεός, ὁ can be dispensed with as in 1. 1 (see lower down in the text); 3. 18 is a quotation.

<sup>3</sup> The clause ἐπεῑ μήποτε ἰσχύει, ὅτε ξῆ ὁ διαθέμενος may be perfectly well dispensed with, and cp. § 75, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ἐπεῑ οὐκ ἀν ἐπαναντο (which must be taken as a question) with v.l. omitting οὐκ; an obvious suggestion is to read καν.

<sup>5</sup> Not according to the text of Theophylact: ἐν φθεγγατι τοῦ πατρὸς ἡγάσθηκεν οἱ δὲ τῆς προσφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χρ. τῆς ἐφάπαξ κ.τ.λ.

<sup>6</sup> See also 12. 7 παιδεῖν πατήρ without the article (§ 46, 7), which would have caused a hiatus; ibid. 14 οὐ χωρὶς stands for χωρὶς οὐ (where οὐδεῖς follows). Also in 1. 1 ἐν τῷ νῦν might have been expected.

<sup>7</sup> *N\**P have a v.l. ποιέτε, as ποιεῖ is read in Prov. 4. 26 on which the passage is based, but here at any rate the present is not in keeping with the sense, as the aorist is needed to express the contrast with the state of things hitherto existing, § 58, 2. The question of rhythm in Hebrews has been specially con-

4. The studied employment of the so-called **Gorgian assonances** is necessarily foreign to the style of the N.T., all the more because they were comparatively foreign to the whole period ; accident however of course produces occasional instances of them, and the writer often did not decline to make use of any that suggested themselves.

**Paronomasia** is the name given to the recurrence of the same word or word-stem in close proximity, **parechesis** to the resemblance in sound between different contiguous words. Instances of paronomasia are : Mt. 21. 41 κακούς κακῶς ἀπόλεσει αὐτούς (a good classical and popular combination of words<sup>2</sup>), 2 C. 9. 8 ἐν παντὶ πάντοτε πᾶσαν αὐτάρκειαν,<sup>3</sup> 8. 22, A. 21. 28, 24. 3 (Herm. Mand. xi. 3 αὐτὸς γάρ κενὸς ὢν κενῶς [MSS. κενὸς] καὶ ἀποκρίνεται κενοῖς); then there may be a contrast in the sentence, so that there is a certain subtlety and sometimes a suggestion of wit in the paronomasia : 2 C. 4. 8 ἀπορούμενοι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔξαπορούμενοι, 2 Th. 3. 11 μηδὲν ἐργαζομένους, ἀλλὰ πειρεγαζομένους, A. 8. 30 ἀρά γε γινώσκεις ἢ ἀναγινώσκεις; (cp. 2 C. 3. 2), R. 12. 3 μὴ ὑπερφρονέν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονέν (which might almost be called finical), 1 C. 11. 29 ff. κρίμα—διακρίνων—διεκρίνομεν—ἐκρινόμεθα—κρινόμενοι—κατακριθώμεν (ditto), 2 C. 10. 2 f. κατὰ σάρκα—ἐν σαρκὶ—κατὰ σ.; the paronomasia is most sharply marked in Ph. 3. 2 f. βλέπετε τὴν κατατομήν (the Jewish circumcision), ἡμεῖς γάρ ἔσμεν ἡ περιτομή,<sup>4</sup> where Paul in an

sidered by Delitzsch in his commentary, see the review by J. Köstlin in *Gtg. gel. Anz.* 1858, art. 84, p. 827 ff., who however is inclined to disbelieve in it.

<sup>1</sup>This verse is noticed by Delitzsch, the following verse is added by his reviewer. *Xwpis* in this passage only stands after its case, § 80, 4; but hiatus is also avoided by this expedient, *supra* note 6 on p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. 21. 204 εἰ κακός κακῶς ἀπολεῖ. Winer § 67. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Plato Menex. 247 A (a Gorgian assonance): διὰ παντὸς πᾶσαν πάντως προ-  
θυμίαν πειράσθε ἔχειν. For the N.T. see numerous instances of the figures here  
discussed in Wilke p. 342 ff., 402-415.

<sup>4</sup> Winer § 68, 2 compares Diog. Laert. 6. 24, who says of Diogenes the Cynic τὴν μὲν Εὐκλείδου σχολὴν ἔλεγε χολήν, τὴν δὲ Πλάτωνος διατριβὴν κατατριβήν. — Paul does not make any word-play on the name of the slave Onesimus, although he uses (in this passage only) the word ὀναίμην, Philem. 20; the most that can be said is that the recipient of the letter might make for himself the obvious play of words from Ὀνήσιμον — ἀχοπότον ΙΟῦ.

oratorical manner robs his opponents of the word in which they pride themselves and turns it into a disgrace. The paronomasia in A. 23. 3 also appears to be oratorical, where Paul in answer to Ananias, who had commanded τύπτειν αὐτὸν τὸ στόμα, replies τύπτειν σε μέλλει ὁ θεός, using the same word in another and metaphorical sense; cp. Ap. 22. 28 f., and with parechesis σχῖνος—σχίσει, πρῖνος—πρίσει LXX. Dan. Sus. 54 f., Winer § 68, 2; so that this appears to have been a common method of retort among the Jews. The practice of twisting a word that occurs in the sentence into a metaphorical sense is illustrated also by 2 C. 3. 1 ff. (*ἐπιστολὴ*): similarly L. 9. 60 (Mt. 8. 22) ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς: Mt. 5. 19 (*ἐλάχιστος*); but Paul is particularly fond of dwelling on an idea and a word, although it does not assume different meanings and is not repeated absolutely immediately, while there is still a certain artificial and reflective manner in the repetition (known as *traductio* in Latin rhetoricians). Thus in 2 C. 3. 5 ff. we first have ἵκανοι—ἵκανότης—ἵκανωσεν, then γράμμα (following ἐγγεγραμμένη 2 f.) three times, also πνέμα (which has likewise been used already in 3); διάκονος 6, διάκονία 7 ff. four times; δόξα 7-11 eight times besides δεδοξάσθαι twice in 10 (οὐ δεδόξασται τὸ δεδοξασμένον, a kind of oxymoron with an apparent contradiction).—**Parechesis** is seen in the old combination of words, which became popular, L. 21. 11 λιμοὶ καὶ λουρὶ ἔσονται (Hesiod, W. and D. 241 λιμὸν ὅμοῦ καὶ λουρόν); H. 5. 8 ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὅν ἔπαθεν (the proverb πάθει μάθος occurs in Aesch. Agam. 170); Paul in enumerations combines the following words, R. 1. 29 (G. 5. 21?) φθόνον φόνον, 31 ἀσυνέτονος ἀσυνθέτονος; but κλάδων ἔξεκλάσθησαν 11. 17, 19 may be accidental or a kind of etymological figure (like φόβον φοβεῖσθαι).—The ὄμοιοτέλευτον in R. 12. 15 χάριεν μετὰ χαίροντων, κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων (where there is assonance also in the first words of the two clauses, so that this is a case of ὄμοιοκάταρκτον as well) arose naturally and unsought; but in 5. 16 it may be considered as studied and deliberate, οὐχ ὡς δι' ἐνὸς ἀμαρτήσαντος τὸ δώρημα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κρίμα ἐξ ἐνὸς εἰς κατάκριμα, τὸ δὲ χάρισμα ἐκ πολλῶν παραπτωμάτων εἰς δικαίωμα. Paul has certainly not sought after rhyme in this passage, but has no doubt (as already in 14 f.) played with the formations in -μα, which were among the *deliciae* of the Hellenistic stylist.<sup>1</sup>

5. **Antitheses** and **parallelisms** of all kinds are very largely developed in the N.T., not only in the Pauline Epistles, but also in the Gospels, especially those of Matthew and Luke; in the latter their occurrence is due to the gnomic character of ancient Hebrew literature (*supra* 1), in the former it is the outcome of the Apostle's dialectic and eloquence. With these should be reckoned a further series of **figures** (*σχήματα*), of which we learn in Greek and Latin rhetoricians, and for which instances are quoted from Demosthenes, Cicero etc. Antithesis and parison (*supra* 1), considered on their own merits, form part of these figures; but it may easily happen in

<sup>1</sup> E.g. of Epicurus, from whom Cleomedes περὶ μετεώρων B cap. 1 gives excerpts containing the words κατάστημα Ὀπίσμα λίπασμα ἀνακραύσμα.

cases of parallelism of this kind, that the first words are alike (*anaphora*), or the last words are alike (*antistrophe*), or the first and the last words are alike (*symploce*), and by this means the parallelism is rendered still more striking to the ear. Moreover words in the middle of the sentence may be alike or have a similar termination. Again cases frequently occur where there is a double anaphora etc., if each section of the parallelism is again subdivided, and the repetition of the word may take place not only twice, but even thrice and still more often. Thus we have in 1 C. I. 25 ff. ὅτι τὸ μωρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ | σοφώτερόν ἐστιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων || καὶ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ θεοῦ | ἵσχυρότερόν ἐστι τῶν ἀνθρώπων<sup>1</sup>. Βλέπετε γάρ τὴν κλῆσιν ἴμων ἀδελφοί | ὅτι οὐ πολλοί σοφοί κατὰ σάρκα | οὐ πολλοί δυνατοί | οὐ πολλοί εὐγενεῖς || ἀλλὰ τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἔξελέξατο ὁ θεός | ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τοὺς σοφούς (τὰ σοφά according to the text of Marcion, a better reading) || καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου ἔξελέξατο ὁ θεός | ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τὰ ἵσχυρά || καὶ τὰ ἀγενῆ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ ἔξουθενημένα ἔξελέξατο ὁ θεός | τὰ μὴ ὄντα<sup>2</sup> | ἵνα τὰ ὄντα καταργήσῃ | ὅπως μὴ καυχήσηται πᾶσι σάρξ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. In this passage the parallelism is developed, though not quite from the beginning, into rounded periods of three sections, and the third section in the last parallelism, which gives the finish to the whole sentence, exceeds the others in the number and length of its clauses, which is just what rhetoricians require in final sections of this kind<sup>3</sup>; the parallelism is thus sustained throughout the whole passage with a precision as accurate as the thought admitted of, while the sharpness of the thought is not sacrificed to form. This is a point which the rhetoricians praise as a merit in Demosthenes also, that his antitheses are *not* worked out with minute accuracy. And so too St. Paul does not say ἵνα τὰ εὐγενῆ καταργήσῃ because τὰ ἀγενῆ has preceded, but the expansion of the concluding clause enables him to introduce τὰ μὴ ὄντα, which together with its opposite τὰ ὄντα, which is annexed, gives a better and much more powerful expression to the thought. No Greek orator—for one must naturally compare the passage with practical speech, and not with the quiet flow of artistic speech, in

<sup>1</sup> Εστιν is read in both places before ἀνθρ. in DEFG; ΗABC al. have σοφώτ. τ. ἀ. ἐστίν, and then Η\*AC al. have in the corresponding clause ἵσχ. τ. ἀ. ἐστίν, but here Η\*B omit ἐστίν. A similar termination must in any case be retained. Cp. 10. 16 (where B is wrong).

<sup>2</sup> The καὶ before τὰ μὴ ὄντα in ΒΗ\* al. is certainly an interpolation. Marcion had in his text (instead of the third τοῦ κόσμου) καὶ τὰ ἐλάχιστα, then he omits the third ἔξελέξατο ὁ θεός, and gives in the following clause ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τὰ ὄντα, a reading the whole of which seems to give additional force and beauty to the sentence.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. de Orat. iii. 186 (apparently following Theophrastus): *membra si in extremo breviora sunt, infringitur ille quasi verborum ambitus (period); quare aut paria esse debent posteriora superioribus et extrema primis, aut, quod etiam est melius et iucundius, longiora.* Demetrius περὶ ἑρμηνειῶν 18: ἐν ταῖς συνθέτοις περιβόδοις τὸ τελευταῖον κῶλον μακρότερον χρῆ ἐναι, καὶ ὥσπερ περιτζον καὶ περιεληφός τᾶλλα. Cp. 1 C. 15. 42 ff. σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾳ | ἐγείρεται ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ | σπείρεται ἐν ἀτιμᾳ | ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ || σπ. ἐν ἀσθενεᾳ | ἐγ. ἐν δυνάμει || σπ. σῶμα ψυχικόν | ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν (10 syllables, the longest of all these κῶλα); ibid. 48 f. three periods containing parallels, the last being far the longest in both portions of the comparison; R. 8. 33 ff., 2. 21 ff.

which everything which may be termed *δἰς ταῦτὸν λέγειν* is proscribed —would have regarded the eloquence of this passage with other feelings than those of the highest admiration.

6. The practice of giving a similar termination to clauses (*antistrophe*) may occasionally take a simpler form as in H. 2. 16 οὐ γὰρ δῆπον ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται, ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβραὰμ ἐπιλαμβάνεται (more emphatic than if the verb were left to be supplied in the second clause). The same Epistle has an excessively long instance of *anaphora* in 11. 3-31 πίστει (repeated 18 times), a passage which taken together with the forcible and comprehensive conclusion (32-40) corresponds in some measure to the peroration of a speech following upon the demonstration; before (and after) this point this letter is by no means so rich in figures as some of the Pauline Epistles, but exhibits in this respect a certain classically temperate attitude. St. Paul, on the other hand, has e.g. in 2 C. 6. 4 ff. ἐν 19 times, followed immediately by διὰ 3 times, and ὡς 7.<sup>1</sup> (Clem. Cor. i. 36. 2 has anaphora with διὰ τούτου 5 times repeated; with ἀγάπη [after 1 C. 13] in 49. 4.) The speeches in the Acts, which are certainly nothing more than excerpts from speeches, for this reason alone cannot have much embellishment: anaphora occurs with ἵμεῖς ... ὑμᾶν in 3. 26 f., τούτῳ ... οὗτος 4. 10 f., τούτου ... οὗτος 3 times in 7. 35 ff., see further 10. 42 ff., 13. 39.

7. The emphatic duplication of an impressive word (*epanadiplosis* of the rhetoricians) is not unknown in the N.T., but is nowhere to be reckoned as a rhetorical device: thus Ap. 14. 8=18. 2 ἔπεστεν ἔπεσεν Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη, Mt. 25. 11 κύριε κύριε, 23. 7, Mc. 14. 45 ῥαββί ῥαββί (some MSS.), L. 8. 24 ἐπιστάτα ἐπιστάτα, Jo. 19. 6 σταύρωσον σταύρωσον, L. 10. 41 Μάρθα Μάρθα, in all which passages we have a direct report of the actual words spoken, as is most clearly shown by A. 19. 34 μεγάλη ἡ Ἀρτεμις Ἐφεσίων, μεγάλη ἡ Ἀ. Ἐ. (so B reads), words which were in fact shouted for two hours. (On the other hand the repetition is rhetorical in Clem. Cor. i. 47. 6 αἰσχρὰ, ἀγαπητοὶ, καὶ λίαν αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀνάξια κ.τ.λ.). Another figure in which repetition plays a part is the kind of *climax*, which consists in each clause taking up and repeating the principal word of the preceding clause; the rhetoricians found this figure already existing in Homer Il. ii. 102, where the following words occur on the subject of Agamemnon's sceptre, "Ηφαιστος μὲν δῶκε Διὶ ..., αὐτὰρ ἄρα Ζεὺς δῶκε διακτόρῳ Ἀργειφόντῃ, Ἐρμείας δὲ κ.τ.λ. So Paul has in R. 5. 3 ff. ἡ θλῖψις ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται, ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ δοκιμή, ἡ δὲ δοκιμὴ ἐλπίδα, ἡ δὲ ἐλπὶς οὐ καταισχύνει, cp. 8. 29 f., and a decidedly artificial passage 10. 14 πῶς οὖν ἐπικαλέσωνται εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἐπιστευσαν; πῶς δὲ πιστεύσωσιν οὐ οὐκ ἤκουσαν; πῶς δὲ ἀκούσωσιν χωρὶς κηρύσσοντος; πῶς δὲ κηρύξωσιν ἐὰν μη ἀποσταλῶσιν; Cp. also 2 P. 1. 5 ff. ἐπιχορηγήσατε ἐν τῇ πίστει ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀρετῇ τὴν γνῶσιν, ἐν δὲ κ.τ.λ. (7 clauses in all; but the object of using the figure in this passage is by no means intelligible). A further instance is Herm. Mand. v. 2. 4 ἐκ τῆς ἀφρο-

<sup>1</sup> See for further details Wilke 396 f.

σύνης γίνεται πικρία, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πικρίας θυμός, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θυμοῦ ὄργή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὄργῆς μῆνις· εἴτα ἡ μῆνις κ.τ.λ.<sup>1</sup>

8. **Asyndeton** and **polysyndeton** have already been discussed in § 79, 3 ff.; here we may lay greater stress on one form of asyndeton, which is based upon the resolution of a periodic sentence, but which gives a more lively and effective expression to the thought than the periodic form of sentence would do, 1 C. 7. 27 δέδεσται γυναικί | μὴ ξήτε λύσιν || λέλυσαι ἀπὸ γυναικός | μὴ ξήτε γυνάκι, = εἰ μὲν δέδεσται γυν., μὴ ζ. λ., εἰ δὲ κ.τ.λ. (where there is likewise a strong instance of antistrophe, supra 5, and in λύσιν | λέλυσαι the figure called by the rhetoricians **anastrophe**, that is the end of one clause is equivalent to the beginning of the next; moreover the point of the sentence is further heightened by the brevity of the clauses). Cp. ibid. 18, 21, Ja. 5. 13 ff.; many sentences of the same kind occur in the practical writings of Greek orators. In the passages in the orators and in the N.T. the first portion of resolved sentences of this kind is ordinarily written as a question; but certainly German has analogous phrases which are not interrogative, ‘bist du los, so suche’ etc. The more ordinary forms of asyndeton are occasionally employed by Paul with almost too great a profusion, so that the figure loses its force as an artistic expedient, and the whole discourse appears broken up into small fragments. The Epistle to the Hebrews shows more moderation in this respect, even in the brilliant passage where *πίστει* is repeated 18 times with asyndeton (supra 6); since the separate paragraphs in that passage, which are in many cases of a considerable length, are not without their own connecting links, and in the concluding summary 11. 31 ff., though twice over we have 10 or almost 10 short clauses standing without connecting links, yet a piece of connected speech is interposed between them (35 f.), and the whole chapter is rounded off by a periodic sentence in verses 39, 40.

9. Besides figures of **expression** (*σχήματα λέξεως*), to which those hitherto considered belong, the rhetoricians discriminate and give a separate name to an equally large number of figures of **thought** (*σχ. διανοίας*), with which it is not the case, as it is with the former class, that the substitution of one synonym for another, or the deletion of a word, or an alteration in the order of words causes the figure to disappear. As a general rule these figures of thought belong not so much to the earlier as to the later period of Attic oratory, since their development presupposes a certain amount of advance in the acuteness and subtlety of the language. The orator pretends to pass over something which in reality he mentions: thus ὅτι μὲν ..., παραλείπω (a figure known as **paraleipsis** or *praeteritio*); and under this figure one may of course, if one pleases, bring Paul’s language in Philem. 19 ἵνα μὴ λέγω ὅτι καὶ σεαυτόν μοι προσοφείλεις.<sup>2</sup> Again, 2 C.

<sup>1</sup> There is a similar instance in a fragment of the comedian Epicharmus, ἐκ μὲν θυσίας θοίνα, ἐκ δὲ θοίνας πόσις ἐγένετο—ἐκ δὲ πόσιος κῶμος, ἐκ κώμου δ' ἐγένεθ' ὑανία, ἐκ δ' ὑανίας δίκα κ.τ.λ.—Cp. Wilke 398, who further adduces Ja. 1. 14 f. and 1 C. 11. 3 (in the latter passage there is no climax).

<sup>2</sup> Wilke p. 365 cites also passages like 1 Th. 4. 9, where however no figure

9. 4 μήποτε ... καταισχυνθῶμεν ἡμεῖς, ἵνα μὴ λέγωμεν ὑμεῖς is not a simple and straight-forward statement: the simple expression of the Apostle's thought would be *καταισχυνθῆτε*, but as that would pain his hearers, he appears to turn the reproach against himself, while he makes it clear that he does so by what the rhetoricians call a *σχῆμα ἐπιεικές*. Paul also occasionally employs *irony* (*εἰρωνεία*) of the sharpest kind: 1 C. 4. 8 ἥδη κεκορεσμένοι ἔστε; ἥδη ἐπλούτιστε; χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἐβασιλεύστε; 2 C. 11. 19 f. ἥδεις ἀνέχεσθε τῶν ἀφρόνων, φρόνιμοι ὄντες· ἀνέχεσθε γὰρ κ.τ.λ., 12. 13<sup>1</sup>; he knows how to change his tone in an astonishing way, and if conscious of the offence which he is about to give or has given, he employs *prodiorthoses* as in 2 C. 11. 1 ff., 16 ff., 21 ἐν ἀφροσύῃ λέγω, 23, or *epidiorthoses* as in 12. 11 γέγονα ἀφρων κ.τ.λ., 7. 3, R. 3. 5 κατὰ ἀνθρωπὸν λέγω,<sup>2</sup> since he everywhere puts himself in a position of the closest intercourse and liveliest sympathy with his readers.

10. Other figures of thought have more of an obviously rhetorical character, so especially the (so-called rhetorical) *question* with its various methods of employment, sometimes serving the purpose of dialectical liveliness and perspicuity, as in R. 3. 1 τί οὖν τὸ περιστὸν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου; with the answer πολὺ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον, 4. 10 πῶς οὖν ἐλογίσθη; ἐν περιτομῇ ὄντι ἢ ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ; οὐκ ἐν περιτομῇ κ.τ.λ. (this use is especially frequent in the Epistle to the Romans: but cf. also Jo. 12. 27), sometimes used as an expression of keen sensibility, astonishment, or unwillingness, but also of a joyful elation of spirit, as in R. 8. 31 τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν πρὸς ταῦτα; εἰ δὲ θεὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τίς καθ' ἡμῶν; to which there is subsequently attached a pair of questions, with their subordinate answers, which are also expressed in an interrogative form (*ὑποφορά, subjectio*): τίς ἐγκαλέσει κατὰ ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ; θεὸς δὲ δικαιῶν; τίς δὲ κατακρινῶν; Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς δὲ κ.τ.λ.<sup>3</sup> This is one of the brilliant oratorical passages, which are a distinguishing feature of this Epistle and the Corinthian Epistles (see further e.g. 2 C. 11. 22 Ἐβραῖοί εἰσιν; καὶ γάρ. Ἰσραηλῖται εἰσιν; καὶ γάρ. σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ εἰσιν; καὶ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.), but the discussion of such passages is out of place in a grammar and can only be tolerated if briefly dwelt on and treated by way of appendix.

can be recognized (*οὐ χρείαν ἔχετε*), any more than in H. 11. 32, where the expression used corresponds accurately to the fact.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 356. From the Gospels, L. 13. 33 comes under this head.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 292 ff. Epidiorthosis is used in another sense in the case of a correction which enhances a previous statement: R. 8. 34 ὁ ἀποθανών, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐγερθεῖς, G. 4. 9.

<sup>3</sup> So Augustine and most modern authorities take θεὸς δὲ δικ. and Χριστὸς κ.τ.λ. as questions. It is true that Tischendorf and Wilke (p. 396) are opposed to this view; but as there is undoubtedly a question in the third place, and as θεὸς δὲ δικ. does not mean 'God is here, who' etc. (as Luther renders it), it appears better to keep the other (interrogative) interpretation throughout. The passage is oratorical rather than strictly logical.

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